

Miller, Emma (2003) British television coverage of the global South: case studies in content and audience reception. PhD thesis.

<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/6867/>

Copyright and moral rights for this thesis are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

British Television coverage of the global South:

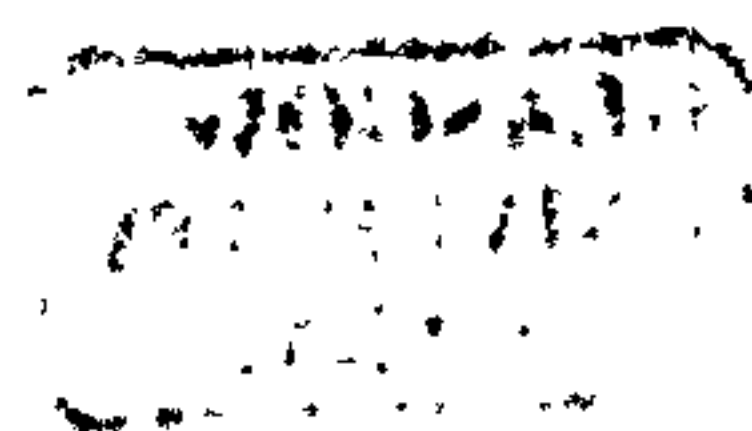
Case studies in content and audience reception

Emma Miller

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Glasgow
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Faculty of Social Science

August, 2003



© Emma Miller, August 2003

CONTENTS

Contents	i
List of Tables	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Introduction	1
Part One: The Context of Capitalist Globalisation	
Chapter One: The Global Economy	16
Chapter Two: Facing the Consequences	38
Chapter Three: The Culture of Consumerism and the Media	56
Part Two: Case studies in television content	
Introduction	77
Chapter Four: News Coverage	81
Chapter Five: Economics	90
Chapter Six: Political coverage	126
Chapter Seven: Disaster coverage	161
Chapter Eight: Consumer programming	169
Discussion	192
Part Three: Case studies in audience reception	
Introduction	198
Chapter Nine: Results of exercises	204
Chapter Ten: Results of group discussion	222
Discussion	276
Conclusion	281
Appendix 1: The concept and measurement of development	299
Appendix 2: New Regional trade agreements - NAFTA and the FTAA	300
Appendix 3: Globalisation, poverty and human rights	302
Appendix 4: Television coverage of the Rwandan crises	306
Appendix 5: Television coverage of the floods in Mozambique	309
Abbreviations	311
Bibliography	313

LIST OF TABLES

P.78:	Table 1: Sample of content analysis, subject and format.
P.83-4:	Table 2: ITN coverage of the global South
P.85:	Table 3: BBC coverage of the global South
P.92-3	Table 4: Table 4: Coverage of the banana war
P.93-4:	Table 5: Bulletins and interviews conducted for banana war
P.129-131:	Table 6: Coverage of the Nigerian elections
P.169-170:	Table 7: Sample of holiday and travel programmes
P.200-201:	Table 8: Table 8: Focus group exercises

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all those people who participated in this research, specifically the focus group participants and the group organisers. Their contributions have influenced the shape of the work as well as the conclusions drawn.

Thanks to John Eldridge at Glasgow Media Group for his patience and advice.

Lastly, thanks to Caitlin and Lewis for providing welcome diversions from this research. Thanks to David Miller without whose encouragement I would never have started this work.

INTRODUCTION

The starting point of this thesis is that British television coverage of the developing world¹ is increasingly limited, both in terms of quantity and the lack of background information. There tends to be very little coverage of developing countries, and what there is doesn't explain them very well.² This thesis aims to use this starting point as a basis for exploring ways in which television coverage might be improved in order to develop public knowledge and enable audiences to place issues affecting developing countries in a wider context of globalisation. Television is the focus of this research because it remains the key source of news information in Britain.³ A key aim is to assess how far the neo-liberal ideology that supports globalisation is replicated in television reporting of the South. The other side of this assessment is the availability of alternative views and explanations. The analysis will examine these questions empirically. The empirical work undertaken for this research involved a detailed examination of television coverage of the global South, and of audience responses to it. One of the aims here is to identify the contextual information that helps make sense of such world affairs. To do this, the thesis is divided into three parts.

Part One will discuss the context of capitalist globalisation, including economic, political and cultural aspects. This exploration highlights the information necessary to make sense of the global economy and the contradictions it contains.

¹ The terminology associated with dividing the world according to notions of development is not without problems. As Black (2002) suggests, axis descriptors - developed and developing, rich and poor, industrialised and non-industrialised - are value-laden. Since the end of the Cold War, the concept of Third World has become outdated. For the purposes of this thesis, 'North' and 'South' are preferred, as they carry fewer pejorative connotations. More recently, the terms 'majority world' and 'minority world' have been used in more progressive literature. However, all these terms are used here, with variations according to context.

² UNESCO has noted: 'It must be acknowledged that the way in which the public in the industrialised nations is informed about the Third World is not very effective' (UNESCO 1980: 36, 180)

³ Recent research from Hargreaves and Thomas (2002) indicates that 65% of the British public say they regard television as their main source of news, compared with 16% who regard radio as the main source, 15% newspapers, 2% the internet and 1% word of mouth.

The political concerns emphasise the implications of globalisation for class polarisation, the environment and participatory democracy. While the emphasis is on the impact of global capitalism on developing countries, consideration will also be given to the consequences for richer countries. Part One then examines cultural aspects of globalisation, highlighting consumerism and on its impacts on television. In particular there is a focus on how the increasing consumer orientation of programming impacts on the information available to audiences. Against this account, relevant programming on television can be evaluated and compared.

The second part of this thesis examines how television covers the majority world and how it explains events and their relation to globalisation. The content analysis consists of a strategic selection of probes into television coverage, examining a range of news and non-news factual programming. By considering a variety of formats it is possible to identify how information can be most effectively presented. A varied selection of subjects also allows an evaluation of the dominant frameworks available and an assessment of whether typical patterns emerge. While the starting point of this thesis is the fact that coverage of the South is in decline on British television, more positive examples do exist, and a central aim is to locate informative and/or innovative television programmes.

Part Three consists of the audience reception component of this research. This seeks to explore how people understand development and globalisation, and to assess how audience views are shaped by the dominant frameworks available on television. A further aim is to assess to what extent these views are interwoven by personal experience and other sources of information. Part of this analysis will involve an examination of how coverage limited to replication of dominant frameworks leads to a sense of viewers feeling overwhelmed by bad news, and how this affects understanding and motivation to stay informed. As with Part Two, a key aim here is to move beyond research which focuses on critical evaluations of the omissions of television coverage, to assessing how positive examples can improve understanding, and to further consider how such progress can continue. I will also consider how far audiences move with events,

considering responses to the events of 11th September, and the subsequent bombing of Afghanistan. A key concern in this discussion is the fact that where the media simply replicate dominant frameworks, they do not hold the decision-makers to account.

To contribute to a truly democratic society, the media would need to report and explain concerns about globalisation, and provide space for a range of opinions. But the corporate media have been increasingly prone in recent years to waves of mergers and acquisitions. This concentration of ownership has serious negative consequences for the media role in informing the public. The relationship between media corporations, and increasingly, public sector broadcasting in Britain, and the broader capitalist globalising system, therefore has critical implications for democracy.

Perspectives on globalisation

Despite the ever-increasing writing on the subject, there is no agreed definition of globalisation. For most authors, and from the perspective of this thesis, globalisation is principally about economics - about modern or 'advanced' capitalism - with international trade as its fundamental feature. To the extent that the interchange of cultures and economies has been increasing for centuries, globalisation is, as Ellwood (2001) argues, not a new phenomenon. However, over the past quarter century, rapid technological change has transformed the potential for international communication, and faster global trade. Capital has been given increasing freedom to invest and disinvest globally. During this period, capitalism also gained in strength following the collapse of communism post 1989 - emerging in a more strident form. At the same time, corporations, including media corporations, have grown at a phenomenal rate, with ownership increasingly concentrated in fewer hands.

Not all writers on globalisation would agree with this summary. So it is worth reviewing the various approaches here, and outlining the perspective taken in this thesis. It is helpful to consider Sklair's (2002) account, which sets out four

competing conceptions of globalisation, each with its own strengths and weaknesses. This categorisation is based on who or what is said to be driving globalisation, distinguishing transnational (globalising) from national and international forces, processes and institutions.

The first of these is the world-systems approach, inspired by the work of Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1980, and 1988). This is based on the distinction between core, semi-peripheral and peripheral countries and their changing roles in the international division of labour dominated by the capitalist class system. Wallerstein's elaboration of the concept of the semi-periphery, is, critics suggest, an ad hoc invention to deal with those cases which do not fit the core-periphery framework. Sklair points out that there is no specific concept of the global in most world-systems literature. The problem is that the model is 'state-centrist', seeing relations between nations, rather than the global system, as fundamental. Further, it is argued that it neglects class struggle, distorts the history of capitalism, and has difficulty dealing with development. Critics of this approach also argue that political and cultural issues are inadequately addressed by its economic focus.

Secondly, the global culture model, associated with research on the globalisation of culture, argues that globalisation is driven by a homogenising mass media-based culture, and that this threatens national and/or local cultures and identities. This approach borrows from McLuhan's (1987) concept of the global village, based on the rapid growth in the scope and scale of the mass media. Researchers in this field are interested in the question of how specific (national and other) identities can survive in the face of an emerging global culture. Appadurai's *Modernity at Large* (1996) celebrates the imagination as a social force in a globalising world. He argues that as well as providing new resources for identity, the imagination is a source of energies for creating alternatives to the nation-state. Some writers see the emergence of a global culture as a negative phenomenon, while others see it positively. In cultural studies the latter approach is common though there is a strong current which sees tendencies towards homogenised global culture as meeting resistance, hybridisation and creolisation (e.g. Miller

1995; Hall 1996). So for some authors global culture is either not happening, or is a tendency that promotes a pluralistic and cosmopolitan culture that is to be welcomed. One example of this approach is presented by John Tomlinson's book *The Globalisation of Culture*. His solution to the problems associated with capitalist globalisation, is that there is a need to build a 'disposition' of 'cosmopolitan solidarity' (Tomlinson 1999, p.207). Sceptics might see this as little more than encouraging us to be nice to each other, since it includes little in the way of suggestions for political or economic reform. As Sklair notes, while the culturalist approach to globalisation has many adherents, the fundamental problem is its emphasis on the cultural, which overemphasises the material realities that lie behind cultural and symbolic phenomena.

Thirdly, global polity and society theorists argue that the concept of global polity and/or society is only possible in the modern age. Science, technology, industry and universal values are increasingly creating a world different from any past age. This approach tends to be optimistic and all-inclusive, which, as Sklair says, is less than satisfactory for developing empirical social science research programmes. Hirst and Thompson (1996) attempt to demonstrate that globalisation is a myth and that the global economy does not really exist, by arguing that there is no fundamental difference between the telegraph cable and contemporary electronic systems for conducting financial transactions. Yet, as Sklair argues, it is precisely the electronics revolution that transformed the operations of global capital, and critically, the system of credit on which the global culture-ideology of consumerism rests. Giddens emphasises the relationship between modernity and globalisation, explaining the latter as a consequence of the former. From this perspective, the most desirable driver for the future will be the organisation of global governance, through global civil society. As Sklair argues, the global society thrust of Giddens concept of globalisation, as based on emergent forms of world interdependence and planetary consciousness, is highly speculative. Giddens' (1990) concept of 'reflexive modernisation', while arguably describing an actual phenomenon, is not adequate as an analysis of the inter-relationships between economics, politics and culture. Because it fails to address these inter-relationships and is pitched at the level of

changes in ideas and identity, it is, in the end, an idealist concept of human development.⁴

The fourth approach is the global capitalism model. As Sklair argues, global capitalism, driven by the transnational corporations (TNCs), organised politically through the transnational capitalist class, and fuelled by the culture-ideology of consumerism, is the most potent force for change in the world today. Marx-inspired crisis theory suggests that problems with capitalism are consequence of contradictions within the capitalist mode of production itself. As capitalism globalises, its crises intensify. Sklair identifies two main crises: the crisis of class polarisation and the crisis of ecological unsustainability. From the perspective of this thesis, these two crises are viewed in relationship to a third, which is the crisis of the democratic deficit. The position taken in this thesis is that this approach best explains the relations between development, globalisation, and the power of corporations and cultural change in the world today. In particular, it provides a theoretical framework that can be used to explore both the context of globalisation and the ways television responds to such issues.

Neo-liberalism is the ideological basis for increasing liberalisation, the motor of economic globalisation. In the 1970s Milton Friedman and his 'Chicago School' economists developed ultra free-market ideas based on deregulation and privatisation, associated with the laissez-faire capitalism of the 19th century. These values dictate that regulation, trade unions, taxation, and public ownership are unjustified obstacles to profit. Western governments and the global institutions they control increasingly use terms like 'modernisation' and 'flexible labour' to describe their goals of removing these obstacles. Meanwhile consumerism, the market, class inequality and individualism are taken as natural and often benevolent. Neo-liberalism has been particularly successful in establishing hegemonic control for a number of reasons. The first is that it is presented as if there is no alternative. No matter what disasters result from the system, it is still made to seem inevitable. In this thesis a key question concerns the extent to which neo-liberalism has permeated the mass media. Television,

⁴ See also Beck, Giddens and Lash (1994).

increasingly owned by TNCs, is largely focused on consumer-oriented programming, and a culture saturated with consumerism is essential for the continuing expansion of the TNCs. In addition to directing the global economy, the international financial institutions have played a key role in disseminating this ideology as practice.

Much of the debate over globalisation centres on distinctions between the powers of the state in principle and what the state does in practice. The question of whether governments cannot or will not exert control is critical. In practice the extent to which corporations are permitted to influence policy in rich countries varies, depending largely on the extent to which their governments embrace neo-liberalism. Third Way theorists view governments as having limited power to influence globalisation, but are optimistic about their potential to protect those who fare less well from it (Giddens, 2000). Though less optimistic, Hertz (2001) argues that the power of government to control national economies and protect people's jobs has been diluted. By contrast, Davies (2001) asserts that there are still serious and genuine political choices to be made by governments. As Sklair (2002) argues, there is nothing inevitable about the dismantling of the welfare state under pressure from capitalist globalisation. Often governments go along with globalisation because they perceive it to be in their interests. Bourdieu (1999) summarises globalisation as 'the extension of the hold of a small number of dominant nations over the whole set of national financial markets.' In Chapter One we will see how trade, investment and finance have all been increasingly liberalised, under the auspices of the international financial institutions. These institutions are largely controlled by the governments of rich countries, and most of all by the G7, the group of seven most economically powerful nations.

Sklair places economic and social rights - the duty of the state to provide essential material resources to the rights-bearer - at the centre of the argument between supporters and opponents of capitalist globalisation. Often in response to criticisms of the excesses of globalisation, Third Way theorists argue that what is needed is the insertion of social democratic practices. Giddens (1998) set out to present his Third Way as a form of compromise between classical social

democracy and neo-liberalism. However, as Cammack (2002) argues, Giddens redefines social values so that they conform to rather than challenge the values of capitalism. Ultimately, Giddens' approach reinforces the Thatcherite mantra 'there is no alternative.' From such a perspective, the protestors who have gathered in recent years at meetings of the international financial institutions (IFIs) and related organisations, were originally dubbed the 'anti-globalisation' movement. In contrast to this, Sklair (2002) argues for a transition from capitalist to socialist globalisation. This would entail transformation from the culture-ideology of consumerism to a culture-ideology of human rights.

The next part of this introduction will briefly outline the subjects to be covered in Parts One, Two and Three.

Part One: The Global economy

Given that the central subject matter of this thesis is television coverage of development and globalisation, Part One aims to set the empirical work on content and audiences in context. It will therefore consider historical and contemporary factors that have contributed to inequality between North and South, and particularly to critically examine claims that globalisation has assisted 'development'. Chapter One considers the key economic components of globalisation, and their influence on development. This examination of the factors that impact on global poverty, begins with the role of international trade as the core of economic globalisation. This involves analysis of the extent to which globalisation is a unique phenomenon, and how far it follows an historical continuum. Following on from trade, the second section considers the role of international debt in development, and will discuss the role of the Bretton Woods institutions with regard to both international debt and trade. Thirdly, brief consideration will be given in Chapter One to the role of aid and aid agencies in development. While financial aid can play a part in assisting development, its contribution is limited while trade and debt policies continue to structurally undermine the economies of so many countries. This section questions whose interests are considered in decisions about where and how aid is directed. Sogge

(2002) and Black (2002) have identified the limitations of aid strategies that impose uniform solutions from outside. I will also discuss the changing role of those aid agencies that are allocating resources to research for development policy recommendations and to political lobbying. These non-governmental organisations (NGOs) will be discussed further in the second and third parts of this thesis, as their contributions to programming from the South have influenced representations of development. The fourth and final section here is a discussion of the global casino, focussing on the instability which has accompanied deregulation of financial markets.

Chapter One therefore outlines the range of financial measures that together have enabled Western governments and the IFIs to globalise neo-liberal economic orthodoxy. This economic context will be reconsidered in Parts Two and Three where I will examine the extent to which understanding of the world is facilitated or hindered by television, and in particular, identify strategies for improving coverage to increase the interest, involvement and understanding of viewers.

Chapter Two involves a closer examination of the key negative impacts of capitalist globalisation: increasing inequality, environmental degradation and the democratic deficit. With regard to inequality, reference will be made to statistics from UNCTAD and other agencies to evidence this. While the central focus of this thesis is the global South, this section will also include discussion of escalating income polarisation in the North, resulting from implementation of neo-liberal policies. The second part of this chapter concerns the environmental consequences of an economic model dependent upon an exponential growth in consumerism. The focus here is mainly on climate change, with reference to Godrej's (2001a) account of the unsustainable aspects of globalisation. This discussion will refer to the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development, the success of which depended on challenging corporate power. This chapter highlights the links between poverty and environmental degradation, as inseparable consequences of capitalist globalisation, each feeding the other. In Parts Two and Three, consideration will be given to how these consequences are

represented on television. The central question here concerns the incompatibility of an unfettered market, and associated income polarisation, with democracy.

Democracy is a key concern of this thesis. The influence of TNCs in shaping the rules of the global economy to suit their interests is critical here, particularly the role of corporate media. McChesney (2000) highlights the contradiction between massive, profit-oriented media corporations and the communication requirements of a democratic society. As highlighted in Chapter One, the IFIs and the G7 largely determine the conditions of life for the majority of the world's population. While national governments comply with these institutions to varying extents, their ability to legislate on environmental and social issues is curbed.

Consideration will be given to the criteria used in conferring the status of 'democracy' on developing countries. The aim is to assess the extent to which the application of this label is determined by how compliant a given state is with neo-liberal policies. With regard to global governance, questions have been raised about the role of the UN and its commitment to adhere to its human rights foundations. Chomsky (1995) has described how conflict between the US and UN, fuelled by corporate resentment towards this institution, has contributed to its demise. Expressing concern about corporate influence on the UN, Sklair (2002) distinguishes between parliamentary democracy (capitalist) and participatory democracy (socialist) in advocating socialist globalisation.

Chapter Three considers the role of consumerism in capitalist globalisation, and its relationship to democracy. This provides the background to considering the role of the media. Chapter Three will begin by considering how the increasingly consumer oriented agenda of British television impacts on its democratic role of keeping the public informed. The relationship between consumerism and capitalism has been a focus for critical attention since the 1950s. In order to locate the origins of the use of human insecurities as marketing tools, I will consider the postwar writing of Packard and Marcuse, on the use of Freudian analysis by corporations. These authors expressed serious concerns about corporate efforts to manipulate and control human behaviour in order to make profits. As Sklair (2002) argues, the culture-ideology of consumerism remains

central. This view is not uncontested however. Numerous academics in the field of cultural studies celebrate the role of consumerism as enabling creation of identities. Definitions of consumer and citizen are important here. Bennett (2003) discusses political participation under globalisation within a framework of consumer behaviour, referring to the 'citizen consumer', who engages in political activity as 'lifestyle politics'. From a similar perspective, Daniel Miller (1995) refers to the 'housewife as global dictator', locating responsibility for poverty in the South with consumers in the North. While cultural studies celebrates consumerism, others are concerned about the implications of consumerism for social and psychological health, including James (2000), Klein (2000), and Ritzer (2002). Clearly, the role of the mass media in consumer society merits attention here, and Sklair (2002), James (2000) and McChesney (2000) highlight the particular role of television in promoting consumerism.

Chapter Three then examines the changing structure of media ownership, in order to explain television output in the era of globalisation. Globalisation has coincided with an increasingly parochial focus by western media. Within the industry, there is a divergence of opinion as to the source of the pressure to commercialise, as indicated by research referred to here. This chapter also considers dominant frameworks applied to coverage of the South, which will be tested in Parts Two and Three. Most television coverage of international affairs is conducted through a model of nation states. Sklair (2002) argues that in order to understand the contemporary world and the changing balance of power between state and non-state actors and agencies, it is necessary to take a transnational approach to globalisation. This concluding section of Part One, sets up the context for consideration of the empirical research on television content.

Part Two: Content analysis

Part Two will examine the range of information available to television audiences on the majority world. Through thematic analysis of both routine and exceptional coverage of a range of relevant subjects, the aim is to identify the most prevalent explanations available to television viewers on this topic. A further aim is to

identify those formats and subject matters that most effectively present contextual information, to aid the viewer's comprehension. One of the key concerns in all of this is to evaluate how local people are presented, and to determine whether such representations vary according to the subject matter and format of the programme. However, the aim is also to identify representations that do not rely on stereotypes, perhaps involving innovative ways of reporting on people's lives. A range of probes into media operations was selected to investigate what is available to the viewer on development and globalisation. The content of each case study will be examined to assess how much it tells the viewer about the relevant location, with reference to the wider international picture. While it does not include all aspects of programming, the sample covers a range of topics, to assess how different themes are presented across channels. The sample also includes a variety of genres, aiming to assess what each delivers to the audience. Subject and genre are two key dimensions to both the content analysis and the audience research. This will enable links to be made between content and audience reception. Reference will be made to other media, as sources of more explanatory information, and to other relevant research projects, to compare and contrast with the results presented here.

Chapter Four is a summary of the news analysis which was conducted for the DfID (2000) study.⁵ This analysis provides a comprehensive view of the types and range of news stories broadcast from, or focused on developing countries. While this analysis highlights gaps and limitations in coverage, it also provided an opportunity to identify more in-depth and innovative news features. It was on this basis that some of the strategic probes in the content analysis were selected, with a view to specifying methods of reporting which could enhance viewer interest and understanding. Alternatively, some probes were selected because of their more routine nature, to identify how gaps in explanation and context could lead to less engaging and even confusing results. The topics include politics and economics,

⁵ The author was one of the researchers employed on this project. The programme sample set out in Part Two was the basis of the author's work for the project. The analysis of this material has been altered since 2000 to take account of concerns set out in Part One, and changing global events since then.

both of which are essential ingredients in any attempt to understand global events. As Part One began with a discussion of the global economy, so this analysis begins with economics, in Chapter Five. While economics plays a critical role in development and globalisation, relevant coverage is limited. The role of the IFIs and of TNCs is critical, yet tends to be excluded.

Under the heading of politics in Chapter Six, a variety of formats will be discussed. Again, part of the aim here is to assess the context provided to assist the viewer's understanding of how national politics and international relations impact on local events. The role of national governments is referred to more in this section than in Chapter Five. One of the critical questions is the extent to which government policies are examined in relation to the global economy. As discussed in Part One, national governments maintain a significant role in determining conditions of life for their populations, despite the increasing role of the IFIs and TNCs in determining matters of global finance. The extent to which programmes in this sample examine the relationship between governments and the global economy will be discussed with particular reference to concepts of democracy. Again here, a further aim is to assess whether and how the voices of local people are represented.

The next two chapters deal with distinct subject matters. Chapter Seven investigates disaster coverage, one of the predominant fields of representation of developing countries on British television news. This is a smaller sample, with one case study. In the audience research for DfID (2000) some participants commented that they felt overwhelmed by the doom, gloom and disaster tendency of third world coverage. The aim in this section is to identify how to move beyond immediate reporting of events associated with more formulaic disaster reporting, towards more contextual analysis which considers local responses, and relates the disaster to the wider circumstances of the country affected. The final subject of the content analysis, as discussed in Chapter Eight, is consumer programming, the predominant genre on British television. This section considers the type of information available when the focus is on consumption. Particular reference will be made to how local people are presented when the agenda is

tailored explicitly for the Western consumer, and consider potential consequences when economic and political contexts are ignored. These probes are outlined in greater detail in the introduction to Part Two.

Part Three: Audience reception

One of the key concerns of this research is to identify how development and globalisation can be made accessible to television viewers. This research tested the assumption that while concepts associated with globalisation may be familiar to British television viewers, it is less likely that they make a great deal of sense. This research was intended to complement the content analysis, in assessing how audience groups currently understand development, and what their sources of information are. Much recent research on audience reception has been conducted in the framework of the 'active audience' (Fiske 1996, and Morley 1992; 1999). The audience research recounted here will be considered against frameworks that consider both active and passive responses to television portrayals, taking existing audience knowledge and experience into consideration. A further aim is to assess which subjects and formats are most engaging and informative.

Chapter Nine is an account and analysis of the focus group exercises. As with Parts One and Two, the exercises and questions cover a range of subjects. Again, there is an emphasis on economics, given that such factors are critical to understanding development and globalisation. This includes consideration of political questions. In order to maintain continuity and a basis for comparison with the content analysis, the exercises also include the subjects of disaster coverage and consumer programming. As the latter two subjects are likely to be more familiar to viewers, given their prevalence on television, a further aim was to assess how audience expectations of such programmes were expressed in responses. Four exercises formed the basis of the focus groups. Two exercises involved short videos on development and economics. Videos were selected which used innovative methods of reporting and/or accessible explanations. The other two exercises consisted of series of photographs taken from television programmes featuring developing countries. The subjects of these exercises were

disaster coverage and consumer programming. As these exercises were based on more familiar subjects, the photo exercises were used to assess existing knowledge levels and understanding. As the content analysis had assessed how local people are presented in both genres of programming, the exercises were designed to assess whether these roles would be replicated by groups.

Chapter Ten is an account and analysis of further discussions that took place in the focus groups, including more detailed discussion about perceptions of economics and development. Groups were also asked what they did and didn't like about programming about developing countries. Their responses are recounted in this chapter. Some topics of discussion were led by focus groups. Audience groups were asked about portrayals and experience of poverty in Britain after this topic was raised spontaneously as a comparison by the first group. Groups after September 11th raised some different issues from those in 2000, indicating that audiences are not fixed in terms of how they respond to events. This audience research will take into consideration the fact that a range of factors influence beliefs and understanding. Therefore, within each group, despite being linked by common demographic characteristics such as age, social class or ethnic group, it is to be expected that differences will emerge in expectations and reactions to different programmes. The role of experience is critical, and will be emphasised in the analysis.

PART ONE

THE CONTEXT OF CAPITALIST GLOBALISATION

Chapter One

The Global Economy

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to assess the actual and potential role of television in assisting audience understanding and stimulating interest in the global South. It will explore ways in which television coverage might be improved in order to develop public knowledge, and enable audiences to understand issues affecting developing countries in the wider context of globalisation. The underlying assumption is that democratic media should provide well-informed programming which presents a range of views. The empirical work undertaken for this research has involved a detailed examination of television coverage of development and audience responses to it. The results will be considered in Parts Two and Three. But Part One will discuss the context of capitalist globalisation, beginning with a discussion of the role of economics, and moving on to consider key political concerns surrounding its impact on class polarisation, the environment and democracy. Next, the culture-ideology of consumerism as fundamental to capitalist globalisation will be considered, with particular reference to its impact on mass media. Part One will conclude with a wider introductory discussion of television in the context of capitalist globalisation. It will therefore set the empirical work on content and audiences in context.

Before considering various aspects of the global economy, there are three key points I wish to make which underpin the discussion of the history of capitalism, and its relationship to globalisation. The first point is that, as capitalism developed from the 16th century, its system of trade has always worked against the interests of commodity producers in the South. Throughout this history, labour has always received a limited proportion of the profits of production, whereby the market determines 'price' as a statement of 'value.' Under free trade, the commercial value of the product accumulates as goods pass through the market to the consumer, benefiting rich merchants, processors and retailers in the North. While governments in the North currently stress

their commitment to poverty reduction in the South, their trade policies continue to mitigate against this. As well as failing to secure a fair pricing mechanism for primary commodities from the south, they have also failed to address the high tariff barriers on exports from poor countries, which are four times higher than those encountered by rich countries. These tariff barriers cost poor countries \$100bn a year - twice as much as they receive in aid (Oxfam 2002). The system of international debt that has emerged in the post war period has in many respects consolidated the iniquity of existing global trade relations.

The second point is that the exploitation entailed in imperialism has historically been justified by references to the inferiority of the colonised - the superiority of the 'west' compared to 'the rest'. The impact of economic relations is critical in considering how such distinctions were drawn. Colonial expansion was justified by reference to a need to civilise 'primitive' people. The categorisation of civilised as opposed to barbaric, continues to have significance in the present, as will be discussed in Part Two.

Associated with this assumption of superiority on the part of the colonisers is the view that civilisation can be measured in material wealth - the basis of modern consumer ideology in effect. As Rowling (1987) argues, 'advanced' societies are defined as those with the greatest concentration of material goods, while non-capitalist societies are defined as backward. Rowling's (1987) history of trade under capitalism provides a helpful account of trade in key commodities; tea, coffee, sugar and money. Rowling selected three crop commodities as exhibiting core aspects of the history of capitalism as attempts to control their production and marketing provoked countless wars. Whole cultures and civilisations have been destroyed so that others could consume their commodities, and parts of the earth have been devastated by their cultivation. Indicating continuity with the excesses of capitalist globalisation, the British imperialist Cecil Rhodes argued the case for colonialism in the 1890s:

We must find new lands from which we can easily obtain raw materials and at the same time exploit the cheap slave labour that is available from the natives of the colonies. The colonies [will] also provide a dumping ground for the surplus goods produced in our factories (Cited in Ellwood, 2001, p.13).

The third point is that the international financial institutions that emerged post world war two were not uncontested. Many of the financially weaker countries worked in collaboration to argue for a fairer system of trade. The institutions that ultimately were

put in place did not incorporate the checks and balances which many recognised as necessary to ensure a fair global economic system. Currently, for example, there is no challenge to the continued exploitation of producers of raw materials in the rules of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The economic policies imposed by the (International Monetary Fund) IMF and World Bank continue to assume the superiority and inevitability of the Western model of neo-liberalism. This history will be considered further here, in order to review alternative proposals for a fairer system, and to emphasise that viable proposals continue to emanate from the South. This last point will be revisited in Parts Two and Three, in considering the extent to which television portrayals permit considerations of Southern perspectives on development.

In order to properly explain how the global financial system works, it is necessary to understand key aspects of and interrelations between the global system of trade, the politics of debt and aid, and the more recent emergence of the global economic casino. To introduce this, it is worth sketching some of the history of how the system emerged.

Trade

After the Second World War, the European allies were struggling to recover from financial devastation. According to Elliott (2000b) it was clear to the Americans by the summer of 1947 that Europe was on the point of going under. Marshall ordered his staff to report without delay on what could be done to save Europe. Six weeks later he announced the Marshall Plan, which was to be directed against 'hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos.' As Susan George (1999) comments, the other major item on the agenda was to get trade moving, and the Marshall Plan established Europe again as the major trading partner for the US. The partners required an international body to promote their preferred model of trade. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which was established in 1948, was an alternative to the original proposal of an International Trade Organisation (ITO), which would have been overseen by the United Nations. According to Ransom (2001, p.10), the ITO was to regulate 'international finance and commerce, the ruinous collapse of commodity prices, the beggar-thy-neighbour protection rackets of big business and the inertia of governments'. Fifty founding members of the UN proposed a Charter for the ITO, to be ratified by a conference in Havana in 1947. However, 23 of the richest countries decided they did not trust the proposed body, because the majority of member countries were impoverished, and some were Communist. So they formed GATT which would confine

itself to cutting border tariffs on the trade in physical goods, and have nothing to do with the UN. From its inception in 1947, GATT held eight rounds of talks, with the aim and effect of gradually opening world markets and promoting free trade.

During the period of decolonisation after the war, newly independent Southern nations demanded radical change from the privileged circle of North America and Western Europe. Ellwood (2001) describes how the movement to shake off the legacy of colonialism and to fight for a new global system based on economic justice between nations - a 'new international economic order' (NIEO) was declared in 1974. Some nations began to explore ways of increasing their bargaining power with industrialised countries, by taking advantage of their control over key resources. The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) aimed to co-operate to control the supply of petroleum. There was already opposition to the growing power of transnational corporations who were seen to shape the world in their own interests, with control of processing, distribution and marketing. There was talk of 'producer cartels,' to raise prices of exports like sugar, coffee, cocoa, tin and rubber. Many Southern nations favoured an active government role in controlling their national economies, with regulation of foreign investment. Poor nations came together in organisations like the Non-Aligned Movement, which was initially an attempt to break out of the polarised East/West power struggle between the West and the Soviet Bloc. In the United Nations, developing countries formed the 'Group of 77' which was instrumental in creating the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Within UNCTAD, poor countries pushed for fairer 'terms of trade' (Ellwood, 2001).

While developing nations formed alliances and attempted to introduce some concept of justice into the system of global trade through the ITO, the NIEO, producer cartels and UNCTAD, this history is largely absent from television portrayals of development. Such omissions enhance the view of the current economic order as being 'inevitable'. The dominance of Western interests is critical in understanding how such proposals were either ignored, or undermined. Further consideration of the concept and measurement of development, which emerged in the 1960s, is available in Appendix 1. While the US and Europe ensured that GATT consolidated their interests, dramatic changes were occurring in the international lending system. Credit lines from Western nations and the Bretton Woods institutions were extended for governments buying large quantities of armaments from northern suppliers. As well as the interest that accumulated, the price for such loans involved adapting local economies to suit Western

models of international trade. Many of the changes advocated by this neo-liberal approach to the global economy were to become embodied in the World Trade Organisation.

The WTO

In order to understand the global economy, it is necessary to consider the role of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), which emerged from the Uruguay round of GATT negotiations in 1994. As of Autumn 2003, it has a membership of 146 countries. Although the WTO is an international body, one of the key concerns about its operations is that it is far from representative. In continuity with the history of capitalist trade, rich countries, which have had greater influence in setting up the WTO, continue to ensure that its operations favour their interests. The role of national governments in defending the interests of their populations has been limited by WTO regulations, while the organisation is heavily influenced by corporate lobbying (see Nader, 1999 and Wallach and Sforza, 1999). As trade has globalised, so has production. There are many studies which document how and why TNCs move factories between countries across the globe. This enables companies to take advantage of cheaper labour costs in the South, while governments of many countries attempt to lure industry with reduced tax bills, in an attempt to secure employment for their populations. The WTO has facilitated this process by removing restrictions on government regulation of production and investment (see Beck, 2000, Klein, 2000 and Ellwood, 2001).

The expansion of trade in goods and services under capitalist globalisation is based on the concept of 'comparative advantage,' as defined by Ricardo¹ in the *Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation* (cited in Ransom 2000). Nations should specialise in producing goods in which they have a natural advantage and thereby find their niche in the market. However, the orthodoxy that expansion in trade is, in itself, a means for poor countries to develop, is an increasingly contested view. There are few areas in which free trade orthodoxy is more contested than in the production of food, while food security remains a critical issue in many countries. The emphasis on export oriented mass agricultural production is often to the detriment of domestic development. Many

¹ Ransom (2001) notes that Mrs Jane Marcet's *Conversations on Political Economy* appeared a year before Ricardo published his work with the more or less complete theory of comparative advantage set out in the form of a dialogue.

countries in the South have large populations of subsistence farmers, whose income is threatened by exposure to international competition. Local produce is undermined by cheap imports, as with maize in Mexico (Appendix 2). Further, domestic production is particularly important for countries short of foreign exchange for purchasing food imports. The question of who controls food production is central to understanding famine:

The relationship between cash crops, particularly those for export, and subsistence crops for local consumption has occasioned an intense and sometimes bitter debate that has been going on for decades, if not centuries, and goes to the very heart of the capitalist global system and its transnational contradictions (Waters 2000, cited in Sklair 2002, p145).

The double trading standards of rich countries have recently been highlighted by development NGOs. While more than fifty developing countries depend on three or fewer commodities for more than half of their export earnings, terms of trade maintain advantages for importers in the North (Oxfam 2002). In response to criticisms about this uneven playing field, EU trade commissioner Pascal Lamy and others billed the WTO talks in Doha, in November 2001, as a 'development round'. However, the EU managed to defend its right to dump subsidised farm products in poorer countries and northern governments have increased their agricultural subsidies. Caroline Lucas (2001) reported that immense pressure was exerted on developing countries during the talks, including threats of withdrawal of aid and debt relief. Six months after the talks, in May 2002, President Bush signed into law a farm bill providing new subsidies for US farmers over the next decade.

There are various trade-related areas under the jurisdiction of the WTO, which present threats to development. I will briefly consider two of these. First, intellectual property rights and secondly, the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). Although the GATS has global implications for services, it is largely unreported by western media.

Intellectual Property: The WTO Agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property (TRIPs) establishes global property rights on ideas, artistic creations and technological innovations, requiring member countries to enforce domestic legislation in this area. Through TRIPs, rich countries have secured a set of protectionist rules that

extend the standard period for patents on intellectual property to 20 years. TRIPs decrees that food and medicine must be privatised through global patent law - highlighting the commercial values of the WTO. Again, this threatens food security by exacerbating food and seed access and distribution problems. One provision requires that member countries protect agribusiness ownership over plant varieties, and seeds. This provides new means of consolidating the power of multinational biotechnology companies, by shifting ownership and control of seed stocks away from farmers. This system also gives patents for indigenous knowledge. The rule that makes it mandatory for all WTO member countries to patent certain life forms and living processes is Article 27.3(b). A proposal from the African Group, submitted by Kenya in August 1999, sought to clarify that neither living organisms nor natural processes could be patented; that the innovations of indigenous and farming communities in developing nations be protected; and that traditional farming practices be preserved. However, according to Khor and Oh (2001), little discussion of these proposals has taken place.

The General Agreement on Trade in Services: GATS was originally agreed at the WTO in 1994, identifying 160 sectors, ranging from hi-tech telecommunications to emptying the dustbins, to be subject to its rules. While trade agreements on products have focused mainly on external barriers, such as tariffs, GATS is different. The rules regarded as 'barriers to trade' are local and national government rules and policies. Where governments either directly deliver a service, or set conditions on companies operating in the sector, these rules are what the WTO describes as 'barriers to trade' in services, which GATS is designed to remove. NGOs primarily concerned with development, such as the WDM (2001) have highlighted the implications of GATS for both rich and poor countries. Under GATS Article XIX, all WTO members are committed to 'successive rounds of negotiations... with a view to achieving a progressively higher level of liberalisation.' Privatisation is one of the key concerns of critics of globalisation, principally because private services are run on the ability to pay, whereas public services retain some relationship with need and equity. Critics fear that privatisation will exacerbate the two-tier system that exists in many countries, where those who cannot afford insurance premiums will be subjected to third rate services.

Trade in water and sanitation raises significant development concerns, particularly with regard to health. Over one billion people across the developing world still lack access to safe drinking water, and 2.4 billion people - two fifths of the world's population - do not have adequate sanitation. As a result, more than two million children die from

sanitation-related diseases every year, while millions more suffer from health hazards (UNICEF 2000). Privatisation of services in both rich and poor countries have proved so detrimental to public safety in some cases, that they have been reversed in the past few years. The railways is an example in the UK. The selling of the public water industry in Cochabamba, Bolivia in 1999 is another. The sell-off to Bechtel² and International Waters Ltd of London (amongst others) resulted in crippling charges. Mass protests in April 2000 succeeded in having the industry renationalised (WDM, 2000a). However, if GATS were implemented as planned, the Bolivian government would be unable to reverse such an agreement. The WDM has highlighted the virtually impossible conditions that would have to be met to withdraw from a commitment. Corporate lobbyists have been working intensively behind the scenes to persuade the United States and the EU to allow service-based multinationals greater freedom in politically sensitive areas. The European Services Forum (a corporate lobby group) has pressurised the EU to negotiate on its behalf through the WTO to allow it to break into the developing world's utility markets. The European Commission (1999) is also clear that GATS exists first and foremost as a means to further corporate interests, arguing that its primary purpose is to benefit business, and particularly service companies.

International Debt

Trade and debt are inextricably linked. Southern countries have amassed unmanageable debts because northern governments have stacked the terms of trade heavily in their own favour. Creditor nations have compounded the problem by insisting that debtor nations further modify their economies to serve the demands of an unequal global market. Meanwhile, as many poor countries spend more on servicing debt than on health and education, development is hindered, or reversed. Rowbotham (2000, p.10) describes Third World Debt as 'the greatest economic, cultural and humanitarian disaster of the twentieth century'. This crisis formed the basis of an international campaign to cancel third world debt at the end of the twentieth century. While the campaign managed to engage a wide audience with an aspect of international economics, Rowbotham argues that it failed by tackling symptoms not causes. The merits and limitations of the

² The San Francisco based Bechtel Group has reportedly completed 19,000 projects in 140 countries. (Shultz, 2002). Following the war in Iraq in 2003, the initial infrastructure contract was awarded to Bechtel by the US development agency, USAid. Bechtel was then in a position to decide how to contract out the bulk of the 'Iraq pie' (Millar, 2003).

campaign will be considered further below and in Parts Two and Three in case studies of television coverage and audience responses to the subject. First however, it is necessary to consider the debt crisis in its historical context and in relation to the global economy.

There were two critical periods in the twentieth century, when responses to financial instability resulted in global shifts in trade and debt relations. In the first case, the creation of the Bretton Woods bodies during the post-war period, institutionalised trade advantages for the West. Secondly, the debt crises of the 1980s further consolidated disadvantages for debtor nations. A brief description of these events will be followed by reference to campaigns targeted at the Bretton Woods institutions, and the responses to these by the institutions as well as the leaders of the world's wealthiest nations. As with the discussion of the history of trade relations, the story of third world debt indicates the structural basis of unequal economic development between North and South. Alternative institutions that would have created a more level playing field, were proposed, and rejected in favour of models with built-in advantages for the North.

Bretton Woods

During the Depression years of the 1930s, trade was aggressive and continual trade imbalances led to the establishment of 'creditor' and 'debtor' countries. There were unsuccessful attempts to reactivate and regulate the stagnating world economy through international financial institutions. Finally, war spending revived the flagging western economies and mopped up the reserve army of unemployed. But the US was the only major industrial nation not to be crippled by the war. The allied war effort had been funded by the 'Lend-Lease' Agreement', under which the US provided arms and supplies to the Allies, agreeing to settle accounts after the war. Through this agreement the dollar emerged as the dominant force in post-war reconstruction (Rowbotham 2000). As mentioned above, the Marshall Plan, which came with a condition of political loyalty to the US, funded European reconstruction. Where bilateral trade had prevailed before the war, the Allies collaborated with the US in constructing a multilateral world trading system. Thus, as Rowbotham argues, the US gained entry into traditionally protected European trading areas. This was the background to Bretton Woods. America and Britain each tabled proposals outlining a framework for international trade. Rowbotham (2000) has documented how Keynes' proposals for an International Clearing Union were rejected by the American delegation shortly before the conference. Keynes

planned to foster a balance of trade between nations, proposing a global financial institution that would charge interest on both debt and credit. Creditor nations would thus be encouraged to spend their surpluses in debtor nations, automatically correcting imbalances in trade. He argued that a financial system that imposed penalties and strictures on debtor nations, but not creditor nations, would polarise national economies. However, the notion that the US might be obliged to expend her surplus trade revenues back into other economies was deemed unacceptable by the American delegation (Rowbotham, 2000).

The original mandates of the IMF and World Bank, the 'Bretton Woods institutions' were to fund post-war reconstruction and development projects, lend hard currency to nations with temporary balance of payments deficits and to help prevent future conflicts. The World Bank makes long-term loans to governments for projects and loans in support of IMF programmes. The IMF, which is an organisation of 183 member countries, makes short-term loans to mainly developing countries with balance of payments difficulties. It imposes economic programmes - known initially as Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and more recently as poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs) - on debtor countries. As critics argue, through such measures, indebted countries are forced to deregulate their economies and accept unfavourable terms of trade. These multilateral lending institutions, are therefore key players in the advancement of globalisation. World Bank projects are increasingly privatised, as Sklair (2002) notes. The major TNCs and their local affiliates are therefore the beneficiaries of such development. They don't even have to risk their own money as most of the bills are paid out of the taxes of local workers whose governments fund the Bretton Woods institutions. The key point here is that global lending institutions were designed with in-built advantages or disadvantages, compounding creditor or debtor status. This situation was to be further consolidated in the second crisis period.

The crisis years of the 1980s

The 1980s were a critical decade in building the foundations for the current debt crises. The 1970s and 1980s involved deterioration in trade terms for primary commodity producers in Africa and Latin America. As prices plummeted, interest rates on debts soared. By the early 80s many countries were borrowing money just to pay the interest on debts. By 1982 Mexico could not pay and the debt crisis was born. Lang and Hines (1993) describe the 'vicious circle' through which poor countries produce more

commodities that others profit from, in order to stand still. The 1979 oil shock resulted in soaring oil prices, and this, combined with a rise in interest rates on top of unfair trade terms was catastrophic for many developing countries. A period of liberalisation followed the slump. Rich countries lent to poor countries firstly through government to government transactions (bilateral debt) and private banks. Castells (1996) is among those who argue that there was a surplus of petrodollars to be recycled in the global financial markets at the very moment when advanced economies were in the worst recession since the 1930s. Private international banks, especially in America, saw an opportunity in lending to Latin American governments, especially those who were oil rich. Rich countries also lent to poor countries via the Bretton Woods institutions (multilateral debt). Ellwood (2001) has documented how World Bank president Robert McNamara contracted huge loans to the South in the 1970s, providing a bulwark against the perceived worldwide communist threat. The Bank's stake in the South increased five-fold over the decade. Loans were made on condition of implementation of rigorous controls over public spending - under Structural Adjustment Programmes. The currency is devalued to boost exports and pay off more of the debt. State-run industries are privatised, resulting in job losses and the loss of services to poor and remote areas. As Rowbotham (2000) argues, these conditions have amounted to international economists virtually taking control of these nations, demanding that debtor nations adhere strictly to an economic programme that is avowedly corporate-friendly.

This period is regarded as critical in stalling, if not reversing, developmental progress in poor countries. Pilger (1992) commented that the 1980s were the decade of global impoverishment, producing the greatest division between rich and poor in the history of humankind. Palast (2000b) has reported on the grim statistics resulting from lending policies of the 80s, with reference to poverty, and reduced literacy and life expectancy. As Castells (1998) comments, African and Latin American governments attempted to use their borrowed funds to convert to industrialisation and commercial agriculture, undermining production for local markets and subsistence. Economist Susan George, (1992) a former member of staff at the World Bank, is now a key critic of the Bretton Woods institutions, arguing that they succeeded in squeezing debtors dry, transferring enormous resources from South to North. Despite the counter-developmental consequences of Bretton Woods policies through the late twentieth century, the same policy agenda continues.

Debt campaigns

A wide-ranging anti-debt movement has been active for years in Southern countries. As with other aspects of the anti-globalisation/pro-democracy movement, debt protests in the South tend to receive scant attention in Western media (see Chapter Three).³ The other focus here is the UK based international campaign group Jubilee 2000, an umbrella organisation which was set up in 1996 and generated a broad level of public support in the west. It was conceived by anti-poverty campaigners, linking the idea of debt relief to the biblical concept of Jubilee⁴. As the millennium approached there were Jubilee campaigns in over 35 countries. The campaign had a surge in support following the linking of a natural disaster in Honduras to its unmanageable debt. The relevant disaster was a hurricane in 1999, which had severe consequences for Honduras.⁵ In aiming to change international policy on debt, Jubilee 2000 worked to engage the wider public in supporting this effort. Where debt cancellation was achieved, positive results were achieved with the redistribution of resources.⁶ Despite such developments, progress has been limited, and IMF conditionality remains harsh.

Television portrayals and audience responses to the debt campaign will be considered in Parts Two and Three. At this point, it is worth considering the reservations expressed by Rowbotham (2000) on the limitations of the Jubilee debt campaign. First, he argues, the categorisation of debtor nations and the focus on Heavily Indebted Poor Countries restricted the campaign to less than 20% of Third World debts. Second, it accepted the terms under which the World Bank agreed to consider debt remission and 'obtained the

³ Further discussion of the coverage of anti-IMF campaigns in the South are available in Miller (2003).

⁴ Debt remission and freedom for debt slaves was ordained to occur every fifty years in the Old Testament.

⁵ Special news reports of the effect on Honduras are included in Part Two. A further example of a report on third world debt, discussed in Part Two, concerns Tanzania. Analysis of these news features will include consideration of the relationship between NGOs, television and the public.

⁶ Elliott (2000a) reported that in Uganda debt relief was used to double primary school enrolment. In Bolivia funds were directed to the poorest municipalities. In Mozambique, a reduction in annual payment from \$127 million to \$52 million allowed more spending on hospitals and housing. The April 2001 *Reality Check* report from successor campaign group *Drop the Debt* indicated debt relief in Mozambique enabled vaccination of half a million children against killer diseases and provided schooling in Honduras.

apparent concession that incompetence and corruption were grounds for debt 'forgiveness' (p197). Advocates of debt relief then compounded stereotypes by seeking to attribute debt to corruption and incompetence wherever possible. Rowbotham's third criticism is that the campaign accepted the concept of 'sustainable' debt, whereas the argument evidenced in his book is that Third World debt is '*inherently* unrepayable'.

In January 2000, the resignation from the World Bank by Joseph Stiglitz, its ex-chief economist and vice-president, provided a boost to debt campaigners. Stiglitz (cited in Martin, 2000) became an outspoken critic of World Bank policy, arguing that it was undemocratic and unrepresentative. He confirmed what critics had claimed, that the institutions had a role in the development of the Asian financial crisis (Aslam, 2000). In February 2001, the retiring head of the IMF, Michael Camdessus, made a speech including the comment that widening gaps between rich and poor within and between nations were 'potentially socially explosive' (Simms, 2002). Mindful of the criticisms levelled at them by NGOs, anti-capitalist protestors, and former staff like Stiglitz, the IMF and World Bank embarked on a public relations exercise in 1999-2000. The World Bank website's homepage is now headed "The World Bank Group: Our Dream is a World Free of Poverty." Structural Adjustment Programmes ((SAPs) became poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs), which poor country governments now produce in consultation with civil society before receiving debt relief. As Rowbotham (2000) argues, while there has been a verbal shift to advocating 'poverty alleviation', 'sustainable development' and 'environmental protection'; PRSPs remain grounded in neo-classical orthodoxy.

The reputation of the IMF was further dented as an economic crisis in Argentina began to loom towards the end of 2001. Argentina had been the Fund's star pupil for a decade. Following Mexico's 1995 financial crisis, meltdown in East Asia in 1997 and in Russia a year later, the devastation to Argentina's economy consolidated criticisms. True to form, the fund had coerced Buenos Aires to implement austerity measures in the middle of a recession, with disastrous effects. The ensuing riots and deaths on the streets of Argentina illustrated the human consequences of such unsustainable policies. Under Carlos Menem's leadership, the country undertook a series of far-reaching reforms in the 90s, including privatisation and the opening of the economy to foreign trade and investment. While foreign multinationals repatriated the massive profits generated, ordinary Argentineans experienced welfare cuts and wage decreases. Palast (2002a) argues that the normal interest plus additional premium interest demanded for loans in

2001 amounted to \$27 billion a year. While Argentina's debt grew, none of the money actually escaped New York, where it lingered to pay interest to US creditors holding the bonds. A more recent example concerns the food crisis facing Malawi in 2002/2003. There was some dispute as to whether the IMF had instructed the government of Malawi to sell its emergency grain reserves to repay a debt of £9m, and to pursue a disastrous policy of privatisation (Pratt 2002). In any case, Owusu and Ng'ambi (2002) blame the IMF, the World Bank and bilateral donors, for mandating policies to remove subsidies which supported livelihoods and food for the poor while requiring privatisation and/or cost recovery of key functions within the public sector.

Aid and development

I will now briefly consider how aid has operated in a post-colonial context, with particular reference to its administration under globalisation. In order to understand how aid works, it needs to be considered in the wider context of economic policies that tend to work to the advantage of the North. Development as a post-war concept described the process by which poor countries could 'catch up' with the industrialised world (see Appendix 1). While the manner in which 'development' is measured has evolved to take social as well as economic measures into consideration, key concerns remain about how terms like aid and development mask policy contradictions, a central concern of this section. In fact, an examination of key trends in international aid indicates that, as well as a reduction in levels of aid overall, the supply of finance from North to South has increasingly entailed conditions which favour donor countries, and in some cases corporations.

While incomes have polarised internationally during the period of globalisation, the level of financial aid from rich to poor countries has reduced. Overall aid from OECD countries to developing countries fell to an all-time low in 1999, with most donor countries still failing to reach the UN target of 0.7 per cent of GNP (Christie and Warburton, 2001). In 2000, the US gave just 0.1% - the lowest of any country involved. Only 5 of the 22 OECD countries achieved 0.7% - Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Portugal and Ireland have set dates to achieve it by 2006 and 2007 respectively. Meanwhile, private investments have become the main source of finance for many countries in the South, growing by more than five times during the 1990s. Because private finance is entirely profit based it mainly goes to economically attractive markets, and often to resource extractive sectors. The poorest

countries receive very little foreign direct investment, receiving just 0.5% of world financial flows in 1998 (Black, 2002). An additional concern is that one third of international assistance to developing countries is given on condition that it is used to purchase products and services from donor countries. Black uses the term development destruction to describe major infrastructure projects such as dam building, and development displacement to describe those millions of people who are dispossessed by such projects. As Christie and Warburton argue, the targeting of aid to certain countries further undermines the ethical public pronouncements of donors. The largest recipients of aid from OECD countries in 1999 were Israel, China and Indonesia - none of which are in the poorest category of human development according to the UNDP.

As with financial deregulation, aid policy has been increasingly shaped by capitalist globalisation. Curtis (2003) describes the key problems with aid administration from North to South as centred on the conception of democracy emanating from the World Bank and the transnational elite. Western governments work through civil society groups and NGOs to promote the neo-liberal agenda, using aid to support local and Northern NGOs. While much aid to NGOs provides substitute funding for alternatives to state provision of services, the involvement of TNCs in service provision is actively encouraged. Curtis (2003, p248) comments: 'Although they may seem independent and critical of government policy, most northern NGOs receive government funding and are afraid of criticising government policy outside of narrow limits.' The IFRC (2003) *World Disasters Report* warned that aid agencies are shifting their priorities to respond to high-profile, politically strategic conflicts such as Iraq and Afghanistan, rather than assessing where need is greatest. Further, the sudden influx of aid agencies after a conflict or disaster can hinder recovery. Over 350 international aid agencies arrived in Afghanistan in 2002, driving up local rents, inflating salaries and pulling away skilled Afghans from the government and vital services. As Black (2002) argues, too much importance is attached to the role of international organisations and to notions of 'international development'. While the international apparatus is significant in regulation of the global commons, and as an aid source, its role in designing and implementing development is less easy to determine. The evidence is overwhelming that initiatives designed and driven from the outset by indigenous actors are at lower risk of failure than aid-driven initiatives, whose rates of failure are notoriously high (Sogge 2002).

Many western governments, as well as aid and development agencies - still operate under attitudes redolent of imperialism. As Goudge (1999) argues, while agencies

carefully select phrases emphasising 'partnership, empowerment, grassroots initiatives,' the major decisions are still made in the capitals of the west. Black (2002) is similarly sceptical of words such as 'partnership', arguing instead that the relationship between donors and recipients, with donors in the driving seat, has helped to perpetuate an axis of superiority and inferiority. The implication is that 'development' is a phenomenon exclusive to poor countries - different from economic or social advance in the industrialised world, even though poverty is not confined to the South. The role of the media has been called to question in this respect. In accord with Black, Moeller (1999) argues that iconographic reporting feeds into simplistic solutions. Former aid worker Tony Vaux (2001) requests that the media stop colluding with aid agencies, relying on images of poor victims, so as not to undermine public confidence. Television portrayals of aid administration, and audience responses to these, are key components of the discussion in Parts Two and Three.

The Global Casino

As has been shown throughout Chapter One, the role of the international financial institutions (IFIs) is central to capitalist globalisation. I will now briefly consider their role in deregulation of financial speculation, which has had dramatic impacts on the economies of many countries in the South. Following the Second World War, the IMF and World Bank were designed to liberalise trade, while capital movements were to be regulated and controlled. At that time, the economist, J. M. Keynes warned that unregulated flows of international capital would remove power from elected politicians and put it into the hands of the rich investors, whose ultimate allegiance was to their own self-interest (Ellwood, 2001). The original system remained in place until the 1980s, when there was an explosion of capital flows. In effect, this was a switch from transactions relating to the 'real' economy to speculation. As Rowbotham (2000) argues, the warning issued by Keynes should have been heeded. In practice, the build-up of international capital, coupled with extensive further deregulation, has led to the development of a predatory international financial sector, focused on extractive gain. The figures for the increase in the amount of unregulated, speculative capital are remarkable. Chomsky (1995, p.60) refers to the work of financial specialist John Eatwell, who estimates that, in 1970, about 90% of international capital was used for trade and long-term investment - and 10% for speculation. Even by 1990, those figures had reversed; 90% for speculation and 10% for trade and long-term investment. Speculative investments consist of gambling on currencies, stock options, and

commodity futures: simply using money to make money. The now fully computerised global finance system means that investors can make an immediate profit from minute fluctuations in the price of currencies. The relevant investment funds are 'hedge funds:'

Hedge funds leverage, or borrow from, commercial banks up to *one hundred times* the amount of money they actually hold. This gives them colossal financial power and the mayhem that can result was demonstrated during the Asian financial crisis as well as on 'Black Monday', when the British pound came under attack and was forced to leave the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (Rowbotham, 2000, p180).

Financial deregulation has weakened the power of government to control national economies and protect people's jobs. George (1999) and Ellwood (2001) are among those who argue that this has resulted in the world becoming a 'global financial casino.' Ellwood shows that the World Bank, the IMF and the US Treasury stridently preached the benefits of liberalising financial markets in the 1990s, pressing Third World governments to open their stock markets and financial service industries. But as McDougall (2000) argues, these activities are increasingly crippling development. When the bottom falls out of a country's market the only way for speculators to bet is on the currency becoming weaker - hastening and exacerbating the effects of decline. In the past, most central banks had enough cash reserves to protect their currency from speculative attack. Now speculators have more cash than all the world's central banks put together. Mexico's peso crisis is one example of the financial disaster that can result from this type of speculation. In the early 90s, Mexico was praised by the IMF for taking steps to make its economy attractive to short-term foreign investors. The country even created special bonds, called tesobonos, to enable people to invest easily. Circumstances changed when American interest rates went up, which made it more profitable to invest in the US, while around the same time a new Mexican president came to power, which created uncertainty. The result was that panic ensued, investors bailed out and suddenly Mexico was devastated by the 'peso crisis' of 1994-5 (Sullivan, 2001).

An even more catastrophic example of the damage caused by speculation was the 1997 Asian economic crisis, which started in Thailand and rapidly spread around the region. Prior to 1997 the World Bank had claimed the rapid growth of the tiger economies as success stories for free market economics and globalisation. However, as Green (2000)

Rowbotham (2000) and Ellwood (2001) argue, the argument is inadequate as these economies were built partly on protectionist policies aiming to develop locally owned industries, sometimes with laws giving them advantages over foreign investors. As a result of pressure from the IMF, the tigers began to open up their capital accounts and private sector businesses began to borrow heavily. Their decline coincided with the opening of their borders to free trade. As Rowbotham (2000) argues, it is ironic that the tiger economies were blamed for the crash, while trying to play the Western economic game by the letter. Some compare the crisis, in terms of its destructive impact, with the Great Depression of 1929 (Ellwood, 2001).

Arch-capitalist George Soros has in recent years become one of the critics of the global casino. Soros (1998) describes the Asian financial crisis as particularly unnerving because of its scope and severity. Referring to the 'herd-instinct' of investors, he admits that the international financial system itself constituted the main ingredient in the meltdown process, which also engulfed Russia, South Africa and Brazil. Only the speculators are winners when catastrophe strikes. Some big prize takers emerged from the Asian meltdown. Western corporate interests rushed in to snap up the region's assets after the economic collapse. Huge bailout loans were quickly advanced for the Far East, Russia and Latin America. As former US Trade Representative Mickey Kantor commented, the recession in the 'Tiger Economies' was a golden chance for Western commercial interests: 'When countries seek help from the IMF,' he said, 'Europe and America should use the IMF as a battering ram to gain advantage' Ellwood (2001, p83). Other advantages were gained from the Asian financial crisis. America's financial sector experienced a boom (Rowbotham, 2000). The result of the emergency IMF programmes was to cement the commitment to liberalisation, opening up markets to US companies and forcing sales of assets to US investors. Rowbotham argues that apart from South Korea, the tiger economies had all started from a financial position in which their international debt was low. As he comments, thanks to the chaos potential of the global casino, third world debt can now strike out of the blue. The point is that the type of deregulation advocated by the IFIs increases instability. While there is clear evidence of impoverishment of many countries as a result of deregulation, this has consolidated advantages for key rich nations, consistent with Bourdieu's argument that a handful of dominant nations now control international finances.

Discussion

Chapter One has considered the key economic factors relevant to understanding capitalist globalisation. One of the key reasons for this investigation has been to set television representations of development in context. This account has emphasised that, in contrast to the view that capitalist globalisation is inevitable, alternative credible proposals from the South have been formulated but systematically ignored in favour of policies which favour the interests of the economically powerful nations. While resistance to capitalist globalisation had been until recently, dismissed as an 'anti' movement, there are increasing moves towards formulating alternatives. In the next chapter I will consider further the key impacts of capitalist globalisation, with particular emphasis on its impact on democracy. First I will conclude Chapter One by considering the key economic features of capitalist globalisation, and refer to some of the alternatives proposed. Sklair (2002) conceives of a shift towards socialist globalisation taking place through the transformation of human rights. Both Monbiot (2003a) and Callinicos (2003) have produced manifestos for the movement. While it is not within the scope of this thesis to consider all the alternatives proposed, the key point is to emphasise that such debates are taking place.

The deregulation of financial markets is fundamentally associated with the values of neo-liberalism. One of the alternatives proposed by the NGOs Attac and War on Want, in order to curb speculative investment is a Tobin type tax (of around 0.25%) on international financial transactions. This would slow down global finance, and generate resources for funding development. As well as the Tobin tax, the suppression of tax havens would help to stop speculative capital flows. Denny (2001) comments that the Tobin tax faces stiff opposition from those who profit from speculation and would be difficult to force across financial markets. Denny points to a second problem, which is that a small tax would be unlikely to deter investors from withdrawing their money if they saw an economy in crisis. Tobin tax supporter Heikki Patomäki acknowledges that the Tobin Tax does not address 'the problem of financial *short-termism* as a whole' or 'the *governance of credit and investments* in the global political economy' (cited in Callinicos, 2003, p.34). However, the proposal has a strong support base and could assist redistribution from North to South.

This account began by considering the history of trade under capitalism, indicating how disadvantages to commodity producers have been built in to the trading system. Under globalisation, concentration within industry sectors is having devastating effects on producers. While globalisers argue that, by the laws of comparative advantage, each

nation should benefit from its specialist area in trade, this belies the fact that the WTO has failed to address the continuing and devastating collapse in the price of primary commodities. Meanwhile double standards continue to operate in the terms of trade between North and South. While poor countries are pressurised into removing national food subsidies, rich countries maintain their preferential tariffs. Lucas (2001) questions the reformist potential of organisations like the WTO, especially given its failure to live up to its promises at the so-called 'development round' in Doha in 2001. Agricultural production has been the focus of much of this discussion because of its particular significance for the South. As Shiva (2002b) argues, the context of trade is critical. As export-led models of trade have led to a shift from food first to export first policies, agriculture in many countries has moved from a peasant occupation of millions to control by a handful of agribusiness corporations. Such corporations seek to service luxury consumption by the rich, without regard to local food security or sustainability. In contrast to the argument that increased trade can only benefit the poor, a recent UNCTAD (2002) report concluded that many lower income countries had increased their share of world trade without a rise in income. Developing countries which followed the advice of the IFIs and diversified out of raw materials into manufacturing, often became trapped in 'international production networks.' They assembled imported parts in low-skilled, labour intensive industries, owned by TNCs. Developed countries 'locked in' the benefits of technology, research and development and brand, while poorer trading partners compete against each other to provide low-cost labour (see Bello, 2002).

The role of TNCs has been significant in determining terms of trade between North and South. There are exceptions to this trend, particularly fair-trade produce.⁷ However, concentration of power within the food industry is indicated by the growth of key food

⁷ While the WTO shifts the trade goalposts further away from the producers of primary commodities towards TNCs, some independent trade organisations are working in the opposite direction. Fair traders in the North are linking with Southern producers to secure a more equitable deal. Young (2000) describes how a variety of organisations coalesced in 1997 as Fair-trade Labelling Organisations International (FLO). The products include coffee, tea, bananas, cocoa, honey and orange juice. FLO members have agreed principles, including: democratic organisation, recognised trade unions, no child labour, decent working conditions, environmental sustainability and a price that covers production costs. While fair trade works for producers of the commodities described, the largest part of international trade takes place in manufactured goods.

giants following a wave of take-overs in 1998 and 1999 (Farrelly, 2000). Of the top ten food companies in both years, seven were American multinationals, with the remaining three European. As well as food production, retailers have considerable impact on terms of trade. The role of Western supermarkets is emphasised by Sklair (2002).⁸

Meanwhile, many TNCs are adjusting their corporate strategies to accommodate consumer demands for ethics. Cowe (1999) argues that because TNCs are driven by the profit motive, the onus remains on ethical investors to keep up the pressure. There are concerns about such campaigns, however well intended. Giddens and Hutton (2001) Korten (1996) and Klein (2000) point to the limitations of consumer boycotts, as campaigns tend to be organised around well-publicised flashpoints, rather than changing the system.

Following the second-world war the opportunity was presented to create a fair and self-balancing international banking system. What emerged instead was a global trading system, proposed by the US, which secured its economic hegemony and ensured the enduring indebtedness of poorer countries, with trade terms stacked against them. Despite the introduction of the new poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs), conditions imposed by lending institutions continue to require that countries prime their economies for globalisation. Such conditions focus on stimulating primary commodity exports, despite the fact that prices for such products are in freefall.

Third World debts could be cancelled with little or no cost to anyone. Indeed, cancellation would be not only the simplest process imaginable, but to the general advantage of the world economy. All that is involved is a bit of creative accountancy - something at which the West has shown itself highly adept when this has suited its political purpose (Rowbotham, 2000, p135).

There is widespread agreement that there are flaws in IMF and World Bank policies, with a corresponding move away from the 'Washington consensus' in some quarters. However, opinion is divided as to what should be done. UK chancellor, Gordon Brown is among those who defend these institutions. While acknowledging that more must be done to ensure globalisation works for the poor, he has claimed both institutions play a vital role in preventing instability in the world economy (Denny, 2000c). At the time of

⁸ This issue will be referred to in Part Three, which includes audience responses to a related programme.

the Bretton Woods meeting over fifty years ago, Keynes proposed a Global Central Bank as a way of managing capital flows and trade balances between countries. Critics such as Jane D'Arista (2001) argue for redesigning the global financial institutions to take account of Keynes' proposals. However, as she argues, the dollar helps reinforce a model of neo-colonialism that is already in place (see Ransom 2001). An International Clearing Bank would allow each country to pay for cross-border transactions in its own currency and bar speculators from raiding the world's currency reserves. Callinicos (2003) argues for 'immediate and unconditional cancellation of Third World debt' (p.132). As Rowbotham (2000) argues, debt could be cancelled at little cost to anyone.⁹ The effectiveness on public consciousness of the debt campaign and its coverage on television will be tested in Parts Two and Three.

Chapter One discussed the international machinery of neo-liberal policy. Chapter Two will focus further on concerns surrounding the key impacts of capitalist globalisation.

⁹ This author challenges the popular conception of international debt as consisting of poorer countries indebted to wealthier countries. National and international economies now rely almost entirely upon the creation of money by a process that involves the creation of debt. The wealthier the nation, the larger its debt. While 'debtor' nations must beg for debt deferment and meet stringent conditions, wealthy nations constantly defer their escalating debts.

Chapter Two

Facing the Consequences

Introduction

The rising tide of the global economy will create many economic winners, but it will not lift all boats. [It will] spawn conflicts at home and abroad, ensuring an ever-wider gap between regional winners and losers than exists today. [Globalisation's] evolution will be rocky, marked by chronic financial volatility and a widening economic divide. Regions, countries, and groups feeling left behind will face deepening economic stagnation, political instability, and cultural alienation. They will foster political, ethnic, ideological, and religious extremism, along with the violence that often accompanies it (CIA, 2000).

Despite the promised 'trickle down' effect of capitalist globalisation, it is clear that its architects are not motivated by wealth redistribution. As outlined by the CIA, the excesses of capitalist globalisation are very much in evidence. Each of the three concerns discussed in this chapter has global relevance, impacting more severely in the South. The first is increasing class inequality and the second environmental degradation. These two relate directly to the third, which concerns the incompatibility of neo-liberalism with democracy. Concerns about the progressive dismantling of democratic processes have increasing significance in the 21st century, particularly with the 'war on terrorism'. A key question in discussing the democratic deficit is global governance, and the role of the UN.

Inequality

The promise of higher and converging incomes through globalisation is, as Faux and Mishel (2001, p.93) argue, 'necessary to justify the pain of dislocation that inevitably accompanies fast-paced creative destruction.' Faux and Mishel question the economic and political sustainability of the deregulatory economy. In poorer countries, the tendency of the rich to spend on imports can destabilise growth in the short term, and the tendency to invest their capital elsewhere can undermine it in the long term. On the other hand, the depressed earnings of working families in the USA have led to a massive

increase in consumer borrowing. Globalisation depends on the expansion of consumer culture, although levels of personal debt are already unsustainable as a result (see Chapter Three). Details of specific human costs of increased poverty under globalisation are referred to in Appendix 3. These include the rise of new slavery, the HIV crisis in many countries of the South, and increasing unsanctioned migration from South to North (see Sassen, 2001).

Poverty in the South

As Chapter One described the shortcomings of neo-liberal development policies, and their impact on inequality, this section on poverty will be brief. A number of studies have highlighted increasing class inequality due to globalisation. Using the UNDP's HDI indicators, Weisbrot and others (2001) compared the period 1960 to 1980, when developing countries generally had more inward looking economies, with the period 1980 to 2000, the era of neo-liberal globalisation. The researchers found a clear decline in progress. While the authors state that they cannot link the decline to particular policy prescriptions, they do provide evidence contradicting the claim that the neo-liberal way has been successful in spreading prosperity. Further, Denny (2000a) quotes from an UNCTAD report stating that the number of least developed countries - the world's poorest nations - had risen since 1971 from 25 to 48, with 33 in Africa. Indeed, the 2002 UNCTAD report estimates that the number of people living in extreme poverty in the poorest countries is greater than previously thought, with numbers living on less than a dollar a day set to rise to 420 million over the next decade and a half.¹⁰ For many poor countries, external trade and finance relationships contribute to the poverty trap. Sklair's work (2002) indicates that China's embrace of the market economy has opened up a divide between more affluent urban dwellers and poor farmers. However, the most dramatic consequences of globalisation have been felt in the transition economies of the former Soviet Union, where sharp increases in income inequality have led to poverty and health crisis on a massive scale (Hilary 2001):

Ironically, in the short run at least, the perestroika and glasnost that flung the doors open to capitalist globalisation may have made the societies that emerged

¹⁰ Black (2002) expresses caution on the use of such measures of poverty that fail to take into consideration uncommodified resources. This can result in false assumptions being made about how improvements can be made to people's lives.

from the former Soviet Union and communist Eastern Europe less like the First World it was intended to emulate, and more like the Third World (Sklair 2002, p.235).

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is frequently heralded as a major potential benefit of globalisation for poorer countries in terms of capital formation, technology transfer and job opportunities. In discussing international aid in Chapter One, I discussed the counter-developmental aspects of FDI. As TNCs have relocated production in poor countries, taking advantage of cheap labour and lower production costs, poverty reduction has not emerged. Klein (2000) documents how the idea that Export Processing Zones (EPZs) could help Third World economies took off in the early 80s, when India introduced a five-year tax break for companies manufacturing in its low-wage zones (p.205). These EPZs have emerged more recently as leading producers of garments, toys, shoes, electronics, machinery and car components for TNCs. They have proliferated particularly in China as the largest zone economy, and with growing numbers along the US - Mexico border. The contribution that can be made to the national economy where EPZs are based is limited, given that they are cordoned off and profits expatriated. Concerns have grown about working conditions within EPZs, where unions are often illegal and in many cases, working days last at least 12 hours.

Poverty in the North

There is a large and growing 'South' in the 'North' (Sogge, 2002).

Economic liberalisation and residualisation of welfare have resulted in increasing income polarisation in Western countries, particularly the US and the UK. In addition, increasing numbers of TNCs are relocating their production sites from richer, more costly bases to more profitable sites in the South. Western inequality is at its highest in the wealthiest of nations, the United States. The *Washington Post* (1 March 1998) reported that the richest 1% of the US population possessed more wealth than the total wealth of 90% of the population (cited in Sklair, 2002). Given the increasing tax concessions to the richest Americans from the Bush (Jr) administration, and the devastation of US manufacturing, this gap continues to widen. While the US has been the major benefactor of the globalised economy, the increased wealth has been largely to the benefit of the powerful elites who control industry and finance there. As Monbiot

(2003, p18) comments, 'the world order designed by the rich and powerful has been kind to them.'

Britain, which actively pursues neo-liberal policies, has similarly experienced increasing inequality. According to the Office of National Statistics, the gap between rich and poor in Britain escalated in the 1980s, continuing to increase through the 90s (Travis, 2000). New Labour, which came to power in 1997, sustained the neo-liberal agenda, proving far friendlier to business than to the beleaguered public sector. The first disappointment following the election of the New Labour government was the decision to hold back government spending in the first two years in office. This was followed by rapid assaults on the benefits of single mothers and disabled people.¹¹ At the other end of income polarisation, the argument made, again, in defence of huge executive pay rises is that they will result in a trickle down effect. But, according to the Institute for Fiscal Studies, although earnings are rising across the board, there is a sharp divergence between the richest and poorest sectors of society (Henderson, 2000a). In both Britain and America, corporate salaries are rising much faster than average earnings. US Executive pay packets are 475 times larger than the pay of the average American manufacturing employee. While the salaries of British company directors are overshadowed by American colleagues, the gap in Britain is the widest in Europe (Denny, 2000b). Meanwhile Monbiot (2000a, 2002d) reveals the extent to which New Labour has used public funding to support TNCs in their quest to make massive profits from previously national assets. At the same time, the British chancellor boasted in 2000 that Britain had the lowest rate of corporate tax in any major industrialised country (Monbiot, 2000c). Charles Webster (2002), historian of the NHS argues that New Labour has exceeded the Conservative government in privatising health care, through 'modernising' policies. Whitfield and Escott (2000) make similar points about local government services generally. The opaque decision-making procedures associated with the private finance initiative (PFI) will be discussed under the democratic deficit.

Chomsky (1995) views American society as moving visibly towards a kind of Third World model. American author and health campaigner David Werner (2000) has

¹¹ Meanwhile, McBeth (2002) reported that in August 2002, 18 VSO volunteers from Nigeria were to come to Greenock, near Glasgow, to work with local people on poverty alleviation. Greenock, a former shipbuilding town, now has high unemployment and low life expectancy. McBeth reported that infant mortality is higher in Greenock, Scotland than in Lagos, Nigeria.

highlighted the implications of globalisation on poverty-related health problems. He focuses on the US because, despite its growing economy, it provides the fewest health and welfare benefits to its citizens, and so has the worst health indicators. Incarceration rates in the West are an indicator of poverty. Today, with 5% of the planet's population, the US jails more of its citizens than any other country, with Russia following in second place (McChesney, 2000). England and Wales are highest equal with Portugal in Europe, according to World Prison Brief Online (2003). In relation to the US internal budget, the huge proportion spent on defence diverts dollars desperately needed for health care and poverty alleviation. US military spending is now greater than the next fifteen largest military budgets combined (Bingley 2002). As Werner (2000) notes, this is America's biggest business, with a powerful political lobby, and is a generous donor to the political elite. For Werner, this helps explain why the US government is increasing defence spending back to Cold War levels. The political context of the arms trade is not widely discussed on television (although an exception to this is discussed in Chapter Six). With regard to funding for the war in Iraq, Herbert (2003) reported in the *New York Times*, that this was at the expense of the poorest sectors of the US population, through billions of dollars in cuts for food stamps and child nutrition programmes, and for health care for the poor.

Overall, there is compelling evidence that inequality is increasing globally. It is clear that the effect of neo-liberalism is to exacerbate what Sklair calls the crisis of 'class polarisation.'

The Environment

In 2002 an area the size of a small country, thought to weigh almost 500 million billion tonnes broke off the Antarctic continent and shattered into thousands of icebergs in one of the most dramatic examples yet of the effects of climate change. Scientists from the British Antarctic Survey described the speed of the disintegration of the Larsen B iceshelf as 'staggering' (Vidal 2002).

There are many respects in which capitalist globalisation, with its emphasis on competition, consumption and increasing international trade, has accelerated ecological damage. I will focus mainly on the relationship between globalisation and climate change, and the complex interactions between governments, TNCs and environmentalists on this issue. In many respects, climate change has posed particular

problems for campaigners. The concept of climate change seems imponderable. Natural weather systems appear vast, making it difficult to imagine how human activity can impact on anything so huge. Part of the difficulty in overcoming climate change scepticism, lies in the capacity for human denial, particularly on a subject which is potentially so threatening to humanity, as Cohen (2002) notes. There are also those scientists who maintain that any warming can be explained by natural phenomena. As Monbiot (2003b) notes, "Few of them are climatologists, fewer still are climatologists who do not receive funding from the fossil fuel industry." However, over the last ten years different strands of scientific research have gelled, building greater consensus to the extent that human behaviour is affecting the climate. On 23rd June 1988, James Hansen, a climate scientist with NASA's Goddard Institute, warned a Washington meeting that the world was warming due to greenhouse gases - increased floods and droughts ahead. He made his speech on the hottest day of the year in the US, when the Midwest was in one of its worst droughts. This spurred the setting up of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), a group of nearly 2,500 of the world's top climate scientists. The first report of the IPCC in 1990 was equivocal, as to human impact on the climate. By the second report in 1998, the IPCC confirmed 'a discernible human effect on global climate. According to some sources, there were other reasons why Hansen's speech was taken seriously. Vandana Shiva states:

Thermometers registering a few degrees more in the United States suddenly turned climate change into a 'global' issue. The entire scientific community was immediately mobilised. Contrast this with three years earlier when thousands of famine victims in Ethiopia and Sudan weren't enough to move governments in the North to respond to desertification and drought as global emergencies (cited in Godrej, 2001a, p87).

The weather itself began to throw up nasty surprises and break records with such frequency in the 1990s, it made people begin to take notice. Globally, the 1990s was the warmest decade of the last millennium and 1998 its hottest year (Godrej, 2001a). The World Meteorological Organisation reported that climate change provided an explanation not only for record temperatures in Europe and India in the Summer of 2003, but also for numerous tornadoes in the US (562 in May 2003) and severe floods in Sri Lanka. Sir John Houghton (2003), former head of the Met Office commented that he would have no hesitation in calling global warming 'a weapon of mass destruction.' Houghton highlighted the similarities between terrorism and global

warning: 'Like terrorism, this weapon knows no boundaries. It can strike anywhere, in any form.'

The first UN Conference on the Human Environment was held in Stockholm in 1972. Twenty years later, the 1992 UN Earth Summit in Rio was a milestone in the global environmental debate. Over 160 countries signed the Framework Convention on Climate Change - designed to set industrialised countries down the path of emissions reductions. In the meantime, to deal with the issues of poverty and over-consumption by the rich, the Brundtland Report (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987) defined sustainable development as meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (cited in Ellwood, 2000). The next Earth Summit took place in August 2002 in Johannesburg, South Africa. Expectations were low for the 'World Summit on Sustainable Development' (WSSD). In the ten years since Rio, corporations and their lobby groups had perfected their 'greenwashing' skills, convincing governments and global bodies to allow them to operate increasingly unregulated in the global market.¹² Before the 2002 WSSD began, the UK government was already under fire for the initial decision to leave the UK environment minister, Michael Meacher, out of the UK delegation.¹³ Unfortunately the purpose of the WSSD was undermined by the Summit's failure to confront corporate power in any meaningful way (Bruno, 2002). The UN had arguably already compromised any commitment to taming the corporations in its formation of the Global Compact with TNCs. The industry lobby group Business Action for Sustainable Development (BASD) played a role in undermining the WSSD, by advocating voluntary measures and 'self-regulation' - the type of measures that come under the banner of 'corporate social responsibility' - jargon for avoiding regulation.

Where there is existing international co-operation on environmental issues, the WTO has the capability to undermine it. Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs)

¹² Monbiot (2002a) has documented the strategy of corporate PR groups to recruit prominent green campaigners to boost their credibility.

¹³ Monbiot (2002d) highlighted the symbolic irony that while Meacher, who had demonstrated some concern for the environment, was to be left behind, the Prime Minister was to travel to Johannesburg with the directors of Rio Tinto, Anglo-American and Thames Water, all TNCs which have been linked with serious environmental and/or human rights concerns. Ultimately, Meacher did attend Johannesburg, with the support of NGOs.

cover issues ranging from climate change to air pollution and endangered species. These MEAs embody global progress toward, and commitment to, the preservation of the environment. Yet Wallach and Sforza (1999) demonstrate that many WTO rules explicitly contradict MEAs, including those in effect long before the WTO's formation. In addition to overturning important policies, this trend has an alarming effect on government inclinations to initiate new environmental, human rights or safety laws because they want to avoid WTO challenges. Under the Uruguay Round Agreements, a range of new rules subject a wider range of environmental laws to scrutiny as what are called 'non-tariff barriers' to trade. WTO agricultural policies encourage large-scale intensive farming of single crops for export. As Hart (2001) argues, transporting foodstuffs across the globe is grossly inefficient, and incurs a huge ecological debt, but this is encouraged by WTO rules.

While the rich countries of the North are responsible for the majority of the world's carbon emissions, it is in the South that the worst manifestations of climate change are experienced. It is also the case that the worst excesses of environmental degradation in the North are often experienced by the poorest sectors of the population.¹⁴ However, the position of environmental campaigners is further complicated in the South (Dwivedi 2001). Negotiations for international environmental regulation have been (unsurprisingly) viewed with suspicion by campaigners from the South, as further means of protecting the industry of rich countries in the North. There is growing recognition that both poverty and environmental degradation are increasing under globalisation, and that solutions have to take both factors into account to be effective. Evidence suggests that communities are financially better off in the long term if they work as far as possible to conserve local ecosystems instead of large scale 'development' projects (Connor 2002). Reflecting the core concepts of sustainable development,¹⁵ there is a move towards red-green campaigning - whereby poverty reduction and social

¹⁴ To take one example, Monbiot (2000a) identifies traffic as impacting most on those living in poverty in Britain. While car ownership is much lower among low-income groups, they carry the cost of other people's car use. Wealthy people move away from noisy, busy roads, leaving poor people with the noise, danger and pollution. Children in the poorest economic sector - social class five - are five times more likely to be hit by a car than children in social class one.

¹⁵ Sustainable development has, however, a number of contested meanings. As Sklair (2002) notes, many TNCs now espouse sustainable development. The WBCSD is the key lobbyist for TNCs in this area, leading to what Sklair terms the 'corporate take-over' of sustainable development.

development are viewed as environmental priorities. Capitalist globalisation is predicated on the belief that the resources of the planet are virtually infinite. As Sklair (2002) notes, the notion that the planet can always be repaired and waste disposed of underpins the culture-ideology of consumerism. The challenge from greens is to maintain that the planet's resources are finite and have to be tended.

The Democratic Deficit

The struggle between people and corporations will be the defining battle of the twenty-first century. If the corporations win, liberal democracy will come to an end. The great social democratic institutions, which have defended the weak against the strong -equality before the law, representative government, democratic accountability and the sovereignty of parliament - will be toppled. If, on the other hand, the corporate attempt on public life is beaten back, then democracy may re-emerge the stronger for its conquest (Monbiot, 2000a, p17).

Contradictions between the increasingly influential position of TNCs and democratic accountability are increasingly apparent. The impact of neo-liberalism on democracy is evident globally. Governments in the minority world increasingly represent the interests of TNCs, while majority world governments are subjected to intense international pressure to 'democratise' or liberalise their economies. The democratic deficit corresponds with class polarisation and environmental degradation, as these manifestations of capitalist globalisation are further removed from democratic control. This section will consider the implications for minority and majority worlds, beginning with consideration of the concept of parliamentary democracy. This concept has to be considered in a context of declining participation by electorates in many northern countries and of increasing global protests against neo-liberal institutions and policies. There will then follow a brief consideration of the concept of global decision-making, with reference to the IFIs that currently shape the global economy, largely in accord with the wishes of the G8. This leads to the question of global governance, a concern of pro-democracy campaigners. Central to the demands of such campaigners is that global decision-making bodies should be democratically elected, representative of the global population and should operate transparently. The final section in this discussion of democracy will consider the UN, as the existing global institution with a human rights remit. It is helpful to consider the history of the UN which, as a forum for the economic

agenda for the South, has been systematically undermined by the US in particular (Bello, 2002).

Parliamentary democracy

In this section, I will briefly discuss the declining relevance of parliamentary democracy in the UK and the US, before moving on to consider how democracy in many respects represents a political football in international relations with the South. Many authors have highlighted the influential position of corporations in American government (McChesney, 2000, Danaher, 1996 and George, 1999). Both Monbiot (2000a, 2000b) and Palast (2002b) illustrate the extent to which the British government has collaborated with and ceded power to corporations. Monbiot (2000a, 2002c) highlights the example of the obscurity of PFI in the UK - details are hidden from public view by the blanket ban on disclosure known as 'commercial confidentiality.' His account of the first PFI project in the UK, the Skye bridge toll, indicates that 'laws and procedures were bent or broken by the government to enable private corporations to extract a staggering profit from the people of Skye' (2000a, p25). The shift by the Labour government to embracing such neo-liberal values once in power, and accepting political contributions from the rich and corporations, has had a key role in alienating the UK electorate, contributing to the democratic deficit. The New Labour government's consultation document on democracy and political engagement (2002, p5), claims that this government has 'done much to open up the workings of politics to outside scrutiny, and to reform them where there is legitimate criticism.' However, the steepest decline in general electoral participation in British history took place in the general election of 1997, after four years of New Labour neo-liberalism.¹⁶ The consultation paper focuses largely on presentation of policies and technological solutions to voter participation, rather than any serious questioning of policy itself.

Consumer culture is critical to the discussion of democracy. Under the prevailing ideology of market fundamentalism and individualism, the terms of political debate centre on consumers and not citizens. Packard wrote in the 1950s about the influence of public relations - 'persuaders' - in politics and the increasing focus on form rather than content. Further, as Williams (1985) commented, comparison of manifestos and the actual governmental records of political parties, demonstrates continuous disparity.

¹⁶ Turnout dropped from a previous low of 71% to 59%.

Meanwhile the defensiveness of the UK political establishment is evidenced by the Terrorism Act, of February 2001. Goldsmith (2001) describes the legislation as 'an act of self-defence by a political system that understands the contempt in which it is held by its constituents'. As McChesney (2000, p261) comments of the similar system in the US: "Is it any surprise that voter apathy, cynicism and abstention are so high?"

Western states have historically defended what they perceive as their interests, in deciding what constitutes a democracy in the global South. In many cases, the degree of popular support enjoyed by a government has been less significant than the degree to which a government embraces neo-liberal policies. With this understanding of democracy, neo-liberals like Friedman had no qualms over the military overthrow of Chile's democratically elected government in 1973, because Allende was interfering with business control of Chilean society (McChesney (2000). The consequences for Chilean people, following from the CIA supported overthrow of Allende, and subsequent installation of the Pinochet regime, were brutal. American 'democracy' undermined a foreign government chosen by its own population where the government did not support US economic interests. "I don't see why", said Henry Kissinger of Chile, "we need to stand by and watch a country go communist because of the irresponsibility of its own people" (Pilger, 1998). The World Bank was influential in Chile at this time. Allende's government attempted to follow its own economic policies to manage the debt crisis, through measures including nationalisation of some foreign-owned enterprises, and restrictions on debt repayments to a portion of export revenues deemed manageable. Despite the fact that Allende's government was elected, it was cut off from further loans from the World Bank and commercial capital. Later, under Pinochet's junta, Chile enjoyed the support of the bank as it embraced structural adjustment, regardless of the impact on the Chilean population (Rowbotham, 2000). Other examples of struggles for democracy being smothered included parts of the pan-Africanist movement, such as Nyerere in Tanzania, and Bolivar, Sandino and Zapata in Latin America. Iran's first democratic government was undermined by the CIA, with British assistance, in the 1950s.¹⁷ The USSR also supported various forms of autocratic

¹⁷ Stephen Kinzer's book *All the Shah's Men* (2003) documents the CIA led coup which toppled the democratically elected government of Mossadegh in 1953. This was followed by twenty years of dictatorship under the Shah. Kinzer argues the coup initiated resentment against the US in the Middle East.

state socialism, such as Ethiopia under Mengistu and Pol Pot's Kampuchea (Swift, 2002).

In 2002-2003, several 'progressive' governments were elected in Latin America, including Lula de Silva as the first working class president in Brazil. In Bolivia, the leader of the coca growers' union had a strong second-place finish in the presidential elections of July 2002 (Shultz 2003). He continued to rally mass opposition to the profoundly undemocratic FTAA (Appendix 2). In Uruguay the Frente Amplio, a 'broad front' of left groups is expected to win the elections in 2005 (Elissalde 2003).

Argentina, one of the IMF's former 'poster children' (see p22) saw mass movements of resistance after the state of siege was declared in December 2001. Hugo Chavez was elected President of Venezuela by a landslide in 1998. Inspired by 19th century independence hero Bolivar, he aims for land and wealth redistribution as well as environmental protection. Venezuela is the world's fifth largest oil producer. The role of the US was questioned in the coup that temporarily ousted Chavez, in April 2000. Chavez received advance warning of the coup from the secretary general of OPEC, who advised that the US would prod a long simmering coup into action to break any embargo planned by Libya and Iraq (Palast, 2002c). Two days after the coup, Chavez was returned to power by popular demand. A spokesman for Bush conceded that although Chavez 'was democratically elected' it had to be remembered that 'legitimacy is something that is conferred not just by a majority of the voters, however' (Jones, 2002). This echoes Kissinger's comment following the overthrow of Allende.

While there is much optimism surrounding movements away from neo-liberal control in Latin America, there is also apprehension. Colombia is a cause for serious concern. There is no country where trade unionists face greater danger. According to Amnesty International (2003), paramilitary groups, often acting with the active or tacit support of the Colombian armed forces, have carried out most attacks against trade unionists. Ransom (2003) comments that the key objectives of those attending the World Social Forum at Porto Alegre in 2003 were freedom from the dictatorship of debt, and the proposed FTAA. The second objective, considering Chile in 1973 and Venezuela in 2002, is for the governments of Latin America and beyond to resist the IFIs and the FTAA together.

The Global Decision-Makers

Regarding international governance, in the introduction I discussed the unequal status of nation states according to the economic power they wield, and relative to the IFIs which determine life conditions for most of the world's population.¹⁸ The richer nations have allowed corporations to wield undue influence on the IFIs. While these bodies promote neo-liberalism, there is no effective global body to monitor social and environmental concerns. At the international level, Western 'democracies' have assumed the right to determine which less developed nations fit their criteria for democratic status, largely based on compatibility with the 'Washington consensus.' This interpretation of democracy is a key concern in the discussion of election coverage, in Part Two. Western governments influence poorer countries through bilateral financial arrangements as well as through the global financial institutions. Indebted states have much less freedom to respond to citizens, since they are under pressure to deregulate their economies, in order to obtain loans. They tend to cut welfare spending and public services for fear of capital flight, donor strikes and denial of investment, contributing to diminishing sovereignty (Sogge, 2002).

The WTO should be democratic given that its rules are (theoretically) agreed by consensus. However, as Drewry, Macmullan and Bentall (2002) argue, poor countries are subject to huge amounts of pressure behind the scenes. Rich countries can threaten to reduce aid, withdraw trade contracts and change regional political and defence policies. In approving international trade agreements, governments further cede their flexibility to independently advance health and safety standards that protect citizens. The General Agreement on Trades and Services, currently under negotiation in Geneva presents the greatest threat yet to national sovereignty because the rules regarded as 'barriers to trade' are local and national government rules and policies. The role of corporate lobby groups is important here, in influencing policy decisions.¹⁹ What

¹⁸ A US Treasury Dept. report in the early 1980s captured the dominance exercised by the US in the World Bank in particular: "The US was instrumental in shaping the structure and mission of the world bank along western, market-oriented lines. We were also responsible... for the emergence of a corporate entity with a weighted voting run by the board of directors, headed by a high-calibre American-dominated management, and well-qualified professional staff. As a charter member and major shareholder in the World Bank, the US secured the sole right to a permanent seat on the Bank's Board of Directors" (cited in Bello, 2002, p58).

¹⁹ The Transatlantic Business Dialogue includes TNCs from the US and the EU, working to identify and reduce 'barriers to transatlantic trade' including environment and consumer protection regulations.

further concerns critics such as Danaher (1996) and George (1999) is that there is as yet no effective parallel global governance to ensure that social, environmental and human rights considerations are protected. The United Nations, which came into being at the same time as the Bretton Woods institutions, has a remit of promoting international peace and equity. However, neo-liberalism, corporate influence and the contempt of the US have increasingly combined to emasculate this institution. While capitalism claims a monopoly on democracy, consideration will be given here to the alternative of participatory democracy (Sklair, 2002).

United Nations

The United Nations officially came into existence on 24 October 1945, when ratified by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States and a majority of other signatories. The five countries named here (including Russia as a successor to the Soviet Union) are the permanent members of the 15 member Security Council. The other ten are selected on a rotating basis. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was proclaimed in 1948, a watershed in the legal establishment of rights for individuals and an obligation for states to protect these rights. As critics of capitalist globalisation search for alternative forms of global governance, questions have been raised about the UN's commitment to its human rights foundations. Amartya Sen (2000) is among those arguing for maintenance of a UN role as a 'countervailing power' to balance the IFIs. However, as Monbiot (2002b) argues, the five permanent members of the Security Council also happen to be the world's five biggest arms dealers, raising questions about whose interests are represented.

Chomsky, (interviewed in Stone, 2000)) and Monbiot are among many critics concerned that the Security Council tends to do as the US requests. Monbiot (2003, p71) notes that since 1945, the US has launched over 200 armed operations: 'most of which were intended not to promote world peace but to further its own political or economic interests.' Such doubts amplified post September 11th, following the pattern previously

The Business Roundtable (BRT) includes over 200 CEOs of the largest US-based corporations and banks. It was founded in 1972 with the explicit goal of enforcing corporate control over the political agenda. It inspired corporate leaders in Europe and Canada to set up similar lobby groups. Within the EU, there is the European Roundtable of Industrialists (ERT), described by CEO (2002) as 'one of the main political forces on the European scene for almost two decades.'

outlined by Hardt and Negri, as the reductive term 'terrorism' continues to be manipulated to justify draconian infringements of civil liberties within western 'democracies' and aggressive foreign policies:

Today military intervention is progressively less a product of decisions that arise out of the old international order or even UN structures. More often it is dictated unilaterally by the United States, which charges itself with the primary task and then subsequently asks its allies to set in motion a process of armed containment and/or repression of the current enemy of Empire. These enemies are most often called terrorist, a crude conceptual and terminological reduction that is rooted in a police mentality (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p37).

Chomsky (in Stone, 2000) locates US resistance to the authority of the UN back to the 1960s. By this account, the UN was popular in the United States in the 1950s because the US had control of the organisation. As the UN constituency expanded to include non-aligned countries, the US attitude cooled, and it took the lead in vetoing UN Security Council resolutions from the 1960s. In Chapter One, we saw that developing countries made proposals in the 1970s, calling for a new international economic order (NIEO), concerned with developing world interests, and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was formed. They also requested a new international information order allowing poor countries to share in the international information system, dominated by a few rich countries. McChesney (1988) documents how the US and Britain both withdrew from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in the mid-80s in part to express their dissatisfaction with the alleged desire to interfere with the operations of the global commercial media corporations. There have been more recent attempts by representatives of developing nations to articulate demands for a return to the founding principles of the UN. In 1995, former Tanzanian President Nyerere addressed the Forum on the Future of the United Nations System. The UN required reform, reflecting principles including the 'building and preservation of peace in the context of equal rights of all Member States.' He argued that the UN was affected by 'the all-pervading imbalance of national power based primarily on comparative wealth and control of advanced technology' (Raghavan, 1995).

Despite this and other attempts to demand reform, Chomsky (1999) concludes that any pretence of US co-operation with the UN was dropped in the Clinton years. US

Secretary of State Albright informed the UN that Washington will resort to force 'multilaterally when we can, unilaterally when we must,' to secure its interests. Post September 11th, as the US and UK governments talked up the proposal of attacking Iraq to variously remove 'weapons of mass destruction' or to achieve 'regime change' there was much discussion in the UK media of the need for a second UN resolution. Echoing the previous comment made by Madeleine Albright, the US administration made clear its aims in a foreign policy document a year after September 11th: 'We will not hesitate to act alone' (Burkeman and Paton Walsh 2002). Financial incentives were offered to members of the Security Council prior to the second UN vote. Although invasion and occupation of a country which offers no 'clear and present threat' constitutes a violation of the UN charter, the US and UK repeatedly insisted that the credibility of the UN depended on its support for the war.²⁰ The motivations for intervention are further called into question when considering instances when the UN has failed to do so. Melvern (2000) highlighted the implications of the failure of democracy within the UN in the case of the Rwandan genocide of 1994: 'one of the greatest scandals of the 20th century.' Moeller offers the following explanation for the failure to act: 'Rwanda is a poor, small, landlocked country, without oil or other resources of interest to the West' (1999, p.229). Coverage of the Rwandan crisis on British TV is discussed in Appendix 4.

UN activities have been hindered by lack of funding in recent years. Kirby (2000) notes that the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) is underfunded and understaffed, while still often blamed for failing to cure the world's environmental ills. As well as limiting efficacy, the UN funding crisis is undermining any capacity it might have to keep check on concerns surrounding corporations. This is compounded by the fact that corporate funding of the UN is increasing. The role of the Bretton Woods institutions in facilitating and subsidising the entry of TNCs into developing countries has been described in the sections on Trade and Debt. Sklair (2002) outlines how the UN is performing a similar role. The Global Compact was launched in July 2000. By

²⁰ Further to this, US actions to undermine the International Criminal Court, which came into being on 1st July 2002, have increased concerns about US unilateralism. Meanwhile, all but two countries in the world, the US and Somalia, have ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Save the Children 2001). Monbiot (2003a, p.134) notes that 'by shoving aside the Security Council in March 2003 to prosecute its war with Iraq... the US appears to have ceased to even *pretend* to play by the rules.'

early 2002 dozens of TNCs had signed up as members of the UN's compact with industry - an undertaking that they act responsibly in nine areas, such as human rights, environment and labour. The concern is that the global compact allows companies to improve their reputation through association with the UN, without committing to concrete changes in corporate behaviour. In addition, there are the consequences of the absence of policy co-ordination between the global financial institutions and the UN, resulting in tragic institutional disconnection (Menotti, 2002).

Discussion

While the hegemonic view is that all should be striving for 'democracy', this concept has become intricately bound up with the promotion of capitalism and corporations, thereby losing resonance for increasing numbers of people. This is true at the level of national government as well as the international financial institutions. Concerns about the PR and 'spin doctor' industry have consolidated since the post-war period, as documented from the 50s in the work of Packard (1981) and Marcuse (1968). More recently McChesney (2000) noted that PR is about discrediting antibusiness ideas, disrupting the possibility of informed public debate, and glorifying the market and the status quo. From this perspective the sanctity of private property is elevated above concerns about human rights. The secretary general of AI, Irene Khan (2002) commented on the ideological opposition to human rights post September 11th: 'Governments are increasingly portraying human rights as an obstacle to national security and human rights activists as romantic idealists at best, defenders of terrorists at worst.' Opponents of capitalist globalisation argue that everyone has the right to a basic level of economic and social wellbeing. The fact that corporate lobbyists work so hard to avoid regulation indicates that new rules could have considerable impact. A legally binding international framework on corporate accountability and liability, requiring private investors to comply with core labour and environmental standards is urgently required. This would be defined in national legislation and international law and include independent verification mechanisms (WPF, 2002).

In order to advance the concept of a truly democratic global polity, a shift is required in how populations are represented and representatives elected. To take one example, the G8 consists of eight middle-aged men who wield global power while representing just 13 percent of the world's population (Monbiot, 2002b). The UN is the existing organisation that has remits for those aspects of life with which true democracy should

be concerned - human rights and environmental standards. However, there are serious limitations to its democratic credentials (Monbiot, 2003a). Just as neo-liberalism has a stranglehold on the working practices of the IFIs, so it has a pervasive influence on the United Nations. Together with Britain and other western states in limited instances, the US has actively undermined UN processes for many years. Without the political support of the wealthiest nations, and through withdrawal of funding from the US, the UN has been weakened, as have its projects. As Ransom (2001) notes, what prevents the UN from progressing is its members. Key concerns regarding the UN are the veto of the five permanent security members and the influence of corporate interests.

Overall then, it is clear that there is an increasing crisis of class polarisation and of environmental degradation. However, in contrast with neo-liberal orthodoxy, it is clear that viable alternatives to capitalist globalisation exist. These cannot simply be dismissed in negative terms as 'antiglobalisation', but can be seen positively as socialist globalisation (Sklair 2002). One of the means by which neo-liberalism has stifled political opposition is through the culture-ideology of consumerism, including the shift to branding of individuals as citizens rather than consumers. Chapter Three will consider the origins of the culture-ideology of consumerism and investigate its relationship with the democratic deficit. This provides the background to considering the role of the media.

Chapter Three

The Culture of Consumerism and the Media

Introduction

'It does not matter whether the product does good or evil,' wrote a disaffected executive of the giant IBM, 'what counts is that it is consumed - in ever increasing quantities' (Pilger, 1998, p.73).

One key means by which TNCs seek to expand is by encouraging continual growth in demand for goods in societies where it is already well established - what Sklair (2002) describes as the culture-ideology of consumerism. Those who profit from production of innovations such as ever more 'convenient' food products and increasingly compact computer and communications technology, have little incentive to manufacture goods that will endure. Writing in the 1950s, Mills referred to planned obsolescence as a necessary feature of an economy dependent upon replacement markets and rapid turnover (1971, p.163). TNCs also increasingly seek to expand by developing markets geographically. The concept of consumerism is critical here, because, as will be discussed below, much current discussion equates 'development' with 'consumption.' Television has a key role to play in promoting consumerism, both through transnational advertising agencies, and consumer-oriented programming. The first part of this chapter will briefly consider opposing views about the merits and deficits of consumerism. This will introduce more detailed discussion about the impact of the culture-ideology of consumerism - as well as wider structural changes in the industry associated with globalisation - on television programming.

Consumer culture is viewed positively among academics like Miller (1995), Lury (1996) and Storey (1999), who argue that increased commodity choices offered by consumer society represent increased power in creating identity.²¹ Others argue that it is the corporations who retain power, and that there are harmful consequences to the individual, society and the environment resulting from an increasing emphasis on

²¹ This position is similar to the global culture approach to globalisation, as discussed in the introduction.

consumption. This critique was developed in the post war period, as consumer culture began to take hold, particularly in the United States. In the 1950s, Packard (1981) and Marcuse (1968) raised concerns about the regressive elements of consumerism and what Marcuse described as 'the creation of repressive needs.' The impact of consumerism has had its effects over the past fifty years, of linking basic needs to consumer items. Klein (2000) has highlighted the seepage of branding of goods into every sphere of life. On the exporting of American consumer culture, Ritzer (2002) has focused on the concept of McDonaldization: a critique not just of the global presence of this icon of American consumerism, but also of the social and cultural systems that accompany it. Klein (2000) also highlights the exploitative nature of production of consumer goods in the advanced capitalist world. As argued in Chapter Two, the focus on consumer rather than social issues in Western nations has contributed to the electorate's disengagement from party politics. In contrast to those who celebrate consumerism's opportunities to create identity, there are serious social and environmental impacts resulting from unfettered consumption.

The Culture-Ideology of Consumerism

Originally writing in 1957, Packard (1981) described how advertisers and PR consultants of the day influenced and manipulated people's everyday lives. In the post war period psychoanalysis became central to the operations of marketing gurus, led by Freud's nephew Edward Bernays, who focused on manipulation of public fears and insecurities as marketing tools. Packard expressed concern about the antihumanistic implications of the psychoanalytic 'probing and manipulation' involved. Much of it seemed to represent 'regress rather than progress for man in his long struggle to become a rational and self-guiding being.' Marcuse (1968) also argued against the use of psychoanalysis to control people for the purposes of corporations. Market research had been intended originally as a measure of demand so that production could be organised. But since production is not generally planned, but the result of the decisions of competing firms, market research had already become involved with advertising, as a system of stimulating and directing demand.

Sometimes this stimulation is towards this version of a product rather than that (*Mountain Blend is Best*), but frequently it is stimulation of a new demand (*You Need Pocket Radio*) or revival of a flagging demand (*Drink a Pinta Milka Day*). In these changing circumstances, the simple idea of a market has gone: the

huckster stands level with the supplier. It is then clear why 'consumer' as a description, is so popular, for while a large part of our economic activity is obviously devoted to supplying known needs, a considerable and increasing part of it goes to ensuring that we consume what industry finds it convenient to produce. As this tendency strengthens, it becomes increasingly obvious that society is not controlling its economic life, but is in part being controlled by it (Williams 1985, p28).

As Williams commented, the 'consumer' emphasis prevents people from thinking of social use as a criterion of economic activity. Shops may be crammed with goods, but the schools, hospitals, roads, libraries - all undergo chronic shortages. People are constantly encouraged to think of social provision in an individual way and to think of taxation as deprivation. An increasing variety of fields of human activity become potential targets for cash interactions.

As consumers, we are individuals, exercising our own 'unique' consumer choices. As citizens, on the other hand, we act as part of a wider society, with expectations of accepting our responsibilities towards our fellow citizens. Following on from the views expressed by Williams, Oliver James (2000) more recently expressed concern that Britain has imported an American ethos of there's-no-such-thing-as-society into its culture. James argues that, presented with an ever-increasing range of products we might own, with concomitant expectations of how these might improve our lives, status and happiness, we are increasingly unlikely to achieve basic contentment. In contrast with cultural studies, psychiatrist James argues that inflated demands for individualism have created problems, particularly since the 1950s, including serious consequences for the mental health of the population. Bocock (1993) and Monbiot (2000d) make similar arguments about the pervasiveness of consumerism serving to increase alienation. It is not in the interests of capitalism for people to be more contented; an unhappy person is likely to consume more. James (2000, pp.305-306) notes that this may help to explain the concept of an 'addictive personality' in which a propensity to interchangeable addictions to almost anything is posited: 'If the addictive personality exists, it is probably a by-product of advanced capitalism'.

Associated with excessive consumption is mounting consumer debt. There are serious contradictions in how Western consumer debt is portrayed in the context of the IFIs, as compared to poor country debts. Prior to the demise of the US high-tech industry in

2001, Jeremy Rifkin (2000) questioned the view some economists had of the US as a 'miracle economy', with the country in its ninth year of sustained economic growth. A less fashionable view of this miracle economy was that it had been driven by an unsustainable consumer binge. Rifkin points to the escalation of bankruptcies in the US, while Schumaker (2001) comments on how, over recent years the savings rate in the US has fallen to the extent that Americans spend around \$35 billion more than they earn. In the UK, Christie and Warburton (2001) refer to statistics from the Child Poverty Action Group and the National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux, which indicate that personal debt is unsustainable. Many families are in debt due to dwindling levels of benefit and poorly paid jobs. However, pressure to consume tips many more into an income deficit.

One of the components of the culture-ideology of consumerism is branding. Klein documented the invidious nature of brand promotion in her book *No Logo* (2000). TNCs use a variety of means, such as sponsorship deals with public institutions, to promote themselves. Branding effectively allows ever expanding areas of human life to be redefined as consumer activities. Writing in the 50s, Mills (1971, p.161) asked: 'What is there that does not pass through the market? Science and love, virtue and conscience, friendliness, carefully nurtured skills and animosities? This is a time of venality. The market now reaches into every institution and every relation.' Packard documented how, impelled by difficulties the marketeers kept encountering in trying to persuade people to buy all the products their companies could fabricate, the trend in 'depth marketing' developed. By the mid-fifties merchandisers of many products were being urged by psychological counsellors to become 'merchants of discontent'. One ad executive exclaimed: 'What makes this country great is the creation of wants and desires, the creation of dissatisfaction with the old and outmoded' (Packard, 1981, p.24). As Sklair (2002) comments, TNC production and trade create new consumption needs in Third World countries as well as everywhere else. It is in the interests of TNCs to create the market for their standard products in new locations irrespective of the social needs of the indigenous populations.

Within the trajectory that consumerism enhances individual choice and power, and particularly in the field of cultural studies, there are many who view consumer society as beneficial in improving conditions for the majority of the population. Miller (1995) and Lury (1996) focus on the instability of meanings and the variable way meanings can be interpreted or subverted by consumers. Lury argues that consumer culture can be seen

to provide conditions for a politics of identity. Referring to the 'supermarket state', Bennet (2003) argues that across a range of relations with the state, citizens are more explicitly consumerist, expecting more direct benefits and fewer collective goods. Miller argues from the perspective of individual consumer power. Whereas socialism, he argues, attempted to homogenise the population, consumption is a relatively autonomous and plural process of cultural self-construction. While Miller raises concerns about the iniquitous nature of consumer society, he views potential solutions to such problems as lying with the individual. In the introduction to *Acknowledging Consumption*, Miller (1995) opens with a discussion of 'the consumer as global dictator.' In contrast to the view that corporations seek to shape behaviour with consumerist ideology, his position is that the market and the state have had to respond to a shift towards consumer power. The First World consumer 'votes' on a daily basis for cheap goods through the competitive mechanisms of capitalism forcing down prices. While there are clearly serious and increasing problems of inequality, Miller seeks to locate responsibility for such iniquity on consumers. Asserting that consumption is the vanguard of history, he argues that the first move has to be a transfer of profits from First World consumers to Third World producers as increased prices for raw materials. However, it is primarily corporations who profit from low wages paid to Third World producers. Klein (2000, p.123) argues against a focus on the importance of constructing individual consumer identities: 'In this new globalised context, the victories of identity politics have amounted to a rearranging of the furniture while the house burned down.'

While it is reasonable to expect to be afforded some choice in the clothes one wears or the food one eats, there should remain some relationship between consumption and need, to maintain the health of the individual, society and the environment. As Christie and Warburton (2001, p.45) argue, the changes required are not as drastic as may be supposed: 'Curbing demand for unsustainable goods and services is not all about 'sacrifice.' It frees time, money and imagination for meeting needs and wants in new and better ways. It is not about suppressing consumption, but about redirecting it'. Further, the contention that the consumer is in control does not stand up to scrutiny. TNCs increasingly dictate terms of trade, and ultimately therefore, control consumption. The British public are concerned about the ethics of their purchases. A 1999 Mori poll indicated that a large majority wanted corporations to show a high degree of social responsibility (Christie and Warburton, 2001). More recent customer research by the Co-operative Bank (2001) indicated that support for its ethical policy had increased

from 84% in 1991 to 97% in 2001.²² Further to this, the position that cosmopolitan citizens in global societies process political choices in terms of how those choices affect their own lifestyles (Bennet, 2003) does not hold up in considering the unprecedented global opposition to the war in Iraq early in 2003. Before discussing the wider impacts of globalisation on the media, I will briefly consider the impact of consumerism on television.

Consumerism and television

As TV and the internet continue their apparently relentless penetration of our lives, we can only speculate what Marx would have thought about the fact that in the homes of almost every worker and many peasants there is now a flickering box churning out the words and images of capitalist consumerism day and night, every day and every night (Sklair, 2002).

The concern of this thesis is the pervasive influence of the culture-ideology of consumerism across television programming, with particular reference to the impact on the news agenda. The subject of advertising has already attracted considerable criticism. The key concern about advertising, from the perspective of James (2000), Sklair (2002) and others is that it sells not just products, but images of idealised lifestyles - basically the values of consumerism. James links increased mental health problems associated with the rise of consumer society, with increased hours devoted to watching television. The aim of advertising, and therefore to an extent, of television, is to mass-produce customers for corporations just as corporations mass-produced products. As Chomsky (1995) notes, because consumption is skewed towards luxuries for the wealthy rather than towards necessities for the poor, there are particular pressures for those without the means to consume. In Part Three reference will be made to the relationship between audience experience of poverty and perceptions of consumer pressure. A further concern here is the increasing focus on children as a target group of lucrative consumers. Children are particularly vulnerable targets, as they form strong attachments to their favourite characters, particularly those produced by television and cinema, as Klein comments - 'Every kid wants to hold a piece of the cartoon world between his or

²² Ethical concerns were focused on global fair trade and ecological sustainability.

her fingers.' Children are also particularly subject to peer pressure, as documented by James (2000).

The culture-ideology of consumerism, as Sklair comments, both neutralises and reinterprets cultural traditions in a way that stifles popular opposition. This is one of the most effective techniques of capitalist globalisation in apparently hostile cultural climates, and is understood by American policy makers. A report from the US Committee on Foreign Affairs 'Winning the Cold War: The US Ideological Offensive' (published 1964) argued that in foreign affairs, certain objectives can be better achieved through direct contact with the people of foreign countries than with their governments:

'Through the intermediary of the techniques and instruments of communications, it is possible today to reach important and influential sectors of the populations of other countries, to inform them, to influence their attitudes, and may be to succeed to motivate them to certain determined actions. These groups, in turn, are capable of exercising considerable pressure on their governments' (Cited in Sklair 2002).²³

As McChesney (2000, p.108) argues, the hallmark of the global media system is its 'relentless, ubiquitous commercialism'. Globalisation involves the export of the needs created by corporations and advertisers. It is important to note that, the transnationalisation of consumption habits is not always straightforward. To take one example, Sklair (2002) notes that TNCs such as Gerber (baby food) and Nestle (coffee) have acknowledged that customer resistance is their main marketing problem in Latin America. However, Sklair (2002) also makes the point that the ideology of free choice and consumer sovereignty is a potent force to product-starved individuals in post communist Europe and the Third World. This message about the Western way of life has been transmitted over the heads of governments directly to the people. Proponents of global capitalism argue that it is hypocritical of its opponents to attempt to deny a full range of consumer goods to inhabitants of developing countries. However, this argument confuses unfettered consumerism with development. Further, environmentalists in the North argue that consumerism in rich countries needs to be

²³ A similar strategy was outlined in White House documents discussing the strategy for winning hearts and minds of Chinese people, in connection with the efforts of the US government and major corporations to bring China into the WTO (Sklair, 2002).

replaced by sustainable ideologies too. To express concern about the implications of extending excessive consumerism around the globe is not at all about denying the tools of education and healthcare to developing countries. Coca-Cola is widely available in an increasing number of developing countries, but the 'freedom' to buy coke's products is hardly equivalent to freedom from hunger. In other words, as Sklair (2002) argues, the potential benefits for the third world appear minimal compared with the profits to be made by the transnational capitalist class and its local affiliates through the promotion of the culture-ideology of consumerism. One of the key concern of this thesis however, is to examine the extent to which consumerism shapes British television representations of the South. Before considering this question further in Parts Two and Three, the remainder of this chapter, and therefore Part One will consider how the wider context of capitalist globalisation impacts on British television.

The Media and globalisation

As stated in the introduction, television is the focus of this research because it remains the key source of news information in Britain. However, globalisation and related concerns that have prompted protests against the IFIs and the G8 are unlikely to mean very much to British audiences, where the primary information source is television. Where the emphasis is on consumerism, discussion in the media about power, institutions and social change is largely omitted. Huge social changes that have coincided with the new millennium have been largely ignored by television. This discussion will focus primarily on media ownership in relation to content and production of television programmes on the South. From there, the dominant frameworks within which such programmes are presented can be considered in Part Two. The propaganda model outlined by Herman and Chomsky in 1988 is relevant to this perspective of the globalising media. It is not my intention here to systematically test the model. However it informs as well as complements the discussion here. To summarise, their model consists of five essential ingredients or 'news filters:' (1) The size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms; (2) advertising as the primary income source of the mass media; (3) the reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and 'experts' funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power; (4) "flak" as a

means of disciplining the media; and (5) "anticommunism": as a national religion and control mechanism.²⁴ These elements interact with and reinforce one another.

For these authors, the mass media serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace, inculcating individuals with the values and beliefs that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society. Herman and Chomsky distinguish between media systems which are obviously propagandist, in control of a state bureaucracy, and those where it is difficult to discern propaganda at work, where the media are private and a formal system of censorship absent. If the media are seen to be actively competing, periodically exposing corporate and governmental malfeasance, they can portray themselves as balanced or neutral. However, government control of media content can be highly effective without being visible to the public. Glasgow University Media Group (1985) documented the operations of the lobby system in their analysis of the Falklands War and the peace movement. Selected journalists were given access to government documents and confidential briefings. Journalists who broke the rules could have their valued privileges withdrawn. Although the lobby system has since been reformed, the same issues still apply. As Osborne (1999, p.198) comments: 'the lobby system... is still too valuable to lose.' Maintaining the focus on how media ownership impacts on the type and quality of broadcasting available, I will discuss the situation first of all in the United States, where the greatest media mergers have taken place, and where public service broadcasting is marginalised.²⁵ I will also consider the changing profile of media ownership in the UK, and the impact on programming form and content.

Media ownership

In the early twentieth century, two distinct systems of broadcasting emerged in the United States and Great Britain. While the BBC was established in the 1920s to serve as a non-profit broadcasting monopoly, the US adopted a system dominated by two networks, NBC and CBS, which were supported exclusively by commercial

²⁴ Anti communism has been replaced by the war on terrorism.

²⁵ My perception of this was reinforced after spending six months in California in 2001, where the contrast in media was very notable, particularly the lack of available information about the rest of the world. One exception was KPFA, the independent radical radio station, which became a key information source.

broadcasting. Public broadcasting does exist in the United States, but was established on the basis that it could only survive politically by not competing directly with the commercial networks. The 1967 Public Broadcasting Act led to the creation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, but by the 1990s public broadcasting stations received only 15% of their revenues from federal subsidy (McChesney 2000). The balance has to be raised from audience donations, foundations, and increasingly, corporations. McChesney (2000) details the conglomeration of American media ownership in the 1990s, whereby each of the six main Hollywood studios are the hubs of vast media conglomerates. This trend has been fuelled to some extent by a desire to create an extremely lucrative vertical integration, so that media firms would not only produce content but would also own the distribution channels guaranteeing places to display and market their wares. As with other sectors of the economy, a reduction in government regulation has assisted and enhanced the rise of the media corporations. There is a view that the concerns expressed by commentators like McChesney are overly 'pessimistic'. Hargreaves and Thomas (2002) for example, argue against 'pessimistic' approaches that associate the media in part with growing public disenchantment with the democratic system. However, rather than approaching the subject of British television representations of developing countries with an optimistic or pessimistic outlook, the approach of this thesis is to examine the empirical evidence.

It is clearly not the case that public service in itself indicates quality and impartiality. Television reporting of social conflict is biased towards state and capital. Work by GUMG during the 1970s and 1980s, including studies of coverage of industrial conflicts, the miners strike and the Falklands War, demonstrated how television routinely accepted fundamental assumptions of the dominant social interests. While public broadcasting continues to be funded through the licence fee in the UK, the BBC is increasingly facing conservative pressure. Neo-liberal terminology designed to undermine public broadcasting includes the attack on the so-called 'liberal' media, which is absorbed by BBC management. The BBC began to collaborate in commercial joint ventures in the late 1990s, as documented by McChesney (2000).²⁶ At the same time, the BBC is rapidly reducing the range of programmes it offers, in a drive to chase ratings. Research by ITV indicated that in 2002, the range of titles narrowed across the terrestrial channels, but that BBC2 was worst, with the number of programme titles

²⁶ For example, the BBC signed a deal in 1998 to co-produce programmes with Berlusconi's Mediaset.

falling by 40% (Wells, 2003a).²⁷ Lindley (2002) charts the decline of the flagship current affairs programme *Panorama* (see Part Two) as typifying the diminishing public interest commitment of the BBC. By his account, the programme was first attacked under Thatcher's rule as subversive, and has been muzzled ever since, to protect the licence fee. Summarising the declining investigative strength and marginal place in the schedules for the programme, Cran (2002) comments: 'One can only conclude that the BBC fears a strong editor and a successful programme more than it fears failure.'

As profit remains the core motive of broadcasting corporations, so costs are cut by laying off journalists and by concentrating on stories that are inexpensive and easy to cover. Marginalisation of documentaries and downgrading of the news in American and British broadcasting are evident as a result. Light news coverage also minimises the risk of 'flak,' such as the threat of legal action from TNCs. McChesney (2000) points to the decline of international news in the US, from 45 percent of the network TV news total in the early 1970s to 13.5 percent in 1995. While British television output has retained some commitment to public service broadcasting, the statistics produced by recent research indicates this is also in decline. The studies on the content of British broadcasting referred to here were based on long term comparisons of output on international coverage. First, research by Barnett and Seymour (1999) traced the decline in 'foreign affairs' coverage on British TV over twenty years. While consumer affairs did not exist in Britain in the 1970s, it was the fourth most covered subject across all channels by 1997-98. Research conducted by GUMG for DfID (2000)²⁸ indicated that most programmes covering developing countries were consumer oriented - largely holiday and exotic cooking programs. Stone (2000) calculated a dramatic decline on all channels in her research, with almost 60% of programming on the South concerned with Travel (20%) and with Wildlife (38%).

More recent research on British television content from Nason and Redding (2002) - covers the year to September 2001. Their analysis concluded that because television has abandoned serious examination of developing countries, the British are becoming increasingly ignorant of how more than 80% of the world lives, thinks and acts. There were only four programmes in the whole year on the politics of developing countries

²⁷ Wells (2002a) previously reported on the increased popularity of radio with TV ratings in decline.

²⁸ The conclusions of this work will be referred to further in the content analysis section.

and BBC1, ITV1 and Channel 5 showed no programmes at all in this category.²⁹ The international documentary was virtually dead and reality TV, holiday challenges and docusoaps dominated coverage of poor countries. There were just ten programmes in the whole year about conflicts and disasters, and programmes on development, human rights and the environment fell to 'unprecedented' low levels at just 6% of all factual international programmes. Consumer oriented travel programmes increased to one third of all foreign factual programming in 2000-01 and reality TV programmes such as *Survivor*, *Shipwrecked* and *Temptation Island* grew to more than 10% of all factual international coverage on commercial channels. Following September 11th, beyond the period of the research in the report, the authors recorded 'many searching examinations' of the state of the world and the division between cultures. However a snapshot survey of February 2002 found that TV had reverted to shallow formula entertainment and 'brochure' shows.

At a time when 'globalisation' is understood to be intimately affecting every aspect of the lives of UK citizens - our food, health, jobs and livelihoods, our environment, peace and security - the continued decline of informative and educative programming on the wider world is a disaster (Nason and Redding, 2001, p.3).

The conclusions of these UK research studies published between 1999 and 2002 indicate that commercial values are pervasive across programme formats, and that reduced output on developing countries is attributable to a consumerist approach. Some argue that the internet challenges consumer-oriented media agendas. In his account, Castells (1996) documents the emergence of what he describes as the network society, characterised by networked forms of corporate organisation, globalisation of economic activities, flexibility and instability at work and the individualisation of labour. On the role of new technology as a force for political change, the internet has provided a means for disseminating information to mobilise mass support.³⁰ However, while such

²⁹ The authors note that BBC2 remains vitally important in enabling public awareness of sustainable development, and of other people and their cultures. However, it cut its hours of factual international and developing country programming and cut its peak-time output of developing country factual programming to its lowest recorded level in the last 13 years.

³⁰ One example referred to in this thesis is Castells (1997) account of the role of the internet in increasing international support for the Zapatista uprising in 1994. McChesney (2000) acknowledges

mobilisations may have achieved varying degrees of success, it is not the case that neo-liberalism has been in any meaningful sense undermined. The internet is also equally available as a tool for reactionary forces. To take one example, Markey reported on *Digital Hate 2001* - a survey from the Simon Wiesenthal Centre - which revealed how hate groups with an online presence had doubled from 1500 the year before. In summary, Castells' concept of informationalism as the dominant social force of globalisation is limited by its technological emphasis. Writing in 1959, Raymond Williams commented on the importance of considering *relations* of production, as well as *forces* of production, emphasising the error of technological determinism. He continued this theme in *Towards 2000* where he urged caution on the subject: 'In the early years of any genuinely new technology it is especially important to clear the mind of the habitual technological determinism that almost inevitably comes with it' (1983, p.129). More recently, Schiller (2000) and McChesney (2000) argue that the internet is, as an extension of the corporate media system, subject to rapid commercialisation.

Production

This chapter has considered the relationship of media and communication systems to the broader structure of society. As media ownership is increasingly concentrated, perceived pressure intensifies on editors and controllers to participate in the competition for ratings. Within the industry there is a divergence of opinion as to the source of the pressure to commercialise. Some editors locate the reason for this with the audience. Considerable scepticism among editors is evident from research on the media industry. The following quotes from Moeller's work (1999) relate to the American press:

When we do the readership surveys, foreign news always scores high.... People say they're interested and appreciate it, and I know they're lying but I don't mind. It's fine. But I think it's an opportunity for people to claim to be somewhat better citizens than they are.

Robert Kaiser, former managing editor of *The Washington Post*.

It is difficult to find news in the media about sub-Saharan Africa, for example, unless the United States is involved or something horrific has happened.... The

that the internet played an important role in undercutting the negotiations for the MAI by garnering popular opposition.

newsroom truism goes: 'one dead fireman in Brooklyn is worth five English bobbies, who are worth 50 Arabs, who are worth 500 Africans.' There is a certain arbitrary numbers game we play. Gwertzman from *The New York Times*.

Recent research in Britain on television production formed part of the DfID (2000) *Viewing the World* study. Thirty-eight interviews were conducted with key decision-makers from the five terrestrial British TV channels, and from four satellite/cable channels. The majority believed the greater part of the viewing public do not want to watch output about the developing world. This is largely understood from ratings and audience research.

The aspirational research answer to 'Are you interested in the developing world?' is 'yes'. The real answer is 'No.'

Vin Ray, BBC News.

Only the very upmarket and well-educated audience say, 'We're really very interested in issues in the developing world.' Most people don't say that. They say 'I like decorating, gardening, or really good drama.'

Alan Yentob, BBC.

These views indicate scepticism as to audience interest in a broader view of the world, despite the fact that there are examples of serious news and documentary programming which have proven records in attracting audiences. To take one example, Channel 4 increased investment in news in 2000 over and above that stipulated by the regulator. It continues to broadcast seven nights a week. Snow (2000) commented that increasing airtime at weekends added to the number of viewers watching the original seven o'clock weekday broadcasts, with a year on year average of 14% to 2000. There are other voices within the media industry arguing against the tide of ratings driven - the public don't want to know - approaches to covering the developing world. In both the DfID production research and the 1999 research conducted by the University of Westminster, industry staff expressed frustration with the over-reliance on ratings as a guide to what programmes are made. As output on developing countries is marginalised in viewing schedules, this affects ratings.

Within the BBC there is a fear that the obsessive pursuit of an audience is not only underestimating what the public might be interested in, but severely undermining the confidence of journalists to follow their own instincts. There also remains the sense that the viewer should be given the opportunity to be informed, to learn the context of an issue they might not be aware of, however difficult the subject (Barnett and Seymour, 1999, p.29).

It is also the case that those genres of programming which are viewed as ratings winners become the focus for investment and innovation. Such innovation is missing from developing world output. Barnett and Seymour (1999) found that their industry interviewees regretted the lack of investment in most current affairs programming, described by some as having 'an air of the 70s.' Meanwhile the DfID research indicated that the concern of programme makers to get a commission was at odds with the priorities of commissioning editors and Department Heads:

I self-censor because I know what stands a chance of a commission. We have to second-guess the department head and controllers all the time. Personally, I'd like to be making issue-led programmes colourful and involving. I've got an East African story that could be as compelling as any domestic docu-soap, but it's not acceptable without British people and celebrities in it. One commissioning executive said to me 'We don't want programmes about little black people who live far away and don't speak English.' Ian Stuttard, BBC.

Returning to Moeller's research on the American media, she included a quote from Seymour Topping, the former managing editor of, *The New York Times* –

The greatest threat today to intelligent coverage of foreign news is not so much a lack of interest as it is a concentration of ownership that is profit-driven and a lack of inclination to meet responsibilities, except that of the bottom line (Moeller, 1999 p.315).

Some respondents in the DfID research had a different view of how decisions should be made about output on developing countries, believing that their colleagues tended to underestimate the viewer:

People don't know what they want until they see it! Programmes are supply-led not demand-led. Decision-makers in the television industry are drawn from the same small social world, with the same worldview. At the very heart of producers and broadcasters is the belief that the general audience is not interested in foreign stories. Ali Rasheed, Real Time.

In addition to the two research projects already discussed, the British Film Institute concluded a four-year research project on television production in 1999. More than 500 executives, researchers, producers and camera crews were quizzed between 1994 and 1998. Among those working in news and documentaries more than half said they had been pressured to distort the truth and misrepresent the views of contributors to create an 'exciting, controversial or entertaining programme. Accuracy, ethical standards and creativity were at an all time low. Most producers attributed the worsening quality to cost cutting. The findings came in the wake of controversies over faked documentaries and bogus guests on chat shows (Aldridge and Collins, 1999):

Whatever the problems of programme making in the past, we do not believe that an equivalent study at any stage over the last forty years would have found the same depressing combination of pessimism, creative exhaustion, frustration and anger about opportunities being lost. There is a very profound sense that the potential of a powerful creative and democratic medium is being gradually eroded to the point where very little of any social or cultural value will be produced (Barnett and Seymour, 1999, p.71).

In all organisations, a process of 'institutionalisation' occurs over time, with *survival* a value in itself, both for management and other members (Selznick 1957). Selznick's interest in the institutionalisation processes led to a focus on how managements perceive the conditions necessary for survival, i.e., which *strategies* they adopt. Management can oscillate between strategies of *entertaining* and *informing*, depending on how they perceive audience demands. Selznick was writing at a time when, in large news organisations, periods of trivialisation were followed by emphasis on more 'serious' approaches. However, the research referred to above indicates that there is less oscillation now, and more of a continual drift in the direction of trivia. Perhaps the most ironic aspect of the manic race for ratings is that, despite the proliferation in channels, British television audiences appear to be in decline. At the same time, radio is gaining ground. Quoting from figures produced by the media buying agency Carat, The

Guardian editorial of 14th January 2002 commented that the year before had seen the first decline in television viewing for seven years. Figures released early in 2002 indicated that radio was reaching 91% of the population (Wells 2002a). Regarding views within the television industry, there is clearly some divergence of opinion as to whether commercialisation is driven by industry or audience demands. However, both the BFI (1999) research and actual programming indicate that the most powerful and influential voices in the industry are in the latter camp.

Reporting the South

As the DfID study indicated, coverage of the South tends to focus on crises, with repetitive imagery of famine, war and disease and death - what Moeller (1999) and others refer to as the 'Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse'. Because of this emphasis, most of the images we see are those of the victims of crises, restricted essentially to passive roles. Such representations are further simplified because the stories are about the victims, not by them. As Cohen (2002) comments, narratives of social suffering have become stories of humanitarian intervention. The appearance of aid workers sends out the message that something serious is happening. Tired imagery is recycled and major news events from afar are reported almost in soap opera format. As Moeller, (1999, p.43) argues:

Images of crises and their accompanying metaphors rely on a repertoire of stereotypes: the heroic doctor, the brutal tyrant, the sympathetic aid worker, the barbaric mercenaries, the innocent orphans, the conniving politicians, and so on.

Sogge (2002) refers to poverty pornography to describe the image of the skeletal black child. At the same time, formulaic coverage of similar types of international crises makes us feel that we have seen this story before. Coverage of the Ethiopian famine of 1984-5 demonstrated the limited range of explanations offered in news reports on the origins and nature of such crises, as demonstrated by Philo (1993). Pilger (1992) similarly questioned the assumptions underlying the coverage: 'In 1985, the twenty-nine poorest countries of sub-Saharan Africa paid back to the World Bank, the IMF and Western commercial banks a total of \$6.7 billion - more than twice as much as they received in emergency aid from governments and the good-hearted' (p.165). The relationship between local governments, aid agencies and the media had a critical impact on events in Ethiopia, as with other Western humanitarian responses to crisis in the

South over the past twenty years. One Channel Four programme in 2000 critically evaluated these factors in aid agency responses to four African humanitarian disasters. Each situation involved compelling media images. *The Hunger Business* (Channel Four, 11.11.00), demonstrated how the media and aid agencies can unwittingly exacerbate humanitarian disasters, demonstrating how in Biafra in the 1960s, Ethiopia in 1984, Somalia in 1992 and Rwanda in 1994 and 1996, Western aid agencies became pawns of oppressive forces. The documentary, which included numerous interviews with Western and African aid agency personnel, included comments about the 'branding of famine' with each agency vying for media profile. Lack of political analysis by both aid agencies and the media resulted in their manipulation by governments.

Moeller (1999) has highlighted other consequences of iconographic reporting. Simplistic causes suggest and make plausible simplistic solutions – such as giving money – and tend to exaggerate the agency of Western aid, minimising the involvement and efficacy of indigenous efforts. The fact that the famine pictures from Somalia often appeared without a political context did not seem to be a problem, until American troops were already in there, and the political context became a millstone around the neck of the US commitment. Professor Cate of the Annenberg project has similarly commented on the role of the western media in exacerbating disasters in developing countries (Royle, 1999). In Appendix 4, further discussion is available in the case of Rwanda. Contradictions in coverage of the 2000 floods in Mozambique are discussed in Appendix 5, and in Part Three. In a wider sense, repetitive television imagery of Western aid supports a view of the *basic benevolence* of Britain, as identified by Curtis (2003, p.381). Curtis places this concept at the centre of the ideological system driving the mass media in the UK. Associated with the idea of Britain's wholly benevolent role in the world are key strategies, such as the 'special relationship' with the US and promotion of economic liberalisation.

One of the features of output on British and American television is increasing narcissism. As will be demonstrated in the Part Two, British news coverage of developing countries often centres on British citizens or celebrities. Similarly, Moeller (1999) comments that the Americanisation of crises has become prevalent. The end of the Cold War has resulted in reduced coverage because so many developing countries were pawns in the Communist-Western chessboard. Whereas, even very distant news events could be translated as events in the national interest, Moeller argues, these links cannot be made now. However, while it is clearly not the case that countries of the

South are divorced from the sphere of international politics, representations of the South in British and American media have become increasingly restricted to imagery of crises, or exotic images for Western consumption. The fact that poverty and extreme climate conditions have a causal relationship with the West is largely ignored. Allen and Seaton (1999) reject primordialist conceptions of social difference, emphasising that wars are the product of social processes. Primordialism enables governments of rich states to absolve themselves of responsibility for such events, and helps them to adopt increasingly oppressive measures against refugees and immigrants. Primordialism also underlies the emphasis on corruption of leaders in the South. While there are undeniably corrupt governments in several developing countries, this is also true of many governments in the North. Yet, as will be discussed in Chapter Six, television covers government malpractice quite differently according to its location.

Events in the South that do not conform to stereotypes, tend to be ignored. Thus, coverage of struggles against neo-liberalism focus on Western led demonstrations, at the meeting points of global decision-makers. Until very recently, much of the decision-making about global economics took place discreetly, with little attention paid by the media. The Western media woke up to this movement during the mass protest at the WTO meeting at Seattle in November 1999. Meanwhile, in the South, resistance to the unjust terms of trade with the North, and to SAPs, has been growing for years, largely ignored by Western media. While protests in the South have become increasingly widespread, they remain largely unnoticed by the international community. Katharine Ainger (2001, p.11) has documented the 'dozens of Seattles which have occurred across the South.' The World Development Movement released its first 'States of Unrest' report in September 2000, to restore some balance to the debate around 'anti-globalisation protests'. The report charts protests in developing countries in the period between the Seattle protests in November 1999 and the Annual Meetings of the IMF and World Bank in Prague in September 2000. In these ten months, a total of a million civilians had protested across 13 poor countries. All these protests were calling an end to economic reforms prescribed by the IMF in their country.³¹

This 'new movement', portrayed by the media as students and anarchists from the rich and prosperous global north, is just the tip of the iceberg. In the global

³¹ The WDM have also produced States of Unrest II and III which track protests in 2001 and 2002, and are referred to elsewhere in this thesis.

south, a far deeper and wide-ranging movement has been developing here for years, largely ignored by the media (WDM, 2000a)

Such resistance does not fit with dominant media frameworks that emphasise passive or primordial representations of people in the South. Where protestors take to the streets, the risks to their lives from police and the military can be reduced by media attention. To take one example as documented by Castells (1997), the internet enabled the creation of a network of international groups that supported the Zapatista uprising on January 1, 1994. This was the first day of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), when about 3000 lightly armed men and women took control of the main municipalities adjacent to the Lacandon forest, in the impoverished Mexican state of Chiapas. Although several dozen Zapatistas died in conflict with the Mexican Army, it is probably the case, as Castells suggests, that the Mexican government was inhibited from large-scale repression by the internet campaign. The wider implications of simplistic, stereotypical frameworks for reporting the South are discussed in the case study of Rwanda in Appendix 4.

Discussion

Chapter Three examined a concept central to the operations of global capitalism, the culture-ideology of consumerism. While consumer ideology is celebrated in some instances as a means for creating individual identity, there are increasing numbers of critics who question the impact of excessive consumption on human health and welfare and on the environment. The overproduction that accompanies the capitalist model of continual economic growth is unsustainable. Bello (2002) comments that as profits stopped growing in the US corporate sector after 1997, firms increasingly entered into mergers, with the aim of eliminating competition. The media have similarly been subject to concentration in ownership, which has specific impacts on the type of programming available, and the dominant frameworks presented. The greater the emphasis on consumerism, the less attention is paid to the political and economic factors essential to understanding the world. The concentration of ownership and the culture-ideology of consumerism combine to set the agenda for the programming available on British television. It is not in the interests of the mass media to report dissent. GUMG (1985, p185) recounted how the peace movement of the 1980s was reported on TV news as 'naïve, subversive, knowingly or unknowingly controlled by the enemy', with frequent references to CND being 'dupes of the Kremlin' or 'naïve and misguided idealists.'

More recently, protestors concerned about globalisation have been characterised as middle class do-gooders, or violent anarchists, while connections with mass demonstrations in the South are largely ignored. This discussion has described the context within which Parts Two and Three of this thesis consider the content of coverage of the South and audience responses to it.

PART TWO

CONTENT ANALYSIS

Introduction

Part One of this thesis set up the context for consideration of the empirical research on television content. The purpose of the content analysis described here in Part Two is to highlight ways in which television can contribute to explaining development, and to consider how coverage can enhance audience understanding in this area. The initial phase of this research involved a three-month sample of selective strategic probes into programming, between January and March 1999. This profile of TV coverage involved the selection of probes to provide a representation of the types of programming available, in order to investigate what is available to the viewer on the subject of development and globalisation. This sample does not include all aspects of available programming, but covers a range of topics, which are representative of the various types of routine coverage available on television. It also includes a variety of genres, to assess what each delivers to the audience. In discussing the sample, reference will be made to other media, as sources of contextual explanation.

The approach to content analysis adopted in this research does include a degree of quantification. However, the general approach to content analysis goes beyond mechanistic word counting to thematic analysis, as conducted by the Glasgow University Media Group (see Philo, 1990). That is, the analysis examines the explanatory frameworks available in news and how these may limit alternative explanations and contextual information. Quantification is used to assess the relative weight of explanatory themes rather than counting decontextualised language. It should be noted that quantification is inappropriate in the analysis of non-news programmes (such as current affairs, documentaries and other factual programming) where single programmes may be subject to detailed analysis.

The content analysis begins, in Chapter Four, with a brief summary of the news analysis of developing countries, which was conducted for the DfID (2000) study in 1999. From this analysis, two news probes were selected because of their more routine nature - the banana war and the Nigerian elections - to identify how gaps in explanation and context could lead to less engaging and sometimes confusing results. While the news analysis highlights limitations in coverage, it also provided an opportunity to identify more in-depth and innovative news features, two of which are among the probes discussed below. The topics include politics and economics, both of which are essential ingredients in any attempt to understand global events. While economics plays a critical role in development, and is principally what globalisation is about, coverage of the subject on television is limited.

Table 1: Sample of content analysis, subject and format.

	ECONOMICS	POLITICS	DISASTER	CONSUMER
NEWS	Banana war	Nigerian elections		
NEWS FEATURE	Debt/education in Tanzania		Hurricane Mitch Review	
DOCUMENTARY (South Africa)		1) Panorama 2) Snapshot		
CONSUMER ORIENTED				Holidays
INVESTIGATIVE		Mark Thomas		

Economics is the focus of Chapter Five, which includes an in-depth analysis of a news story, and an exceptional news feature. For the in-depth analysis, the story is the banana war, a trade dispute between the US and the EU mediated by the WTO. While threatened and actual trade sanctions in this 'trade war' were directed at European goods, the original bounty involved - bananas - had a critical bearing on the future economic survival of Afro-Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) nations. The coverage will be examined to consider the weight given to each of the parties involved. Explanations of the role of the WTO will also be considered

to assess the quality of information available to assist the viewer's understanding of this body. This section will make wider references to the WTO, linking with concerns expressed in Part One. The second economics probe is the *Newsnight* feature on Tanzania, which was selected because it used innovative methods to present a case study of the impact of debt on development. Unusually, as well as presenting the human impacts of the debt on one poor country in Africa, it also took the unusual step of examining the role of a key financial institution, the IMF. Viewed positively within the content analysis, this feature was also used as one of the exercises for the focus groups, as will be discussed in Part Three. This section will include discussion of the role of the 'Bretton Woods' institutions - and their critical role in development.

Under the heading of politics in Chapter Six, three programme formats will be discussed. These include the second of the in-depth news stories, and examples of two genres which are isolated examples in this study, reflecting their increasingly rare appearance on British TV: the documentary and the investigative journalism format. The news analysis concerns the Nigerian presidential elections of 1999. Again, part of the aim is to assess the contextual information provided to assist understanding of the situation in the country. As parliamentary and presidential elections are central to Western conceptions of democracy, particular attention will be paid to the framing of the coverage against concepts of their democratic validity. Secondly, under the heading of politics, two documentaries were broadcast on BBC during the sample period, both considering aspects of life in South Africa post-apartheid. These were *Snapshot* and *Panorama*. The content of these programmes will be discussed with reference to their portrayal of local people. Economic policy in South Africa will be discussed, as this country's government has enthusiastically implemented neo-liberal policy as prescribed by the IFIs. The extent to which these policies have contributed to the conditions described in the documentaries will be considered. The final genre in Chapter Six is the investigative strand. The programme considered here is the Mark Thomas Product, a late-night *Channel 4* programme, which considered topical matters, sometimes involving subjects relevant to developing countries. This episode focused on the subject of arms sales. The accessibility of this genre will be

discussed, with wider reference to the role of the international arms trade in development.

Chapter Seven covers the third topic, disaster coverage, one of the predominant fields of representation of developing countries on British television news. The news story in this sample was selected because of its unusual approach in returning to the scene of a disaster. Three retrospective reports on ITN and BBC examined progress since a hurricane had caused extensive damage in Honduras late in 1998. This provided an alternative to much of the immediate disaster coverage on British news. One of the key questions in assessing this coverage is to determine how progress reporting varies from routine disaster reporting, given the increased capacity for research and planning, and the opportunities for contextual analysis. Given the increased frequency of such climate-related disasters, reference will be made in this section to climate change and its relationship to both development and globalisation.

Chapter Eight addresses the final topic for the content analysis; consumer programming. This section has been restricted to holiday/travel programmes. This is a key area of coverage of the South, with programmes on all channels. This section will include detailed discussion of the type of information available when the focus is on consumption. Given that such programmes tend to present positive imagery of countries which tend to receive a 'negative press', particular reference will be made to how local people are presented. This section will also include wider reference to the culture and ideology of consumerism.

Chapter Four

News coverage

Introduction

Television news is the main source of information about developing countries for the vast bulk of the British population. Yet, news coverage can be amongst the most limited and simplistic of all factual television forms. Because of this, the DfID research included an analysis of the pattern of relevant news distribution across channels and over a significant period of time. The sample includes coverage of developing countries on all main news programmes on terrestrial channels in the first three months of 1999. These include the lunch time, early evening and main evening bulletins on both BBC1 (*Lunch Time News*, *Six O'clock News*, *Nine O'clock News*) and ITV (*Lunch Time News*, *News at 5.40* and *News at Ten*), *Channel Four News*, BBC2's *Newsnight* and the two main bulletins on Channel 5. For the purposes of the DfID news sample, developing countries were defined as those outside of Europe, North America, Japan, Australia and New Zealand and the countries of Eastern Europe formerly within the Soviet ambit. This amounted to 137 countries. This account was compiled making use of the computerised archives of the BBC and ITN.¹

Of the 137 countries of the developing world there was no discussion or report from some 65 countries. A further sixteen countries were mentioned or reported only in the context of participation in and hosting of sporting events, the visits of westerners to those countries or stories about animals or the bizarre. For example, the only coverage of Kuwait and the Seychelles was when Tony Blair visited; the

¹ The archives were searched under the names of all the countries in the sample, as well conducting a number of secondary searches. The criteria for inclusion in the sample were whether the news report included material, or discussion of developing countries. It therefore includes countries featuring film material shot in those countries, but need not necessarily have been the occasion for discussion of the internal affairs of the country. The two dimensions to the analysis were first, which countries were covered and second, which issues and events were covered.

only coverage of Uruguay was the visit of Prince Charles, and the rescue of a British traveller was the only story from Papua New Guinea. Mauritania, Western Sahara and Sudan featured only because a hot air balloon travelled over them on a round the world flight. Similarly, the only coverage of Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Trinidad and Tobago was their participation in sporting events. Jamaica featured in sports coverage and as the destination of British tourists who were thrown off a plane in New York.

A majority of countries in the Middle East and in Asia received some attention on the news. The bigger countries of the Pacific Rim were also covered. With the exception of Singapore all the south-east Asian 'tiger economies' were featured, whereas poorer and less developed countries such as Bangladesh, Vietnam, Laos, Mongolia, Bhutan and Nepal were not. A roughly even number of countries in South/Central America and the Caribbean received some coverage as received none. By contrast the African continent receive proportionately much less coverage than other areas. Less than half of the 52 African states/territories received any coverage at all. Many of the poorest and least developed countries in Africa, particularly in the Sahel and across central sub-Saharan Africa were not mentioned on the news. The countries that received most coverage in the period were either those in which long running crises/stories occurred during the period of our sample, or in which British television companies have a significant journalistic presence. Thus, in the first case there was extensive coverage of the civil war in Sierra Leone, the kidnapping and killing of tourists in Uganda, an earthquake in Colombia, hostages and the arrest of Britons in Yemen and the bombing of Iraq. Secondly, there were a small number of countries that were featured on five or more occasions in relation to different stories. Among the highest were South Africa, India and Israel, where British TV networks have major offices. Overall, the structure of attention of British TV news is skewed towards the richer and more economically powerful countries. There were exceptions, which relate most noticeably to political conflict and natural disasters as detailed in the next section.

Types of Coverage

Of the seventy-two countries which were mentioned or shown on the news there were a variety of types of coverage. For most, there were fleeting appearances on one or two topics. The types of events that resulted in extended coverage tended to be confined to a fairly limited repertoire. The main types of news were Sport, conflict/war/terrorism, natural disasters/accidents, politics and the visits of westerners to developing countries. These accounted for more than eighty percent of coverage on both BBC and ITN (ITV, C4 and C5) news programmes. The numbers of items on each topic/category are given in figure 1 for ITN and figure 2 for the BBC.

Table 2: ITN coverage of the global South

Categories	Lunch Time	5.40	News at Ten	Channel 4 News	C5F	C5L	Total ITN
Sport	9	8	10	15	39	24	105
Conflict/terrorism	35	44	44	78	23	16	240
Disasters/accidents	21	8	10	7	6	7	59
politics	8	9	12	47	6	4	86
trade/finance	2	2	3	6	1	2	16
history	2	1	-	1	1	-	5
debt/ aid	3	1	1	3	1	-	9
arms/ landmines	2	1	3	2	1	2	11
Western visitors:							
celebrities	2	2	2	2	3	3	14
travellers	22	15	13	5	6	7	68
politicians	6	9	12	6	4	1	38
members of public	1	1	-	1	1	1	5
<i>total visitors</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>125</i>
health	1	1	2	2	2	1	9

crime	1	1	1	4	2	2	11
animal/conservation	2	-	-	1	2	6	11
human rights	8	4	7	12	3	5	39
peace	2	1	1	1	-	-	5
bizarre	2	-	-	-	2	3	7
farming	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
culture/religion/ tourism	1	-	-	-	2	3	6
immigration/refugee	-	-	-	1	-	-	
Totals	130	108	121	195	105	87	746

Table 3: BBC coverage of the global South

Categories	Lunch Time	1800	2100	Newsnight	Total BBC
Sport	2	2	4	1	9
Conflict/terrorism	15	29	56	16	116
Disasters/accidents	2	8	6	1	17
politics	9	14	17	12	52
trade/finance	1	2	5	2	10
history	-	-	3	-	3
debt/ aid	-	-	-	1	1
arms/landmines	-	2	1	-	3
Western visitors: celebrities	-	-	-	-	0
travellers	3	1	1	-	5
politicians	5	7	4	1	17
members of public	3	2	-	-	5
<i>Total visitors</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>27</i>
health/education/ social conditions	-	-	2	2	4
crime	1	2	-	-	3
animals/conservation	3	2	1	-	6
human rights	3	5	3	2	13
peace	1	-	-	-	1
bizarre	-	-	-	-	0
farming	-	-	-	-	0
culture/religion/touris m	-	1	1	1	3
Immigration/refugees	-	-	1	-	1
Totals	48	77	105	38	268

War, conflict and terrorism: The biggest category broadcast by both news providers was war, conflict and terrorism, which accounted for 32% of coverage on ITN and 44% on the BBC. This was the largest category on all news programmes except those on Channel Five, where it took second place. There were a large number of stories on conflict, war and terrorism. The long running stories in the sample were the killing of British tourists in Uganda by Rwandan Hutu rebels, the civil war in Sierra Leone, the Western bombing of Iraq and the killings of tourists (and the arrest of British citizens on related charges) in Yemen.

Western visitors: The second largest category overall was news which featured Western visitors to developing countries as the only or predominant reason for coverage. A wide variety of such coverage featured western celebrities, politicians and other leaders, travellers and members of the public. For example there was footage of Barbados and the Bahamas in relation to a story about Mick Jagger and Jerry Hall. Thailand got on the news because actor Leonardo Di Caprio was shooting a film there. There was coverage of South Africa, Kuwait and the Seychelles because Tony Blair visited and Prince Charles' visit was the occasion for coverage of Uruguay and Argentina. Travellers were also the subject of news reports. The most significant stories were the two contending attempts to fly around the world in a hot air balloon. Reporting of these resulted in (very brief) coverage of fifteen countries. Such coverage uses film of developing countries as an incidental backdrop to the activities of Westerners and is the news equivalent of some of the holiday programmes reviewed elsewhere in this report. Coverage of the visits of political leaders like Tony Blair are more likely to feature some information on the country visited, but even here the rationale for the story tends to rule out significant coverage.

Politics: Politics was the next most numerous category overall, featuring a variety of stories rather than a small number of running stories. The largest number of items on politics in absolute terms was on *Channel Four News* (47 items). Channel Four had almost four times as much coverage of politics as its nearest rival (*News at Ten*) and more than 11 times as much as Channel Five's main evening bulletin. Nearly a quarter of all Channel Four items on the developing

world were political. The largest proportion of such coverage was found on *Newsnight*. By contrast political coverage on ITN bulletins was much lower (6%, 8%, 10%, 5.5% and 4.5% on the *Lunch time news*, *Early evening news*, *News at Ten*, *Channel Five lunch time* and Channel Five main bulletins respectively)

Sport: The next biggest category overall was sport. Included here were cricket, golf and footballing events held in developing countries, or featuring developing country teams. The amount of sport coverage varied markedly between bulletins. Channel Five far outstripped the other bulletins with more sports coverage on its two bulletins than all the other channels put together. Almost 33% of Channel Five coverage of the developing world was sport. By contrast BBC news covered it comparatively rarely.

Disasters/accidents: There were a variety of stories reported on one or two days, with a small number gaining more sustained coverage. The most extensive was an earthquake in Colombia, which was featured on seven consecutive days (25-31 January). Almost all of these reports featured the immediate aftermath of the disaster or accident. It was exceptional to find reporting taking a longer-term perspective.

Human rights: The next largest category was that of human rights. Almost all of the coverage featured the travails of the Chilean former dictator General Augusto Pinochet, whose attempts to avoid extradition to Spain from the UK were extensively reported, especially on *Channel Four News*.

Finance/trade: Finance and trade were the next biggest items featuring a small number of stories which touched on global or regional issues affecting developing economies. The global economic order is very rarely discussed on TV news. The only major running story on this in the sample was on the dispute before the World Trade Organisation (WTO) over bananas.²

² The issue of the global economic and environmental order was however more explicitly and unprecedentedly discussed in December 1999 when the WTO met in Seattle.

Other categories: The rest of the news consisted of a variety of other topics and subjects. Amongst these were a number of stories about animals, and some which could only be described as bizarre. The stories on animals did include four items on conservation (three on the BBC and one on Channel Five). The bizarre stories which featured on both Channel Five and the ITN lunchtime bulletin, included the arrest of an alleged cannibal in Venezuela (Channel Five News), and an attempted endurance record for staying in a chamber with poisonous snakes in Malaysia (ITN lunch time news).

The rest of the news which supplied a variety of images, discussion and context on the developing world consisted of less than 10% of news on both BBC and ITN overall. Included here was reporting on the internal affairs of developing countries as well as reporting about wider issues and about relations between the developed and developing worlds. Channel Four broadcast most reports on peace negotiations in countries as diverse as Colombia, Afghanistan and Indonesia. Channel Four also had most reports on crime in developing countries as well as more on debt, trade and finance than other ITN news programmes. On the BBC *Newsnight* had more items on the history of developing nations than other channels.

Discussion

Most of the news in this sample was concerned with recent events and tended to be limited to reporting visible activities. Some news programmes did make an effort to produce more contextual special reports, giving more background to assist understanding, and sometimes providing positive stories from developing countries. Analysis of three months coverage allowed selection of a number of case studies for detailed analysis. The selected subject areas of politics, disaster and economics were among the most frequent categories of TV news coverage which were concerned with events occurring in the developing world.³ The

³ There is no detailed analysis of sport or of coverage of western visitors to developing countries since these were not really *about* the countries concerned. Though arguably they do contribute to the general perception of developing countries, they do not provide information about them.

Nigerian election story provided an example of routine political coverage and the banana war of economic coverage. However, other items were selected because they showed a notably differing type of reporting: a *Newsnight* special on education in Tanzania and BBC and ITN reports on the long terms effects of and responses to Hurricane Mitch in Central America. Overall, *Channel Four News* carried many more stories on the developing world than other programmes. Channel Four and *Newsnight* were also much more likely to cover stories outside the rather limited and negative coverage of disaster, conflict and western visitors. Channel 4 included an extended report on immigration from Africa into Europe. *Newsnight* especially had a high proportion of political coverage. By contrast, other news programmes often remained confined to the traditionally poor reporting of the South. Moreover, the newest addition to British broadcasting, Channel Five, seemed to have an even more limited agenda. About 80% of its coverage featured conflict, disasters, western visitors and the bizarre. ITN's lunchtime news was only marginally better with over 75% of its coverage on the same topics. The high level of sport on Channel Five was also noteworthy in the context of its generally minimal level of coverage of the majority world. BBC news tended to include less populist coverage than the mainstream ITN bulletins. There were no 'bizarre' stories or reports of celebrity visits on the BBC in the sample. The BBC lunchtime news did however broadcast twice as many disaster stories as the other BBC bulletins, and failed to provide any contextual reporting of the aftermath of the events, unlike the *Nine O'clock News*.

Chapter Five

Economics

Case Study One

The Banana War

This section examines television news coverage of the trade dispute between the United States and the European Union over bananas. The key period of news coverage of the ‘banana war’ took place during the first week of March, 1999. On 4th March, the United States announced that they were imposing 100% tariffs on a range of European exports. The issue at the heart of the conflict was access to the European market for bananas. The US complained that the European banana importing system disadvantaged US companies by setting quotas for bananas from African, Pacific and Caribbean (ACP) countries, mainly former colonies. The EU argued under the Lome agreement, that it was entitled to help ACP countries, which were heavily dependent on their banana trade. The Windward Islands (Dominica, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines and Grenada) were viewed as particularly vulnerable. The main coverage of the dispute took place over the next few days.

TV News reporting during this period focused primarily on potential consequences of the banana dispute. Much of the discussion concerned the threat from sanctions to British industry and jobs, as well the potentially devastating effects on Caribbean countries dependent on the banana trade. Other consequences considered were the possibility of the dispute leading to a trade war between the US and the EU, and also to the potential for disruption to the ‘special relationship’ between Britain and the US. The second most reported section of the news coverage concerned responses to the American imposition of tariffs, and developments arising from this. In other words, the news coverage followed the flurry of diplomatic activity surrounding the dispute. There were some references

to the history of this dispute within the WTO, and to the importance of its outcome for pending trade disagreements. However, there was no explanation on the news of the history or role of the WTO itself, the key decision-making body involved. Yet, as we saw in Part One, this body has critical implications in determining life conditions for most of the world's population.

Background

The background to the setting up of the World Trade Organisation was discussed in Part One. This discussion of the WTO highlighted concerns about the extent to which the interests of business outweigh social and environmental concerns. With regard to the banana dispute, the US had complained at GATT talks, and subsequently made complaints to the WTO over a period of six years, each time winning concessions in favour of US banana companies. The WTO ruled in September 1997 that certain aspects of the EU regime were inconsistent with WTO rules. On 1.1.99 the EU adopted an amended regime, designed to conform to the WTO ruling. Two months later, on 3.3.99 the WTO delayed the publication of a ruling that would have allowed the US to impose sanctions. Although a decision was to be made at the next scheduled meeting, the US took the unilateral decision to go ahead and impose sanctions anyway. Within weeks, the WTO granted authority for the US to impose \$200 million of trade sanctions against European exporters. The aim here is to assess the quantity and quality of explanation available to the viewer on news coverage of this dispute. Particular attention will be paid to whose interests were portrayed in the news, and on the adequacy of explanations of the role of the WTO in the conflict.

Sample and Method

The main coverage of this dispute took place between the 4th and 8th of March, 1999. The sample included television news bulletins from each of the five terrestrial channels, and *Sky News* (6p.m. bulletins). Also included were the only two earlier bulletins on the emerging banana dispute from January 1999, broadcast by *Channel 4 News*. The analysis covered 30 news bulletins. Seven of

these bulletins were brief, containing not more than a few sentences. However, most of the reporting included some further discussion of the causes and implications of the trade dispute. Occasional reference will be made to newspaper reports and to information obtained from specific websites, where alternative explanations were available.

Results

Table 4: Coverage of the banana war

References to the Crisis	124
Trade/banana dispute/war between the US and the EU	32
US accuses EU of favouring ACP bananas - wants quota system lifted	32
US has calculated losses incurred and imposed sanctions accordingly	60
Responses and developments	160
EU/UK says this unilateral action is unacceptable	20
US ambassador summoned to the Foreign Office twice in 24 hours	27
Diplomatic activity continuing	34
Environmentalists protest in Edinburgh, urging boycott of US bananas	3
UK government to offer support to affected British companies	7
Madeleine Albright flies to UK for discussions with Robin Cook	46
WTO emergency summit	12
US minimisation of dispute	11
Potential consequences	178
Could damage British industry, leading to job losses	59
Could damage fragile Windward economies- increase drug production	39
Could damage relations between EU and US - leading to a trade war	57
Could damage special relationship between the UK and the US	18
Could cause job losses in the US	5
References to the WTO	106
References to the UK breaking WTO rules	34
References to the US breaking WTO rules	26
History of the dispute	34

US questions stability/integrity of WTO	10
WTO was set up to protect small countries/monitor fair trade	2
The Two Bananas	95
Caribbean bananas produced by small family run farms - need support	22
US bananas grown on large Latin American plantations	10
Statements about the considerable power of US banana companies	47
US does not produce bananas itself	8
Neither UK nor US produces bananas	2
Caribbean bananas are more costly	3
US companies already supply most of the EU banana imports	2
US concerned about banana growers in Latin America	1
Wider Economic References	30
US statements about the need to protect its interests	9
US argues free trade is essential	3
Reference to a conflict between free trade and fair trade	1
Comparison between US and EU as trading blocks	1
Contradiction between banana war and the ease of decision to bomb Iraq	2
Statements about power of US	14
Prescriptions	31
Agreement to be reached by negotiation/dialogue, not retaliation	25
Not too late for US to reverse decision	2
UK may have to choose between Commonwealth/EU and the US	4
TOTAL	724

Table 4 indicates how references were categorised. This started with initial comments about the US deciding to impose sanctions on Europe because of a dispute over bananas. The remaining categories are based on the type of statements typically made on the news, following the pattern of the longer news bulletins. The categories will be referred to again, to help illustrate where the bulk of the coverage was concentrated.

Table 5: Bulletins and interviews conducted for banana war

Channel	Number of bulletins	Interviewees 1)Caribbean business/govt.	2) UK/EU business/govt.	3)US government
Sky	3	1	6	4
Channel 5	2	1	0	0
Channel 4	5	2	8	3
ITN	7	0	7	4
BBC2	2	1	1	2
BBC1	11	4	9	9
TOTALS	30	9	31	22

Table 5 indicates the number of relevant bulletins broadcast by each channel.⁴ The table also indicates the origin of interviewees during the period of coverage. Clearly there were marked differences between channels. While Caribbean trade spokespeople and government voices featured on only 9 of a total of 62 interviews, the only interview on *Channel 5 News* was with the Prime Minister of St. Lucia. Whereas most channels broadcast more statements from UK/EU than US representatives, BBC1 interviewed 9 from each trading block. Almost all of the 22 statements from the US were governmental. It should be noted that most of the interviews involved very brief statements. There were 8 occasions when longer interviews - consisting of more than a few sentences - were held. The lengthiest of these was an interview with Jerry Ziegler of the US Trade Representative office, which was broadcast by *Newsnight*. The only Caribbean trade representative to be interviewed at length, Sir Shridaith Rhamphai was brought in to join the discussion at the end of Ziegler's interview. *Channel 4* conducted four of the longer interviews, two of which involved British politicians and a third with a British political commentator. Sky News and BBC1 also interviewed Channel 4's fourth interviewee - the US ambassador in London, Philip

⁴ Sky News recording was restricted to their 6 o'clock programme, which featured the story three times.

Lader. Lader was the most quoted participant in the banana dispute, with a total of 13 television appearances.

Trade Crisis

There were three sorts of statement in this section, which involved a total of 125 references to the emerging crisis. There were 32 references to a clash between the US and the EU - variously described as a trade/banana dispute/war:

Reporter:... And this is what the row is all about... today they sparked the most serious trade dispute between the EU and US for a decade. (BBC1: 1800, 4.3.99)

Reporter:... It all started as a fall-out over bananas. (Sky News: 1800, 4.3.99)

Newsreader:... Well, this has to be the biggest banana split yet. (Channel 4: 1900, 5.3.99)

Newsreader:... Neither side in the banana trade war was giving any ground today. (ITN: 2200, 5.3.99)

Secondly, there were 32 references in total to the European banana quota system, around which the dispute centred. By waiving import tariffs, the European system ensured that a percentage of its banana imports originated from former ACP colonies, specifically the Caribbean Windward Isles. The US government argued that these quotas discriminated against American multinational companies, which grow bananas in Central America. There were references to this on all six channels in the sample:

Reporter:... Washington says the penalties are in retaliation for Europe's discrimination against American banana producers. (BBC1: 2100, 5.3.99)(BBC2: 2230, 5.3.99)

Reporter:... The Americans believe Europe's unfairly favouring bananas which come from its former colonies. (Sky News: 1800, 5.3.99)

Reporter:... This dispute... basically hinges around the US belief that the EU is trying to protect the banana industry from countries that it's close to, for example former British Caribbean colonies. (ITN: 1645, 6.3.99)

Reporter:... The EU says Caribbean bananas, the backbone of the West Indian economy, should have special access to EU consumers, but the US says this discriminates against producers in Central America. (Channel 4: 1900, 12.1.99)

Political editor:... The problem here is that Europeans have always had a quota that can only be fitted by exports of bananas from certain countries - basically former colonies. (Channel 5: 1900, 5.3.99)

Thirdly, 60 references were made in relation to the US imposing tariffs on a selection of European goods, in particular Scottish cashmere. One reason for the high number of references here is that in some cases, detailed information was provided on the range of goods selected for tariffs:

Reporter:... On the list is pecorino cheese, but only if it's not suitable for grating. Handbags are also included, whether or not they have straps. Bedlinen is named, unless it contains any braid, lace or trimming. Greeting cards will suffer, with or without envelopes. But most high profile - sweaters or pullovers, if knitted wholly in cashmere. (Channel 4: 1900, 4.3.99)

Newsreader:... The list of goods targeted would seem bizarre if it weren't so serious. The list includes handbags, bath foam, candles and even sheets and blankets. (BBC1: 2100, 4.3.99)

Reporter:... But two days ago America brought things to a head by imposing 100% tariffs on 14 unrelated European products. (ITN: 220, 5.3.99)

There were only two comments amongst the coverage that attempted to explain the bizarre list of goods targeted by the American import tariffs. In the first instance, there was the suggestion on *Channel 4* that the industry which faced the greatest threat from these sanctions, Scottish cashmere, had been targeted because of pending elections in the country:

Newsreader:... Well of course they may not know it, but the cleverest thing they've done is to go and target Scots cashmere right in the middle of an election fever.
(Channel 4:1900, 4.3.99)

Secondly, an American representative outlined the logic behind the selection of a broad range of products:

US Trades Spokesperson:...We hope to cover a wide range of products exported from Europe to the US from the overwhelming number of different members in the European Union. And we put that list together to try to have broad diversity of products and a wide diversity of political interests in Europe so as to increase the influence of these particular industries on the European Commission. (BBC2: 2230, 4.3.99)

From 125 statements about American strategy in the crisis, there were only two which attempted an explanation.

Possible Consequences

A number of potential consequences of the dispute were covered to varying extents by the different television channels. Statements about possible consequences formed the largest section of the coverage, with a total of 178 references. Top of the list of possible outcomes was the potential for damage to British industry, resulting in job losses. There were 59 references like this:

Newsreader:... Thousands of British jobs could be at risk. (BBC1: 1800, 4.3.99)

The primary concern here was for the industry expected to be hardest hit by the sanctions, the Scottish Borders cashmere industry. All six channels referred to this issue, although more than half of the statements in this category were made by BBC1,⁵ which interviewed a number of representatives from the cashmere industry:

Chief Executive, Scottish Borders Enterprise:... It would be immensely serious. There's 22 companies involved, employing 2,300 people and we believe that 1,000 jobs are immediately at risk as a result of these sanctions. (BBC1: 1800, 4.3.99)

Reporter: ...This is an industry on which two and a half thousand jobs depend in an area which has seen a spate of redundancies in recent months. The American measures will slap a tax of more than £200 on each cashmere jumper made here for the US market. (ITN, News at Ten, 4.2.99)

Secondly, concerns about an escalation of the conflict were raised, with the possibility of a trade war between the US and the EU. Reporters raised the question of whether there would be further disputes over a range of controversial trading issues. Of the total 57 references, most were general references to a possible trade war:

Reporter:... tonight all sides acknowledge that a dispute over bananas could rapidly escalate into a major transatlantic trade war. (ITN: 2200, 5.3.99)

On a few occasions, reference was made to pending disputes between the two trading blocks on four separate issues: genetically modified food, plane noises, hormone-injected beef, and trade with China:

Reporter:...Alas more disputes may be on the way. Europe hopes to ban noisy American planes. The US says it will ban Concorde in revenge. They're arguing about China and its trade with the rest of the world. And the big one is Europe's attempt to keep American hormone injected beef out. (BBC2: 2230, 4.3.99)

⁵ This number refers to regional broadcasts, on BBC Scotland.

Spokesperson for World Development Movement:... Already these genetically modified crops - agricultural crops in the United States are around about 25% of the total agriculture. Within ten years it is estimated that substantially all of US agriculture will be GM. Now if the EU decides to ban some food crops for some reason, then we can expect many more of these disputes in future. (Channel 4: 1900, 5.3.99)

Thirdly, 39 references were made to the likelihood of damage to the fragile economies of the Windward Islands in the Caribbean, with concerns about the existing high levels of unemployment, and the fear that illegal drug production would increase if the trade in bananas was overtaken by US companies:

Grenada Ambassador to the US:... For us we have made the point, we have sounded that very, very critical warning that our island will be severely threatened. (Sky News: 1800, 4.3.99)

Spokesperson, Windward Islands Banana Co:... You'll have social unrest. Our tourist industry in particular would be threatened because once you have social unrest, you're going to have problems with your tourist industry. And you definitely will have political instability. (BBC1: 1800, 4.3.99)

Political Editor:... It's basically to protect farmers in some very poor countries - in the Caribbean and in Africa. They say if it was opened up to just a great big free for all in the banana trade, they'd be wiped out by the big American companies. (Channel 5: 1900, 5.3.99)

A fourth potential consequence of the banana dispute, which was referred to 18 times across the channels in our sample, was of damage to the 'special relationship' between the US and the UK. 6 of these references were made by Sky News. What was 'special' about this relationship was not made clear:

Newsreader:... The special relationship between Tony Blair and Bill Clinton is under threat tonight . (Channel 5: 1900, 5.3.99)

Newsreader:... It started with a dispute over bananas. Now it's threatening Britain's special relationship with the US. (Sky News: 1800, 4.3.99)

A fifth possible consequence of the dispute was raised by one news programme. Sky News broadcast a brief statement made by an Italian/American deli owner, who feared his business could be hit by the import tariffs. Sky News made five references to the possibility of job losses on both sides of the Atlantic:

Reporter:... If there isn't (agreement) there will be job losses on both side of the Atlantic, with the possibility of measures that will threaten even multinational profits. (Sky News: 1800, 6.3.99)

One reference on BBC2 demonstrated the lose-lose situation faced by the British government in the dispute:

Reporter:... Unless Britain and France and others agree to arrangements which would wreck the economies of various Caribbean countries, the Americans will make sure that textile workers in Britain and biscuit makers, chandelier operatives and pen makers elsewhere in Europe will lose their jobs. (BBC2: 2230, 4.3.99)

In this largest section of the coverage, a range of potential consequences was covered. The possibility of British job losses was referred to most frequently. Two other consequences also focused on the potential effects on Britain or Europe: the possibility of an escalating trade war between Europe and America, and damage to the 'special relationship' between Britain and America. Combining these three, there were a total of 134 references to consequences for Britain/Europe. By contrast, there were only 39 references to consequences for the Windward Islands, even though bananas constitute the Islands' primary export and damage to the industry was viewed as devastating to the population there.

Responses/developments

This section includes responses to the crisis caused by the escalation of the banana dispute, and further developments which arose. This was the second largest section of the coverage, with 160 references. There were eight responses and developments. One of the earliest responses, which was referred to on 20 occasions, was a statement from the Prime Minister, repeated by other British politicians, that the American action was unacceptable:

UK Prime Minister:... This is an unacceptable procedure and we won't have it.
(ITN: 2200, 4.3.99)

Further to this, the UK government promised to make good any losses incurred by the British industries affected by the US imposition of tariffs. There were 7 such references:

UK Prime Minister:...We've made the arrangements necessary to give guarantees to the companies so that they can keep going. (Sky News: 1800, 4.3.99)

However, most of the references in this section involved statements about the flurry of diplomatic activity which took place, with 34 relevant references:

Reporter:... The US ambassador hauled over the coals for the second day running, the World Trade Organisation to meet in emergency session and the US Secretary of State rushing from Indonesia to London tomorrow. (Channel 4: 1900, 5.3.99)

The majority here involved individual diplomatic incidents, negotiations and meetings, including an emergency meeting of the WTO:

Political editor:... Just to show you how big this is, Tony Blair has already talked to Bill Clinton about this, and we're told he may do so again. (Channel 5: 1900, 5.3.99)

Reporter:... The EU trade commissioner flew in for a meeting with the Trade Secretary to discuss battle tactics. (Sky News: 1800, 5.3.99)

Fourthly, 27 statements were made about the US ambassador being summoned to the Foreign Office, first on the 4th of March and then for a second time the next day. Some of these references were accompanied by comments indicating the highly unusual nature of this response:

Reporter:... American ambassadors aren't accustomed to being summoned to see British government ministers. (BBC2: 2230, 4.3.99)

Diplomatic editor:... The American ambassador was summoned to the Foreign Office to be told for the second time in 24 hours that US actions were unacceptable. (ITN: 2200, 5.3.99)

At short notice, an arrangement was made for an emergency session at the WTO in Geneva on 8th March. This was referred to 12 times:

Newsreader:... The WTO is meeting today in a bid to end the transatlantic banana war. (Channel 5: 1200, 8.3.99)

Sixth, the diplomatic procedure referred to most frequently, with 46 references, was the arrival of Madeleine Albright in London, for talks with the British Foreign Secretary. Included here were 12 confusing references to the significance of the banana dispute on the agenda in the talks between the American Secretary of State and the British Foreign Secretary:

Headline:... Madeleine Albright flies in for an emergency summit. (ITN: 1740, 5.3.99)

Reporter:... Top of the agenda was the banana dispute between the US and the EU which threatens an all out trade war. (BBC1: 2220, 6.3.99)

Newsreader:... As Secretary of State Madeleine Albright is in London for talks on Kosovo, has found bananas the more pressing British concern. (ITN: 1300, 6.3.99)

Newsreader:... They were also expected to discuss the murder of British and American tourists in Uganda. (BBC1: 1820, 6.3.99)

Reporter:... Well, certainly the Foreign Office are trying to play down the importance of them - saying they were never intended to resolve the banana trade dispute. (ITN: 1645, 6.3.99)

There were eleven references to US attempts to minimise the dispute. These included statements by the US ambassador, who referred to the banana dispute as an 'irritant', and news statements where his comments were interpreted as minimising the conflict:

US ambassador:...The friendship is so deep and so broad. We share so much in economic and political terms. This is an irritant in this overwhelmingly positive relationship. (Sky News: 1800, 5.3.99)

Reporter:... the US ambassador did his diplomatic best to minimise the conflict. (BBC1: 2100, 4.3.99)

Finally in this section, a further response to the dispute came from environmentalists who campaigned on the street in Edinburgh:

Reporter:... Suitably attired, environmentalists in Edinburgh urged shoppers to boycott bananas grown on US owned plantations. (Man dressed in furry banana suit offers free bananas to passers by) (BBC1: 1300, 5.3.99)

The same footage was shown again in the 6 o'clock news the same day, and one further reference was made on Channel 4. However, the reasons for Scottish environmentalists urging a boycott of US plantations were not explored anywhere in the coverage.

The Dispute and the World Trade Organisation

The earlier coverage by Channel 4 provided some indication of the background to the dispute. On 12.1.99, *Channel 4 News* informed the viewer that at that stage, America was asking the WTO to approve tough sanctions against the European Union, and that it had announced that sanctions would be imposed within two weeks because of European favouritism towards Caribbean bananas. The newsreader adopted a neutral stance on the dispute which was turned around in later coverage by Channel 4:

Newsreader:... The fact is there's no right and wrong in this banana battle - just various shades of grey, or even yellow. (Channel 4: 1900, 12.1.99)

Much of the information presented in this early report was to be repeated when the story re-emerged in March. However, there were a few references which did not reappear. One example concerned the WTO view on the status of Caribbean bananas:

Newsreader:... The WTO has said Caribbean bananas should retain special status. (Channel 4: 1900, 12.1.99)

On 30th January, *Channel 4 News* returned to the subject of the banana dispute, following a WTO decision made that day. The following brief statement was made updating the viewer on the situation:

Newsreader:... Yes, we have no banana war, according to the EU which claimed victory today over America. The WTO has told the US to postpone its threat to

impose sanctions worth half a million dollars. First it wants to decide whether the EU is acting unfairly to protect its own banana trade. (Channel 4: 1900, 30.1.99)

Overall, discussion of the central role of the WTO in this dispute was very limited. Although the involvement of the organisation was referred to on 105 occasions, virtually no explanation was offered to help the viewer understand the significance, function, background or activities of the World Trade Organisation. On only two occasions, very brief statements were made indicating what its role might be. Both suggest a benign role for the organisation:

Spokesperson for Caribbean producers:...What the WTO was set up for, which was in the interests of small countries who need the law because they haven't got the power. (BBC2: 2230, 4.3.99)

Political editor:... Now they've taken their case to the WTO - the body that's supposed to oversee fairness in trade. (Channel 5: 1900, 5.3.99)

60 of the relevant statements involved tit-for-tat accusations from both sides that the other had broken the rules of the WTO. 34 of these references were to the UK/EU breaking the rules by failing to comply with WTO requests to modify its banana import arrangements. On the other hand, the US was accused on 26 occasions of acting illegally by imposing sanctions in advance of the pending WTO ruling. Additionally there were 34 references to the history of the banana dispute and the involvement of the WTO over recent years - most of which were made by US political figures, in an attempt to demonstrate that the EU had not complied with WTO rulings, as with the following:

US ambassador, London:... the issue is really not about cashmere or bananas. It's about playing by the rules. (BBC1: 1900, 5.3.99)

In contrast, the statements that the United States had acted unilaterally and/or illegally in advance of a WTO decision:

Foreign Secretary:... I made it clear that we cannot accept that the US should act only a few weeks before the WTO gives its ruling. (ITN: 2240, 6.3.99)

EU ambassador, Washington:... I don't understand why the US has been so anxious to come in now in a unilateral way, in an illegal way, in a case which they pretend they're confident they're going to win. (Sky News: 1800, 6.3.99)

There were 34 references to the history of this dispute. Newsreaders and reporters made a minority of these:

Reporter:... a dispute which has been festering since 1993. (BBC2: 2230, 4.3.99)

Reporter:... a rift which has dragged on for six years (Sky News: 1800, 5.3.99)

Reporter:... and in 1994 the WTO agreed. The EU was ordered to open up its markets. (ITN: 1230, 5.3.99)

The majority of these references - 24 in total - were made by US representatives to justify their decision to impose sanctions on the EU. American politicians expressed frustration with the EU and the WTO in referencing the development of the dispute:

President Clinton:... Twice, just twice since I've been president, we won this case in the EU. I think we won it four times in the last ten years. Somehow the rules have to work. (ITN: 2200, 5.3.99)

US Trade Representative:... For six years - we have tried directly over the last 18 months - to engage the EU in direct negotiations, in negotiations with the WTO. Nothing seems to have worked. (BBC1: 2100, 4.3.99)

Further to this, there were ten occasions when the US questioned the integrity and feasibility of the WTO itself:

Philip Lader:... it really is the integrity of the WTO which is of question foremost...It's dealing with the stability and the ability of the WTO to follow its own regulations and to have all of its member nations and member entities comply with those. (Channel 4: 1900, 5.3.99)

Philip Lader:... What we have to be doing is working on the WTO's continued feasibility. (Sky News: 1800, 5.3.99)

The Two Bananas: Explaining the Crisis

Reporter:... They aren't grown in Europe or even in America, but today they sparked the most serious trade dispute between the European Union and the United States for a decade. (BBC1: 1800, 4.3.99)

This was one of only two references that made explicit the fact that, ironically, the fruit at the centre of the banana dispute is not grown in either the EU or the US. In this section I intend to consider the explanations available to the viewer for how the two trading blocks involved were on the brink of a trade war over a product grown elsewhere. This section was fairly limited, with 95 references. These included comments about where imported European bananas are grown, as well as comparisons between small Caribbean producers and American multinationals based in Latin America. Exactly half of the references in this section - 47 in total - concerned the powerful position of the multinationals. While there were two statements to the effect that bananas are not grown in either the US or the EU, there were a further eight references to the fact that the US does not grow bananas. These comments questioned the significance of the dispute to American industry:

Windward Islands Banana Development Spokesperson:... It certainly does not mean much to the US. They're not exporting bananas. There's not one US job at stake. (Channel 4: 1900, 5.3.99)

In most of the coverage, there was no reference to the extent of the protection offered to Caribbean banana farmers in the EU. The fact is that the majority of bananas purchased in Europe were already dollar bananas - bought from US multinationals. The quota for Caribbean bananas affected only a small proportion of total European imports. While this information could have an impact on the viewer's perception of American accusations of discrimination, this key point in this argument about quotas was only referred to twice - both on minority news bulletins:

Reporter:... Although they have less than ten percent of the European market, their privileges upset big American interests who grow bananas in Central America. (BBC2: 2230, 4.3.99)

Reporter:... Even though around 80% of European Union bananas still come from the United States anyway... (Channel 4: 1900, 5.3.99)

A significant part of the discussion on the context of the crisis involved comparisons between the producers of bananas. This section of the news coverage was important to the viewer's understanding of the interests of the EU and US in engaging in the dispute. Ten references here focused on the fact that Caribbean bananas are produced by small-scale farmers, 8 of them on BBC1:

Reporter:... There are about 3,500 banana farmers here, and they work on small family run plots of about 2 or 3 acres. (BBC1: 2100, 12.3.99)

Further to this, there were 12 references to British or European concerns to protect the economies of former colonies. All 6 channels referred to this:

Reporter:... (Europe) is just trying to help poor nations with historic ties without just bunging money at them. (BBC2: 2230, 4.3.99)

Political Editor:... It's basically to protect farmers in some very poor countries - in the Caribbean and in Africa. (Channel 5: 1900, 5.3.99)

Most of the discussion of the two bananas concerned the considerable power of US banana companies. Ten statements were made about the vastness of US banana plantations, and 47 about their power. Three channels dominated this discussion, with 24 references on Channel 4, and 23 references between BBC1 and BBC2. In contrast to comments about small family run businesses in the Caribbean, there were ten references to large US companies producing bananas on plantations.

Reporter:... These quotas anger the huge American growers like Chiquita which cultivates bananas on vast plantations like this in Central America. (BBC1: 2100, 4.3.99)

There was one statement suggesting that, similar to the EU, American motivation in the banana dispute was prompted by concerns for banana growers:

Newsreader interviewing US Ambassador:... Britain's worried about the banana growers in the Caribbean where we have traditional ties. America's worried about banana growers in Latin America. Both laudable concerns. (Sky News: 1800, 6.3.99)

Sir James Mitchell, premier of St. Vincent and the Grenadines drew the contrast between the 'two bananas':

Caribbean Premier:... And we're talking about a war between 25,000 farmers in a property owning democracy in the Caribbean and one plantation owner and nineteenth century slavery in Latin America. (BBC1: 2100, 12.3.99)

The fact that Caribbean bananas are more costly barely featured in the coverage. There were only two news bulletins which mentioned the actual cost of bananas.

Reporter:... EU quotas...make fruit more expensive. (BBC1: 1300, 5.3.99)

The point was made most forcefully by US Trades Spokesman Jerry Ziegler on the day the crisis caused by American sanctions was first reported on television news. While the US argued that Europeans were losing out due to the higher cost of Caribbean as compared to Latin American bananas, this information was not viewed as significant in the wider discussion of the issues involved:

US Trades Spokesperson:... If you look at what the banana regime has actually done in Europe, it's been quite a travesty in terms of its economic impact. We have seen the prices of bananas - Germany is one example - go up 25% under this new system, while consumption has gone down 25%.... It's certainly not working for the Caribbean, and not for the European consumer. (BBC2: 2230, 4.3.99)

One of the most significant points in discussing American banana companies is that of political donations to the US government, and the powerful position of these multinationals in influencing both US policy and Latin American governments. As Ransom (2001, p.70) commented, 'Every war needs a warmonger, and in the Banana War of 1999 that role was assumed by one Carl H Lindner Jnr.' Lindner heads the American Financial Group, which includes in its assets Chiquita, Dole Food Company and Del Monte Fresh Produce, all big banana corporations. In mid-1999 Lindner claimed that £500 million was what he was owed on account of the European banana 'regime'. A few days after his half million-dollar donation to Clinton, the banana war boiled over. Some comments on these donations referred simply to large sums of money exchanging hands:

Reporter:... South American bananas produced by companies that pump a great deal of money into American politics. (ITN: 1740, 5.3.99)

But most references linked the political donations to the origins of the banana dispute:

Reporter:... The most powerful government in the world now stands accused of yielding to their money and their influence by European politicians closest to the current trade dispute. (BBC1: 2100, 8.3.99)

Channel 4 News was the only programme to provide details of the specific donation from Chiquita, which it explained donated half a million dollars after the US government agreed to take the complaint about banana quotas back to the WTO.

Reporter:... Chiquita, one banana giant, persuaded Washington to take its grievance to the WTO. The next day, the company's top executives reportedly began funneling half a million dollars to Democratic coffers in about a dozen states. (Channel 4: 1900, 5.3.99)

While this statement would appear to provide key information explaining the origins of the banana crisis, it was not widely reported. There were also limited examples where reference was made to the power of US banana companies - again with emphasis on Chiquita - in relation to politics in Central and Latin America.

Reporter:... If anyone's going to benefit from the trade war, it will be these producers in South America, but the profits aren't likely to reach the pockets of the plantation workers. Instead they'll go to the big US firms that want to run the world banana trade. (Sky News: 1800, 6.3.99)

Reporter:... Driving American stridency - the giant banana companies - the biggest of them all Chiquita. It contributes millions to both big American political parties. It has the sort of power that can make or break governments in Central and Latin America, the original banana republics. (BBC1: 2100, 8.3.99)

Reporter:... And the challenge is that this is, as I say a dirty company, previously United Fruit, with a notorious record in the banana plantations of Central and Latin America, and it is they who are calling the shots. (Channel 4: 1900, 5.3.99)

There were occasional references to Chiquita having a 'murky' or 'dirty' past, although no reason was given for these comments. Further explanation,

highlighting the company's role in Guatemala's history, was available in the press while the television coverage continued:⁶

Bananas and American influence peddling have had a long and close association. Notoriously, the CIA organised a coup in Guatemala in 1954 on behalf of the United Fruit Company, corporate predecessor to Chiquita. (Laurance, 1999)

Wider Economic References

Reporter:... They agree on minor things like bombing Iraq but it took bananas to cut the special relationship to the quick. (Channel 4: 1900, 5.3.99)

Channel 4 News twice referred to the irony of a situation where the two countries which decided with ease to bomb Iraq, were now on the brink of a trade war over fruit. So what were the trading issues at stake in a dispute which was clearly viewed by all parties as extremely serious? The wider trade implications of the banana dispute were discussed in very limited terms across the television channels, with 28 references. Three of these referred to the US argument that free trade is essential:

US president:... But we cannot maintain an open trading system, which I'm convinced is essential for global prosperity unless we also have rules that are abided by. (ITN: 2200, 5.3.99)

⁶ 'In 1954 United Fruit - guided by legendary PR man Edward Bernays - orchestrated US support for the overthrow of the elected government of Arbenz, which intended to expropriate 400,000 acres of its land and support the demands of banana workers for better pay and conditions. Violent repression ensued and has plagued the country ever since. Anxious to distance itself from accusations that United Fruit were dictating US foreign policy, the US Government eventually began a federal antitrust suit against United Fruit's banana monopoly, and in 1958 the company was broken up. Chiquita Brands, the Dole Food Company and Del Monte Fresh Produce, the 'Big Three' banana companies of today, are its offspring and you can still see the genetic resemblance in them all too clearly' (Ransom, 2001, p77).

This key statement by Bill Clinton was barely referred to. Although he stated the importance of an open trading system, by contradiction there were 9 separate references by American political figures to the necessity of protecting their own trading rights:

US ambassador:... The issue really is how does the US protect its rights until there's the final decision. (Sky News: 1800, 5.3.99)

US ambassador:... What in fact we've done is acted to preserve the American interests in this interim period until a final determination is made. (BBC1: 1300, 5.3.99)

There was one example on BBC1, where trading principles were mentioned and briefly explained in relation to the banana dispute:

Reporter:... One way of looking at the problem is as a choice between free trade on the one hand and fair trade. In other words a choice between a multinational's right to sell as many bananas as they want into Europe against the desire of the small-scale farmers to protect their livelihood. (BBC1: 2100, 12.3.99)

Newsnight and Channel 4 News were the only two programmes to comment on the considerable economic power of the US, with 14 references, including statements that the US is prepared to adopt strong measures to protect its trade interests. In one example, a Caribbean spokesperson talked of America's 'bullying' tactics:

Spokesperson for Caribbean producers:... I think we're looking at a major case of trade terrorism. The US is adopting bullying and now blackmailing tactics, trying to put a pistol - I would describe it as a Chiquita pistol - at the head of the EU and threatening that unless Europe abandons the Caribbean, European workers who are innocent in all this would be hostage. (BBC2: 2230, 4.3.99)

Also an isolated example, *Channel 4* referred to the continuing development of the European Union as a trading block and compared this to the similar trading status of the US. Here, there was a suggestion that the possible arrival of a European dollar was viewed as a threat to American trade:

Newsreader:... We may be witnessing the start of a new and hostile relationship between the US and the EU, based on what America calls protectionism and spurred by the birth of the euro, which though weak today, will certainly come to be viewed eventually as the European dollar. Compare the two trading blocks. Europe has a population of 289 million. In the stars and stripes corner, America has a slightly smaller population of 267 million, but a bigger GDP at \$7,600 billion and the same share of world trade - 15%. (Graphics in background)
(Channel 4: 1900, 6.3.99)

The necessary background information to make sense of the dispute were largely absent from mainstream news.

Prescriptions

Discussion of how the escalating dispute between these two Western trading blocks could be resolved was limited. There were 32 references to what should be done, with none on *Channel 5 News*. Where means of resolving the crisis were referred to, they usually concluded that negotiation was the way forward. Of 25 references to the option of a negotiated settlement, 16 were made on *Channel 4 News*. On two editions of *Channel 4 News*, government ministers were asked specific questions about retaliatory measures. Their responses made the government position clear:

Trade Minister:... The last thing I have any interest in, and I hope the European Union has any interest in is escalating this through tit for tat because nobody gains out of that. What we have to do is to get into some kind of sanity here, and get this thing into the dispute procedures again, get an outcome by April 12th, and that should be the resolution of the matter. (Channel 4: 1900, 4.3.99)

Interviewed on *Channel 4 News* on 5.3.99, Robin Cook made eight statements to the effect that negotiation was the only option. When the newsreader asked the Foreign Secretary whether he had made it clear that Britain would retaliate if the sanctions went forward, he responded emphatically:

Foreign Secretary:... We want to wind down this dispute. We don't want to escalate the dispute. (Channel 4: 1900, 5.3.99)

Following a meeting with Trade Secretary, Leon Brittan, the EU Trade Commissioner expressed similar sentiments, although framing his statement in terms of legality:

EU Trade Commissioner:... We believe in observing the law. We think that we stand to gain in the long run and in the short term as well by observing the law, rather than by breaking the law. (Sky News: 1800, 5.3.99)

UK government representatives made most of the statements advocating a negotiated settlement. There were only two occasions when such references originated from US government representatives;

Newsreader:... The US ambassador to Britain hopes that the two countries can reach an agreement soon. (ITN: 1230, 5.3.99)

US Special Trade Representative:... Our view remains today as it did before that the best way to resolve this is through direct negotiations to a mutually agreeable solution. (Channel 4: 1900, 4.3.99)

A spokesperson for the World Development Movement speaking on Channel 4 urged the government not to give in to 'bullying':

WDM spokesperson:... If the US succeeds with bullying this time, they're going to try again in the future. (Channel 4: 1900, 5.3.99)

In discussing potential consequences of the banana dispute, I included statements about the possibility of damage to the 'special relationship' between Britain and the US. While this received less attention than the other potential consequences of the dispute, it was referred to on all six channels in our sample. However, there were three occasions where statements were made regarding trading relations and traditional loyalties, questioning the strength and validity of any 'special relationship':

Reporter:... Old friendships are under new and unprecedented pressure as Britain and its European partners are forced to choose between loyalty to former colonies and Commonwealth, and trade relations with the most powerful economy on earth. (BBC1: 2100, 8.3.99)

Spokesperson for the Caribbean producers:... The EU is facing a major test to stand up to the Americans in the interests of the Caribbean, and in the interests of Europe, but beyond that in the interests of the rule of law on international trade. (BBC2: 2230, 4.3.99)

Will Hutton, writer:...The Americans don't have friends - they have interests. Tony Blair is learning the hard way that a great power like America, and I think it behaves in some respects like an imperial power - when it sees its interests going begging - goes after people who it thinks are offending it. And it's going after the EU and Britain has to decide which side it's on - the EU or the US. (Channel 4: 1900, 6.3.99)

Discussion

The four largest sections of the coverage - references to the crisis, potential consequences, diplomatic activity and references to the WTO - account for 79% of television news on the banana dispute. While considerable information was available, most of it was descriptive. The section on possible consequences did include limited references to the possibility of further disputes between the US

and the EU on a range of issues under consideration at the WTO. However, explanations remained limited. Much of the coverage suggested that the UK government remained firm and authoritative in face of the US sanctions. The second largest section of the coverage, which concerned diplomatic activity, largely gave the impression that the British government was undaunted by the US action. This impression was partly created by the key players in the dispute. The Prime Minister was frequently quoted as stating that the US action was 'unacceptable' and that 'we won't have it.' Reporting which dramatised diplomatic events following the announcement of sanctions also fostered the impression. While it may have been unusual for the US ambassador to be summoned to the Foreign Office, numerous comments about him being 'hauled over the coals,' 'carpeted' and 'dressed down' indicated that the UK government had control over the situation. However, there were indications that there was little the UK government could do. Despite telephone conversations between the premiers of the UK and the US, meetings of EU officials and an emergency summit at the WTO, the outcome of the flurry of diplomatic activity was that the US position did not budge. Glasgow Media Group has described such reporting as 'news as ritual', resulting in thin coverage which does not assist rational understanding.

Journalists and politicians understand well that the routines of public life call for ritual performances which are sometimes consciously stage-managed to the satisfaction of both sides (GUMG, 1985, p237).

The other key area of coverage was on the potential consequences of the banana dispute, with four key outcomes discussed. The possibility of job losses in the UK was referred to most, partly because BBC Scotland covered the threat to the Scottish cashmere industry in detail. The possibility of the dispute escalating into a trade war was also a key concern. Combining these two consequences together with the third domestic consideration - damage to the 'special relationship' with America, there was far more attention paid to possible losses to be incurred by Britain/Europe than to the consequences for the Caribbean. The Windward

Islands' dependence on banana trade had already been adversely affected by the dispute:

Governments here, as well as US anti-narcotics agents, say one-third of all cocaine reaching the US or Europe now comes through the Windward Islands - more than 100 tons a year. As a result of the so-called 'banana war... marijuana is increasingly becoming the cash crop of choice here (Davison, 1999).

All channels referred to the potential for damage to the 'special relationship' between Britain and the US - though most frequently Sky News. The US ambassador was quoted frequently on his comment about the 'overwhelming friendship' between his country and Britain. However, the harsh reality was that the British government was forced by its 'special friend' into a no-win situation. As explained only on BBC2, Britain either had to agree to arrangements which would devastate the economy of the Windward Isles, or accept four figure job losses at home, and particularly in Scotland mid-election. The fact that the US had acted illegally was barely mentioned. Again in the interview for *Brixton On-Line*, Laurent (1999) cited the specific statute involved: Article 22.6: 'Concessions or other obligations shall not be suspended during the course of the arbitration.' The fact that Chiquita made a substantial donation to the Democratic Party within hours of the government's agreement to pursue this argument, did not feature strongly in the news coverage. The outcome of this exchange between Chiquita and the government could be viewed as cash for sanctions, in effect, raising questions about TNCs, political influence and the democratic deficit (see Chapter Two).

One of the key gaps in coverage of the banana dispute was the central role of the World Trade Organisation. Most references to the WTO concerned allegations and counter allegations to the effect that its rules had been broken. Some references to the possibility of an escalation of the trade dispute mentioned pending WTO disputes on a number of other trade issues. However, the potential implications of an all out trade war were not discussed. While the banana dispute

indicated the limitations of WTO procedures to resolve the complexities of trade in relation to support for poorer nations (see Chapter One), a subsequent dispute over American hormone injected beef demonstrated its limits in safeguarding health.⁷ Some commentators on the banana dispute argued that it was inextricably linked to GM foods. Burke (1999) argued that the US aggressive stance on bananas was calculated to deter further EU resistance on the much more economically significant, and politically difficult, biotechnology issues to follow. The three WTO disputes between the US and Europe referred to here all involve agribusiness. As Juniper (1999) commented, global competition is the name of the game for the TNCs behind these disputes.

Following the banana and beef disputes was to come the third ministerial meeting of the WTO in Seattle, with a proposal to negotiate trade rules that would deregulate international investment and government procurement. Despite the lack of publicity surrounding the plans, NGOs were already campaigning to oppose these unsustainable proposals. The following quote indicates the considerable concern existing among various NGOs about the relationship between the WTO and multinationals:

This autumn (the WTO) will begin a push, backed by many of the richest nations, to extend its powers even more. And some 700 organisations from 73 countries have sworn to stop it. Ranging from big outfits such as Oxfam, Friends of the Earth and the Japanese Consumers' Union to small grassroots networks in the Third World, they have signed a joint declaration to oppose any effort to expand the powers of the World Trade Organisation, saying that it has worked 'to prise open markets for the benefit of transnational corporations at the expense of national economies, workers, farmers and other people (Lean, 1999).

⁷ Although there is concern about the possibility of hormone treated beef being carcinogenic, the WTO in July 1999 again authorised trade sanctions on European goods, when the EU refused to lift its ban.

It was difficult to track the banana war story in the news following the main period of coverage in early March, 1999, although the dispute rumbled on for a further two years. In April 2001, the US lifted its punitive sanctions on luxury goods from the EU as Europeans abandoned their ACP banana quotas (BBC News online, 1999). As indicated above, even in 1999, the economic impact of the reduction in banana exports had already had serious economic consequences for the Windward Isles. Despite the emphasis by television news on the diplomatic brouhaha, and particularly the authoritative posture of the Prime Minister, the fact that the US ultimately got its way barely featured as a news story. The news sample for analysis of the banana dispute included 30 bulletins across six channels. There was limited explanation to aid the viewer's understanding. Where some form of explanation was available was in discussion of the relative power and influence of the producers of bananas, in relation to the WTO and to governments. However, even here there were significant absences in the account of TNC influence on government policy and international trade. The smallest section of the coverage concerned wider economic references, although, as discussed in Part One, such issues are essential to making sense of events. The fact that there are separate and conflicting trading principles involved in the drive for global free trade was, for the most part, unacknowledged in this coverage.

Case Study Two

Education in Tanzania

This economic news feature has been selected as a case study because, unusually, it highlights the role of an international financial institution in relation to development. This *Newsnight* feature which was broadcast on 22nd March, 1999, concentrated on the role of the International Monetary Fund and its impact on education. The report from Tanzania incorporated interviews with governmental and IMF representatives within the country, discussions with local people and teaching staff, and an explanatory narrative from the *Newsnight* reporter. One of the strengths of this report was the use of visual images of African people in a

variety of settings.⁸ This section will analyse the content of the Tanzanian education feature, as well as referring to information from other media. Linking with the discussion in Chapter One, it will conclude with a brief discussion of the wider role of the IMF and the World Bank, and their relationship to globalisation. This account will begin with the report headline, about the difficulties faced by a country burdened with debt repayment, and the need to redirect finances into education as a necessity for development:

Also tonight from Africa - it's a choice - debt repayment or education. In Tanzania, millions of children are losing out, consigned to a life without learning, in poverty.

This basic point, indicating that poor countries cannot 'develop' without education, was repeated at various stages. The newsreader informed that a report published the same day by the charity Oxfam had outlined this basic economic point:

More than a quarter of the world's children face the prospect of a life of poverty because they never go to school, or they leave before they learn to read and write. One reason, according to an Oxfam report published today, is a simple matter of mathematics. Many poor countries are being forced to spend far more on debt repayment than on education.

One of the unusual features of this report was that it highlighted African achievements within Tanzania, where the former president - Nyerere - had made significant advances in moving towards universal primary education. It also included impressive images of a graduation ceremony in a relatively poor African country:

⁸ This news item was selected as one of the video exercises for the audience research because of its attempts to explain the relationship between debt, education and development using striking images and the voices of local people to illustrate the reality of IMF policies.

It's an important day for Tanzanian education. 37 years on from independence, the East African state now has its own Open University, and this is the first graduation ceremony. Sitting alongside President Mkapa is the guest of honour, Julius Nyerere, Tanzania's first president. He spent his political life supporting the liberation struggles in Southern Africa and stressing that true liberation at home could only come through education. As president he declared the goal of free primary education for all, and almost achieved it back in the late seventies. Now the country's in debt and that goal has been abandoned.

The report then moved on to a film of a village school in Tanzania's farming heartland. The pupils all stood, outside the school building, dressed smartly in their uniforms. The headteacher called out a number of names of children, who stepped forward on being called. He then dismissed them from the school, while the narrator explained:

The new school year started in January when pupils who haven't paid their fees are summoned by the headmaster. The sums they owe may seem negligible translated into sterling, but these are the children of often desperately poor subsistence farmers, who find it hard to find £3 a year for school fees, and further contributions for desks or uniforms. It can come to nearly £12 per child.

Pictures from inside the school highlighted the lack of resources in education. With no desks and chairs, the children had to sit on the dirt floor. The headteacher also explained that he had only four teachers for over 200 pupils. The camera followed one of the dismissed pupils, Kasim Djuma, to his home. The narrator explained that his father's crops had failed due to drought one year, then El Nino and severe flooding last year and drought again this year. The father, Daudi Djuma explained (subtitled):

As you can see, this is a very small farm and I only grow maize. I don't have any cattle. The soil is poor, there's a drought and I'm unable to get together the money for my children's school fees.

Focusing on an individual family within one small farming community in Tanzania, *Newsnight* illustrated how farmers struggle to sustain their businesses in face of severe climate change. The feature showed how children from families living on the borderline are being locked out of education by IMF conditionality. Godfrey Wiwa from Oxfam explained the constraints placed upon education policy by the IMF:

This whole question of cost sharing which was imposed by IMF policies, it has affected very much mostly very poor parents. Over fifty percent of our people are very poor.

Despite the impossibility of many parents finding money to pay school fees, penalties can be harsh. The headmaster who had a family himself, faced having his own salary cut, if he failed to produce fees for all the pupils. He therefore reluctantly referred Daudi Djuma to the local council. Djuma was filmed appearing before the village council, who imposed the penalty of removing his bicycle, further hindering his capacity to look for paid work. He explained that because he simply could not pay, he might be sent to prison. The narrator explained that despite the stringent conditions imposed on education under the instigation of the IMF, debt relief remained a distant goal. An IMF assessment team was due to visit Tanzania:

If their report is positive, that Tanzania has correctly followed the agreed economic policies for the last three years, then the country's individual creditors have agreed to cut part of their debt. But there will still be no relief of the debt to the IMF and World Bank until after a second three year term in 2002, and that's not guaranteed.

The report concluded:

For the children of Isundi and all those others who're damaged by the crisis in Tanzania's schools, it's surely crucial that there is rapid relief, and a guarantee from the government that any savings made are spent on priorities like education.

Discussion

In television news generally, key economic terms are used fairly regularly in discussing such issues as world trade (the banana war) and debt cancellation. Reference to such terms does not necessarily assist understanding however. The feature on Tanzania focused particularly on the relationships between education, debt and development. The DfID audience research (2000) indicated that although viewers were usually aware of the existence of the IMF, and had heard of the debt campaign, many did not understand the relationship between the two. Where the Tanzanian story differed from most similar items in the news was in its attempt to explore concepts of development in relation to the role of an international financial institution. Statements about the conflict between debt repayment and education were repeated throughout the feature. While the economic situation portrayed was bleak, it was set in context. The feature also included positive images such as introductory film of Tanzania's first Open University graduation ceremony. Images of urban areas were interspersed with the continuing narrative of life in a rural area. The policy of penalising individuals who failed to pay school fees was dramatically illustrated by the film of children being dismissed from school in the presence of the school population, and subsequently the imposition of unpayable fines on the family⁹,

While this report made inroads in reporting the failure of the IMF to impact on poverty in a specific country, it did not make an explicit link between debt and trade. Southern countries have amassed unmanageable debts largely because northern governments have stacked the terms of trade heavily in their own favour. Creditor nations have compounded the problem by insisting that debtor nations

⁹ Palast (2000b) reported that school enrolment in Tanzania had fallen from 80 per cent to 66 per cent due to fees. Due to charges for hospital visits, the number of patients treated in the three public hospitals in Dar es Salaam reduced by 53%. Tanzania was the fifth country to receive debt relief under the Cologne initiative. In April 2000 the Paris Club of creditor nations said they agreed to immediate cancellation of \$390 million of Tanzania's external debt. However, according to Jubilee 2000 (2000) evidence from the WB suggested that this would amount to only a 7% reduction in debt.

further modify their economies to serve the demands of an unequal global market (see Chapter One). This feature did refer to the economic programmes imposed by the IMF. However, it is important to note that it is through such measures that indebted countries are forced to deregulate their economies and accept unfavourable terms of trade, and that these multilateral lending institutions, are therefore key players in the progress of globalisation. A year after this *Newsnight* report was broadcast, Tanzania continued to highlight many of the shortcomings of the debt deal on offer. Ten years of tough economic reform had not translated into improvements in the everyday lives of Tanzanians. The reduction in debt awarded in return for strict economic reforms tailored to the requirements of rich countries, did not in fact translate into financial benefit for the country (Denny and Elliott 2000).

Chapter Six

Political coverage

Case Study One

The Nigerian Elections

The Nigerian presidential elections were held on 27.2.99. The elections had particular significance, after 15 years of military rule in the country. These elections were covered across the five terrestrial British TV channels, to varying extents. Channel 5 and ITN provided least coverage. *Newsnight* and *Channel 4 News* included more in depth information on specific issues surrounding the elections. *Newsnight* reported on the Biafran War and the Ibos on 1.3.99 while *Channel 4 News* broadcast a report on tensions between North and South Nigeria on 1.3.99. Although this story is categorised under the heading of 'political' it is clearly the case that political and economic matters are related. It is important to make this point at the outset as economic matters are often presented as being neutral and apolitical, separate from the realm of democratic control. As discussed in Chapter Two, economically powerful Western nations have increasingly assumed the right to decide which nations should be conferred 'democratic' status, one of the key stated criteria influencing foreign policy decisions. As with much coverage of elections in developing countries, the reporting of the Nigerian elections focused on the legitimacy of the election process in the country. The standards for such applications vary dramatically, with judgements determined largely by how neo-liberal a given state is deemed to be.

Background

Before discussing the news coverage of the Nigerian election, I will summarise the recent history of the country, to contextualise the news events.¹⁰ Nigeria obtained independence from Britain on 1 October 1960 and a federal government was formed. Like most ex-colonies in the continent, its boundaries were defined arbitrarily to demarcate where the competing claims of the imperial powers collided. Three regions were officially defined by the principal ethnic groups in the country - the Hausa and Fulani in the semi-autonomous Muslim feudal states in the desert north, Yoruba in the south-west, and Ibo in the south-east, which was where the country's only significant source of income - oil - was exploited. The oil company Shell has operated in the country since before independence (Rowell, 1996, p.292).

As the military took over in the mid-1960s, and the economic situation deteriorated, tensions flared. Up to 30,000 Ibos were killed in fighting with Hausas, and around 1 million refugees fled to their Ibo homeland in the east. On 30 May 1967, the head of the Eastern Region, Colonel Emeka Ojukwu, unilaterally declared the independent Republic of Biafra. After initial military gains, the Biafran forces were pushed back. The declaration of independence marked the start of a three-year civil war. The war ended in 1971 with the surrender of Biafra. Britain was among many countries opposed to the Biafran war of independence. Pilger (1998) comments that the Wilson government conspired with the Nigerian military regime to crush Biafra. Britain was a key arms supplier to the federal government (Philips, 2000). Finally, between one and two million civilians died in fighting and from famine. Photographs of starving children with huge distended stomachs from protein deficiency raised international awareness of the crisis. Ultimately Biafra was reabsorbed into Nigeria.

An account (Ramsay 1993) of memoirs by former British Labour Ministry employee in Nigeria, Harold Smith, indicates significant levels of colonial corruption climaxing with Smith's discovery that his duties included election-

¹⁰ This history is based on information provided in the Channel 4 website which accompanied the election coverage, and on a report for BBC online by Philips (2000).

rigging. Ramsay describes Smith's account as the missing link in the received account of the period that begins with Nigerian independence and ends with the Biafran War:

Rigging the elections in 1956 and 1960 led to the Biafran War as the Ibos rebelled against domination by the British stooges in the North.

Continuing British neo-colonial control of Nigeria can be priced in bodies: perhaps two million dead during the Biafran War.

During the 1970s and 80s Nigeria saw a succession of military coups. At the same time the oil industry boomed, with only a tiny minority of Nigerians benefiting. In 1985 General Babangida became the first military president, promising to restore democracy. Eventually, in 1993, Nigerians went to the polls, when Chief Abiola was voted president. However, Babangida annulled the elections. In the ensuing political crisis, General Sani Abacha seized power. Abacha showed contempt for human rights and democracy - suppressing opposition to his government. Also in 1993, 300,000 Ogoni people marched in protest at the money being made from their oil-rich lands, which were being exploited by the Anglo-Dutch consortium Shell. The march marked the start of a period of military terrorisation of the Ogonis. The plight of the Ogonis was brought to the world's attention in May 1994 when the environmentalist and writer Ken Saro Wiwa was arrested with other Ogoni leaders on fraudulent charges. In November 1995 Ken Saro Wiwa, along with eight Ogoni leaders, was executed. Abacha died in June 1998, followed rapidly by the death of Abiola in custody. General Abubakar became the interim president, until the 1999 elections.

Sample and Method

There were 13 relevant news bulletins during the week of the elections, between 25th February and 1st March, including at least one each from the five terrestrial channels. I also looked at three *BBC1* bulletins from mid-February, which provided information about conflict over oil wealth in the country, and the only

bulletin covering the parliamentary elections, which had already been held on 19th February. *ITN* and *Channel 5* provided the briefest coverage. *Newsnight* highlighted the circumstances of Nigeria's Ibo people in a special report on 1.3.99. *BBC1* covered the elections (and related stories on Nigeria) most frequently, with a total of 8 bulletins. *Channel 4* provided the most in-depth coverage of the election, including background reports on the protest of the Ijaw people in the Delta, and on conflict between the North and South of the country.

Table 6: Coverage of the Nigerian elections

The Presidential Elections	
Nigeria votes to elect a president	4
Democratic elections after 15 years of military rule/dictatorship/corruption	19
The army's retreat to barracks is far from assured	3
Winning candidate in last elections - Abiola - died in prison last year	1
Military dictator Sani Abacha died last year, paving way for elections	2
Former military general Olusegun Obasanjo is tipped to win	8
Twenty years ago he organised elections and handed power to civilian regime	4
Obasanjo late for rally	9
His opponent is former finance minister Olu Falae	3
It's an open secret ballot - fingerprinting in the open	2
International observers are present	3
There have been accusations/evidence of vote-rigging	11/7
Leading opponent Olu Falae said he would reject the results	3
Former US president Carter says some rigging, but it is difficult to judge	6
Vote rigging only compensated for low turnout	3
General Ob is Nigeria's new civilian president - 65% of the vote	8
World led to believe it's a watershed.	3
For ordinary Nigerians it's a different story	2
Candidates/Newly elected president lacks policy	4
Country to return to democracy at end May	1
Obasanjo has promised new anti corruption measures	4
Obasanjo is mistrusted because of his military connections	6

Nigeria's Guardian newspaper formerly subject of oppression	5
TOTAL	121
Nigeria	
Most populous African country/vast country	5
Nigeria is the world's sixth largest oil producer	4
Oil wealth has been squandered/economy in a shambles	12
People left poor and angry	4
Domestic fuel shortages - Motorists can't buy petrol	2
The price of oil is falling	1
No electricity	6
No water	3
Need properly equipped schools and hospitals	4
Result significant to rest of Africa and outside investors	1
TOTAL	42
The Delta Region	
Increasing numbers of kidnappings - youth demanding share of wealth	2
Execution of Ken Saro Wiwa (under Abacha)	2
Nigeria was outcast (after the execution)	1
Nigeria's elections to result in return to international community	1
Demands of Delta region (a headache to new govt.)	5
Delta people have no voice	4
Oil/Shell does not provide wealth for Delta people	8
Oil industry causes pollution	3
Local chief punished for his people's protests	3
Ijaw the angry young men of the Delta	3
Neighbouring Itshekiri say the Ijaws are attacking their villages/that they should vote	3/2
TOTAL	39
Prescriptions	
Elections will not make any difference	2
Democracy will be better than a military regime	4
Nigeria needs to be united	12

Military will not stay out of power long.	3
TOTAL	22

The Presidential Elections

This first section of the election coverage is by far the largest, with 121 of a total of 276 references. This section includes comments on the recent history of military rule in Nigeria, the organisation of the presidential elections, the background of the two candidates and their policies, or lack of them. There were various references in this section, of which two were made most frequently. The first of these two stated that democratic elections were being held in Nigeria. This statement formed the headline of most bulletins, and usually included a reference to previous years of military rule. There were 19 references like this.

Headline:... And ending fifteen years of military dictatorship and corruption, Nigeria votes for democratic government. (1830, Channel 4: 27.2.99)

The second most frequent reference was to allegations of vote rigging:

Headline:... A president is elected, but there are allegations of vote-rigging on a huge scale. (1900, Channel 4: 1.3.99)

Reporter:... Election observers including the former US president Jimmy Carter were worried by some of the cheating they saw. (1800, BBC1: 1.3.99)

Of eighteen references like this, thirteen were made by *BBC1 News*, which included video evidence from one town, where inhabitants had had to wait all day for ballot papers, only to discover finally that there were nowhere near enough papers for all those eligible to vote:

Reporter:... It looks as though the ballot rigging was intended mostly to make up for the low turnout. A senior aide told me privately that they'd only done it in places where they were strong. (BBC1: 1.3.99, 2100)

Significantly, the briefest of the bulletins in our sample, which was broadcast after the election, contained no information other than the two most frequent references:

Nigeria's ousted General Obasanjo looks set to win the country's crucial elections to restore democracy. But the vote's been marred by rigging allegations and the leading opponent Olu Falae said he would not accept the results. (ITN: 28.2.99, 1815)

A similar statement was made on *Channel 5*, the day the election results were announced:

The results of the Nigerian presidential election have just been announced, with a landslide victory for the PDP. General Obasanjo won by 7 million votes, ending 15 years of army rule. But international observers are already investigating accusations of cheating and ballot rigging made by the opposition. (Channel 5: 1.3.99, 1900)

The effect of these bulletins is to convey a negative impression. While indicating that this African country had an opportunity to restore democracy in an election, the ITN news statement already indicates that corruption and conflict were the outcome. Although the *Channel 5* bulletin started on a positive note, the end impression is the same. While the other channels in our sample made these statements, the inclusion of background and contextualising information gave a broader picture of the elections.

The third most frequent reference in this opening section - that Obasanjo was late for a campaign rally - was made on 9 occasions. The reason for this was that on 26.2.99 *Channel 4 News* was broadcast from a planned rally the day before the election:

Reporter:... It's 2.30 in the afternoon and we're waiting for the big man - the man who would be president of Nigeria. (Channel 4: 26.2.99, 1900)

References in this section were the only ones made by ITN and Channel 5. The remainder of this analysis concerns only BBC1, BBC2 and *Channel 4 News*, mainly based on special reports.

Nigeria

This second section includes references to Nigeria as a whole. Of a total of 42 references to Nigeria generally, 25 were made by BBC1, 10 by BBC2 and 7 by Channel 4. The following refer to the population, size and oil wealth of the country:

Newsreader:... Nigeria is Africa's most populous nation, rich in oil and gas. (BBC1: 19.2.99, 2100)

Reporter:... The country that General Obasanjo has been elected to govern is vast: 110 million people, 280 different ethnic groups. (BBC1: 1.3.99, 2100)

The third most frequent reference in the election coverage, involved comments about Nigeria's oil wealth being plundered, contributing to the existing economic shambles. The three channels referred to this legacy, with a total of 12 references between them:

Reporter:... Nigeria's military rulers have been masters of illusion. While the country's oil industry produced millions of dollars, the people running the government simply made the money disappear.... It is a telling contrast - on the one hand Nigeria's oil wealth, and on the other its agonising poverty. (BBC1: 1.3.99, 2100)

Reporter:...The economy is in a state of complete shambles after years of corruption and misrule by military leaders. (BBC2: 1.3.99, 2230)

Reporter:... The trick of Nigeria's military rulers has been to make the country's wealth vanish - as if by magic. (Channel 4: 26.2.99, 1900)

References to the contrast between the poverty of most Nigerian people and the country's oil wealth mainly focused on corrupt leaders as the problem. There was only one brief reference to Western interests in relation to the elections. (The interests of Western oil corporations were to feature in special reports only):

Reporter:... The biggest country in Africa has struggled off military rule after 15 years, and voted in a civilian government. That's important for the rest of Africa and to all those countries like Britain with big investments here. (BBC1: 1.3.99, 2100)

Most of the remainder of this analysis concerns *Channel 4 News* or *Newsnight*. BBC1's coverage did however include a small number of references in each of the remaining sections.

The Delta Region

Channel 4 News broadcast a special report on the Delta region of Nigeria on 25.2.99. *BBC1* had also concentrated on Nigeria's oil industry in a briefer report on 19th February. In this section, twelve references were made by *BBC1*, with the remainder of 39 references made by *Channel 4*. References to Nigeria's oil industry, included criticisms of the oil company Shell, and reported the protests by the inhabitants of the oil producing area of the Delta. *Channel 4* began its report with an introductory comment about the conflict between oil wealth and poverty in the Delta, and a question about the likelihood of democratic elections succeeding in this context:

Headline:.... And from the Nigerian Delta, how squandered oil riches have left its people poor and angry. So will they seize their chance to vote for change. (Channel 4: 25.2.99, 1900)

The newsreader continued his introduction by referring to the former repression of protesters such as Ken Saro Wiwa.

Newsreader:... In the swampland of Nigeria's Delta, the heirs of Ken Saro Wiwa are demanding change. The government hanged him for his protests but that hasn't silenced those who now want a share of their region's vast oil wealth.
(Channel 4: 25.2.99, 1900)

Both the *Channel 4* and *BBC1* reports included local voices, illustrating the extent to which inhabitants of the Delta feel powerless, excluded and damaged by the oil industry. Following the studio introduction to *Channel 4*'s bulletin, the report from Nigeria began with a statement from an elderly Nigerian couple:

Local people:... We have no voice, we have no voice. If you talk, they bring armed men to silence you. (Channel 4: 25.2.99, 1900)

On *BBC1*, a local spokesperson explained the reasons for existing resentment towards the oil companies:

Local person:... Our people have nothing - no benefit from Shell - no employment, no render, nothing from Shell. They are just here for their own purpose, their own money. (BBC1: 19.2.99, 2100)

The same report introduced a disaffected young male whose livelihood was adversely affected by the polluting aspects of the oil industry:

Reporter:... People like Adam belong to a youth organisation of the Ijaw tribe, which is becoming increasingly militant because they say they can't fish for example in clear water and they're begging the new government to change things.
(BBC1: 19.2.99, 2100)

On Channel 4, a young local activist was introduced as a follower of Ken Saro Wiwa:

Paterson Ogan:... There's no justice, there's no fairness in what we are living here. We've living in poverty, in misery - we are living in oppression. And the leadership is just a clique. (Channel 4: 25.2.99, 1900)

However, the 'angry young men of the Delta' were not the only ones to be given a voice in this report. The neighbouring Itshekiri people claimed in the programme that elements of the Ijaw youth were behaving in a lawless fashion and advocated giving the democratic process a chance:

Youth leader:... We've had enough military rule, and so now it's time for democracy. Let us try this - whether it will actually work for us. (Channel 4: 25.2.99, 1900)

Finally, Channel 4's report concluded with a comment on diminishing oil profits:

Reporter:... Nigeria's greatest irony - fuel shortages, because oil is exported and the refineries for local consumption have broken down. The oil now selling at only \$10 a barrel - even if the new government does ensure that more wealth stays where it's produced - there'll be far less to go round. Oil should have been Nigeria's blessing, but it's become the Delta's curse. (Channel 4: 25.2.99, 1900)

Both news channels highlighted the contrast between Nigeria's oil wealth and the impoverished conditions of the people. In the Delta, the viewer could see that as well as local people living in poverty, they also lived on polluted land, and fished in water polluted by the oil industry. There was further discussion in the press of the interests of companies like Shell in Nigeria. Alex Duval Smith indicates the motivation of Western countries and companies in supporting the elections there:

The developed world is eager to do business with Nigeria. Its oil companies have been unable to do so properly since November 1995,

when General Abacha ordered the execution of the author Ken Saro-Wiwa.... Last week, in a show of support for General Abubakar's transition programme, Royal Dutch/Shell announced that it would invest \$8.5 billion (£5.3 billion). European and US companies are dying to return, now the word 'democracy' can be said to be part of Nigerian politics (Duval Smith, 1999).

While both news reports on the Delta Region provided key information about the economic and political context to Nigeria's circumstances, the press report raised a critical question about the concept of 'democracy' with regard to the elections. This analysis will now consider the final special report in the Nigerian election coverage.

The Biafran War and the Ibos

Newsnight covered the Nigerian elections in a single special news report on 1.3.99.¹¹ The reporter visited the East of Nigeria, where the Biafran war of independence was fought. The report focused on 'one of the biggest tribes' in the country, the Ibos, and their marginalised status. The report presented documentary evidence of deprivation, and included interviews with local people. An Ibo businessman, Ruben Ogbannaya, commented on the hopelessness of trying to keep his textile shop running. As well as illustrating local economic difficulties, Ruben introduced the subject of the Biafran War, as a veteran who fought for independence:

Reporter:... The aim was to have a separate state. Losing meant staying inside Nigeria.... When the war began, his commanders believed their people's sense of purpose would see them through to a glorious victory. They could not have been more wrong. The Nigerian army was far better equipped, and with the world against them, the Biafrans were crushed.

¹¹ As all the quotes in this section are from a single report, the report is not referenced in each case.

Another veteran, Chief Nwosu who runs a hotel in Enugu, was interviewed. He commented on the lack of amenities in the country, a theme referred to frequently across the channels. The reporter summarised the feelings of the Ibo people, as a group who feel disenfranchised:

Reporter:... It's almost as if the Ibos, Nigeria's third largest tribe, have been left on the scrapheap. The level of neglect in Enugu does violence to the senses..... They know they're referred to in other parts of Nigeria as 'the vanquished'... As far as most Ibos are concerned, they're still being punished for fighting the Biafran war.

Finally he interviewed Ezeke Ibuchukwu, an Ibo described as a young radical. Ezeke was filmed interviewing and collecting the stories of disabled Biafran veterans, who beg at the roadside. Ezeke, who claimed to speak for all young Ibo, indicated that the continuing neglect of the Ibo people was fuelling resentment:

Youth activist:... Completely we will fight again, if the injustices in this country are not corrected.

The *Newsnight* report on the elections was made more informative by the inclusion of local people's voices, each with a different point to make. This report provided an additional focus on the eastern region of Nigeria, its reflection on the Biafran war there, and the continued marginalisation of the Ibos.

North and South

This story is based on *Channel 4 News* reports, broadcast on 27.2.99 and 1.3.99. There was also a brief reference made by BBC1. While these reports compared the North and South of Nigeria, they mainly consist of comments on the culture of the North, which is described as being conservative, Muslim and occupied by military personnel. The candidates' appeal to the electorate was also explained against this background. Both BBC1 and Channel 4 made similar points about the importance of the cultural leader in the North - the Emir. On Channel 4, the

comment on the Emir was accompanied by the only reference to the legacy of colonialism in the coverage:

Reporter:... Nigeria might just have elected a new president, but here in Kano the Emir remains the cultural leader of the people. The traditions of Northern Nigeria are very different from the South and very much alive. The people are Muslim. They speak Hausa - united with the Yorubas and Ijaws of the South by an accident of colonialism. (Channel 4: 1.3.99, 1900)

Local doctor Beko Ransome Kuti, explained that people living in the South had considerable reservations about the different culture of the North:

Beko Ransome Kuti:... I am very clear that we are just not the same people. We have different cultures, we have different regions, different outlooks, different aspirations. You see they have the feudal system there, which cannot work in the South. (Channel 4: 1.3.99, 1900)

The extent of suspicion and resentment of people living in Southern Nigeria was also highlighted by the reporter, who emphasised the difficulty faced by the new president in gaining the trust of the South Nigeria:

Reporter:...Most people here in Lagos and elsewhere in Southern Nigeria voted against General Obasanjo, even though he comes from this part of the country. He's going to find it really difficult to persuade Southerners that he's not just a stooge for the North and the military, protecting the same old interests (Channel 4: 1.3.99, 1900)

Apart from a brief comment on BBC1, Channel 4 was the only channel to report on tensions between North and South Nigeria, which were to flare after the elections.

Predictions/Prescriptions

The analysis above indicates a range of opinions and conflicting interests behind the Nigerian elections. There were various predictions for the longer-term outcome and suggestions of what should be done to avoid deepening conflict in the country. Channel 5 and ITN, did not make predictions about the consequences for Nigeria. The report by *Newsnight* cautiously concluded with an open verdict:

Reporter:... The election has lit a path but no one knows where it will lead."
(*Newsnight*: 1.3.99, 2230)

BBC1 and Channel 4 attempted to assess how effective the changeover from military to civilian government would be. Nigerian people made a minority of these predictions, with the majority by reporters. There were two references, reflecting local opinion, which indicated that the elections were irrelevant:¹²

Fela Ransome Kuti:.... I'm one of the pessimists. I don't think these elections are relevant. (Channel 4: 1.3.99, 1900).

Reporter:... These are the Ijaw - the angry young men of the Delta.... They don't believe the elections - the transition from military to civilian rule - will make any difference to their lives. (Channel 4: 25.5.99, 1900)

Similarly sceptical, a further three references indicated that the military would not stay out of power for long:

Reporter:... The worry for everybody is that civilians won't rule Nigeria for long.
(BBC1: 26.2.99, 1800)

There were four statements to the effect that democracy was in itself an improvement in Nigeria's circumstances. Three of these were made by BBC1:

¹² The view expressed by local people in Nigeria, that elections will make no difference, mirrors the view increasingly expressed by disillusioned voters in the North, as discussed in Chapter Two.

Reporter:... So there are high expectations that at last Nigeria's poor may start to get a slice of its wealth. Fortunately the vote rigging has not much affected confidence in the election result. Democracy is sending a thrill through this country. (BBC1: 1.3.99, 1800)

While a Nigerian businessman made a fourth on *Channel 4 News*:

Nigerian oil prospector:... It is important because we've been making one step forwards and twenty backwards in terms of democracy, and I think this is one of the last opportunities we have to restore democracy in this part of the world. (Channel 4: 27.2.99, 1830)

Most prescriptive references on the Nigerian elections concerned the need to unite the population of the country, for democracy to succeed. There were a total of 12 references here, including general statements about the need for unity. Referring to the large population and wide variety of ethnic groups in Nigeria, the following conclusions were drawn:

Reporter:... Keeping all these different peoples together will be extremely hard. General Obasanjo has just four years to do it. (BBC1: 1.3.99, 2100)

Law Student:... The priority of any leader that will be voted today is to see that Nigeria becomes united, in such a way that everybody will have the feeling that he's a Nigerian irrespective of his religion and tribe. (Channel 4: 27.2.99, 1830)

Discussion

The quality and quantity of the coverage of the Nigerian elections varied across channels. ITN and Channel 5 provided scant coverage, which included only the most frequent references from the overall coverage, to irregularities in the vote. While all five channels included references to vote rigging, a statement referring only to this aspect of the elections conveyed a hopeless image of corruption. Among the remaining three channels, specific case studies and examples were

used to illustrate the competing demands and conflicts confronting Nigeria's new president. BBC1 provided the greatest breadth of coverage, with a total of eight related bulletins, including coverage of the oil industry as a source of increasing conflict in the country. The remaining two channels, focused on specific social issues within Nigeria to illustrate the complexity of the society in which the elections were being held.

Newsnight's report on 1st March was the only example to include references to the history of Nigeria. While the Biafran War had taken place some thirty years earlier, its impact on the Ibo people was still evident. Interviews with locals highlighted frustration due to their marginal position. Channel 4's reports on the conflict between the North and South of Nigeria provided background information on cultural and religious divides in the country, strengthened by Northern alliances with the military. The report on the Delta region concentrated on the contrast between the considerable oil wealth generated in the area, and the abject poverty of the mainly Ijaw people, who receive no benefit from the oil industry but suffer the consequences of pollution. These reports provided useful background information on internal politics. However there remain two key concerns about the coverage. As discussed in Part One, parliamentary democracy is an increasingly contested concept. While there were mixed views on the elections among Nigerian voices, the wider news coverage presented this event as significant. The second related point concerns the role of international economics in determining the circumstances of ordinary Nigerians.

Much of the coverage of the Nigerian elections centred on the concept of citizens gaining democracy by virtue of voting for their president - a plank of parliamentary democracy. Clearly, in a country that had been subjected to years of military rule, the possibility of a civilian government did appear preferable. However, as Williams argued (1985) the existence of a parliament does not in itself indicate the existence of democracy. As discussed in Chapter Two, some Western governments continue to preach to developing countries about how democracy should be installed, while actively working to weaken their own nation states in favour of promoting free trade and liberalisation. Further to this, there

are critical differences in how elections are covered by British media, depending on their geographical location. One of the most frequent media messages of the coverage of the Nigerian elections was that the elections were not truly democratic, that the voting was rigged. This is comparable to British television coverage of the elections in Zimbabwe in 2002 which involved more widespread allegations of vote-rigging, and of threatened and actual violence towards opponents of the existing government. While the intention here is not to deny that the Zimbabwean government was engaged in repression, television news failed to question the external interests connected to the Zimbabwean elections.¹³ Other commentators in the press questioned the role of western observers:

Over the last decade, election observing has become little more than a tool of powerful states to interfere in the internal affairs of weak ones. Monitors delegitimise elections that elect a candidate the west does not like, while turning a blind eye to the deficiencies of polls that produce the desired outcome. The hypocrisy is breathtaking (Laughland, 2002).

The US election, which followed the year after this Nigerian election, involved numerous voting 'irregularities.' Despite evidence of serious flaws in the voting process in the US elections (Borger, 2000, 2002a, Hutton, 2000, Palast, 2000c) they were not reported in the same manner as those in Nigeria and Zimbabwe. The need for observers at US elections was not raised.

The coverage of the Nigerian elections barely examined their relation to the global economy or broader Western interests. While Nigeria's debt did not feature in the news, Jubilee 2000 (2000) commented specifically on Nigeria in its final report:

Corrupt Nigerians borrowed recklessly from equally irresponsible western lenders (including the British government) and then promptly banked that money in British, Jersey and Swiss banks. While Nigerian dictators continued to oppress their people, often with western weapons, British and

¹³ Further to this, BBC World Service staff criticised the BBC line on Zimbabwe as being colonial (Wells, 2002b)

European banks kept quiet about the loot they were hiding and profiting from.'

Further, the conditionality accompanying any further 'assistance' from the IMF was and is critical in determining the conditions of life for most Nigerians. The WDM (2000a) report on resistance to IMF policies, indicated continuing unrest in Nigeria following the elections. Civil society groups continued to protest that their elected president was continuing with unpopular IMF-advised policies. Nigerian newspapers reported the 'same old story', with Obasanjo planning to deregulate the oil sector and raise petrol prices. A general strike took place in June 2000 when the government continued with the IMF advised fuel price hike. Kwesi Owusu, Head of the Jubilee 2000 Africa Initiative, commented, 'Popular outrage alone does not change the minds of governments under such tremendous pressure from the IMF to implement stringent measures that are at odds with what this country and its people desperately need.'

Nigeria's oil industry demonstrates how international trade can influence the ecology and political climate of countries in the South. One of the multinationals whose image has been tarnished by association with ecological and human rights abuses in recent years is Shell. As discussed in the introduction, Shell has come under fire for its operations in Nigeria, and particularly its association with the execution of writer and campaigner Ken Saro-Wiwa and others. The company still operates in Nigeria. Conflict in the Delta Region continued after the elections, with reports of sabotage and kidnapping by Ijaw splinter groups, and of summary executions of Ijaw protesters by the Nigerian military (Vidal, 1999a). This has not deterred Western investors, waiting since 1995 to be able to increase dealings with the country. On the wider point about TNC involvement in the South, Sklair (2002, p79) makes this observation:

The Nigerian case is illustrative of a common pattern. As a proportion of the total economy, TNC investment is small, but as a proportion in some important industries, for example oil, machinery, and financial services, it is substantial. In the technologically advanced sectors, the TNCs are

dominant. Nigerian scholars have pointed to major structural distortions in economy and society for which the TNCs are at least partly responsible.

Television news coverage of the elections demonstrated considerable doubt about the potential inclusiveness of Nigerian governance, focusing on the limited influence of the Ibos and Ijaws and the conflict between North and South. But the purposes and priorities of Western investors received less attention. The overall image was of a country that can't govern itself and therefore from which the mass of the population is excluded. What is not discussed is the extent to which this situation results from impositions of the global economy - particularly the structural adjustment requirements of the IMF. The military buy their arms from the West or on the 'free market' and the money to do so comes from the oil companies. The mass of the population does not enter the equation. The skills exist within the Nigerian population to govern the country in a more progressive fashion. They are not allowed to do so. What is missing from the television news is an explanation of how the global economy actually works.

Case Study Two

South Africa

This case study of political programming consists of two documentaries filmed in South Africa. The first three case studies in this content analysis have consisted of news reports. In the concluding discussion to this section, I will consider how the documentary format differs from television news reporting, in terms of its limits and possibilities. Both documentaries, made by BBC, focussed on the lives of black people in townships. They were firstly *Snapshot*, which filmed actress Helen Mirren on a trip to South Africa, to witness the effects on women and children of the violence there. Secondly there was BBC's *Panorama - The Search for Cynthia Mthebe*, which involved journalist Feargal Keane returning to South Africa to see how a family he had met five years ago were living post-apartheid. The perspectives offered by each programme will be considered, before comparing them in the discussion.

1)Snapshot

Snapshot was a three part series shown on BBC1 in February 1999, going behind the scenes with people in the public eye at 'key moments in their lives.' The first programme, screened on 8.2.99, accompanied actress Helen Mirren to South Africa. The influence of an NGO was evident in this programme. The trip was organised by the charity Oxfam, to witness the human cost of gun violence. Helen Mirren was filmed in various locations in South Africa over a six-day period. The focus here was on the black community, as victims, survivors, and perpetrators of violence. In *Snapshot* there was some attempt to explore the roots of violence in the country, by setting it in the context of the extreme violence of the apartheid era. Secondly the viewer was informed of the conditions of poverty in which township people live, and the lack of resources available to stem the high level of violent crime there. Against this background, there were examples of communities successfully organising against violence. By talking to and forming relationships with a range of people in the townships, *Snapshot* presented a humanised view of black South Africa with the majority struggling against the odds. The narrator introduced the programme by linking the 'scars' of apartheid with the grim crime statistics of current South Africa:

The bloody struggle to bring down apartheid has left terrible scars on South Africans. The legacy of this violence is a society where there are thirty murders a day and thousands of rapes, muggings and car hijackings every week. People in the townships have seen so much violence that it has spilled over into home life - aggression and guns are commonplace in families.

Day four was at Kwamashu outside Durban, described by the narrator as a 'sprawling and lawless township.' Jenny Irish from Independent Monitors of Violence observed:

"Kwamanshu is an incredibly violent area - the gangs are heavily armed and very well organised - operating in almost every section of the area. They've been

responsible for a number of killings in the area, but more than that, pensioners get robbed at pension points, school children get abducted from school, young girls get taken from school and raped at gunpoint... essentially the gangs have terrorised the community."

A student at the high school there had been shot the day before. One teacher, Nora Ngema explained to Mirren that pupils and staff are afraid. She had recently reported her own mugging to the police who informed her they had no manpower to respond to this crime. The lack of resourcing of the police force was referred to several times during the programme. The narrator summarised the situation:

Police officers are in the front line of the fight against gun-related crimes. There are 13 million firearms in South Africa - 300 officers are shot dead every year. They are badly paid - police stations often have no vehicles and can be up to 50 miles from the squatter towns they serve.

Within this context, there were positive images of local people organising against violence. The third day involved a visit to one of South Africa's first gun free zones called Mapela, 200 miles North of Johannesburg, where guns are banned. Helen Mirren visited a schools project in the high school there - Gun Free South Africa, which aims to reinforce the anti-gun message by encouraging pupils to consider how they would feel if a member of their family was to be harmed by a gun. Mirren also visited an agency called POWA:

An organisation called 'People Opposing Women Abuse' or POWA is trying to change attitudes and provide support for local women.

POWA encourages rape survivors to come forward and talk about what happened to them, working to increase the self-esteem of women who approach them. It also trains female police officers in how to respond to women who have been raped. At each stage of her travels around South Africa, Helen Mirren appeared to enjoy and appreciate the warmth and hospitality she experienced. On the sixth day of her South African tour, the media turned up for a press conference before

the actress's flight home. She gave a brief account of her tour, appearing genuinely moved by the people she had met. Finally she commented on her view of the situation:

A country full of immensely courageous people - white and black - people who are confronting a huge change in their society, people who are creating their society as they go along and that's what makes it so exciting is that you feel history right in your face.

In other sections of programming in this sample, such as holiday shows, references to violence in South Africa focused on white crime victims. This edition of *Snapshot*, by contrast, focused not just on black victims, but also on black survivors of violence.

2) *Panorama*

Fergal Keane was the presenter on 'The Search for Cynthia Mthebe', the *Panorama* programme screened on BBC1 on 18.1.99. Keane was formerly BBC Johannesburg correspondent. With *Panorama* he returned to South Africa to look for a mother-of-seven he had first filmed in 1994, when she was living rough with her children in a squatter camp. At that time she had been looking forward to the changes which the ANC, under Nelson Mandela, would bring. Through tracing Cynthia Mthebe and discussing with her how the lives of her family and friends had changed post-apartheid, Keane attempted to assess what had been done to improve the lot of black South African citizens. As the programme opened, Keane explained the purpose of his search for one woman, while aerial footage shot from a helicopter portrayed a bleak image of an endlessly sprawling expanse of scrubland scattered with shacks:

The squatter camp of Tambesi, on the edge of Johannesburg - it's the second biggest township in the country. When I last came here much of this was empty grassland. Today it's home to thousands of South Africa's poor, who flocked from impoverished rural areas in search of housing. Somewhere in this

wilderness I hoped to find Cynthia Mthebe. Would the new government have provided her with one of these houses, built since the last election, or would she be living beyond them where the squatter camps straggle towards the horizon.

Fergal Keane referred to the history of apartheid in South Africa throughout the programme, as was the case with the question he posed in his introduction:

As the country struggles to overcome the legacy of its brutal past, what has freedom delivered for Cynthia and for millions like her?

Early in this documentary, a distinction was drawn between the lives of the majority of black South Africans and the minority white population. While walking through the squalid township looking for Cynthia, Keane passed an inebriated young man:

This is a world where at least half of the people are jobless and alcohol is an escape route from the grinding poverty. This is the world where apartheid cast millions of blacks and from where the ANC promised to rescue them.

In contrast to this, later in the programme he visits Cynthia's daughter Doris who was working as a domestic in a white suburb. While the area in which she was working was not one of the most salubrious of the white areas, Keane compared the relative comfort with the conditions that the Mthebes have to endure:

In South Africa wealth is still overwhelmingly in white hands. This isn't ostentatious white wealth, but it's a world away from the camps.

Keane found Cynthia Mthebe still living as a squatter in a shack without electricity. The first section of the documentary focused particularly on the Mthebe family. While initial shots of the family's shack automatically conveyed an image of poverty, it was also freshly painted and well kept. Against this, Cynthia explained the difficulties of trying to cook with paraffin and using candles for light. Through the experiences of one family, the programme aimed to

reveal 'the reality of life in black South Africa today.' Five years after the end of apartheid, Keane entered a world where the fight for survival was more acute. Cynthia works at a rubbish dump, which Keane visited. He explained that Cynthia had begun working there when her husband walked out on her and their children seven years before. There, Cynthia had a 'community of friends' who 'each collect different things but help each other.' He also met Anna Requibe, a black female dump worker, who explained the necessity of working there to survive:

It would have been very difficult for me if the dump wasn't here. Unemployment is very high, white people don't want to hire anyone. Since I've been here, at least I've been able to put bread on the table.

The second part of this documentary focused on the erosion of the social fabric of the townships. This included evidence of rapidly and dramatically increasing rates of crime, domestic violence, youth suicide and the rape of children. Keane found further evidence of desperate conditions when he visited a residential home for abandoned children. He interviewed the Director of Tembisa Child Welfare, who commented on increasing child abandonment, which she attributed to unemployment, poverty and homelessness. Keane commented on the increase of sexual violence against children:

Theirs is a world of poverty and violence, where the rate of child rape has risen 375% in just 7 years.

In the third part of this documentary, Keane interviewed political figures in South Africa. He began by speaking to a senior ANC advisor in the government offices in Pretoria. Keane asked Chikane about the source of 'the rage and anger in this crime':

If you've gone through the history we've gone through I think you would understand it - that if you move from a totally corrupt system - totally immoral - where you had the state itself being immoral in terms of its design etcetera - the

outcome for the society becomes completely what you're experiencing at the present moment..... The real challenge is to make sure that we deal with those conditions and make sure that a better life is experienced by the majority of people in this country.

The final section of the programme involved the presenter accompanying Cynthia to the housing department to see where she was placed on the waiting list, and to the school from which her middle son Amos had recently dropped out to find out whether he could be readmitted. The considerable odds against this woman's fight to improve the lot of her family were highlighted by these visits. At the housing office, it soon became clear that Cynthia's name was not on any waiting list, even though she had proof of her registration for housing. At Ivory Park School, the director commented that Amos would become involved in crime if he stayed out of school. However, the obstacles to Amos returning to school were considerable:

There was no culture of learning in Amos' home. His family had more pressing concerns like food and shelter. Cynthia couldn't afford the bus fare to send him to school.

Through following the experiences of one family, Keane investigated life in black South Africa. Cynthia Mthebe, through her own actions and words, was presented as a woman of dignity and intelligence. Despite her continuous hard work, her family continued to live in poverty, with little prospect of employment for her sons. The documentary highlighted a culture of despair in the townships. In this edition of *Panorama* there was the beginning of a political discussion of why the end of apartheid has been accompanied by deteriorating conditions in the townships. One governmental spokesperson saw the township violence as attributable to the history of apartheid and its violence, which undoubtedly are related. He maintained that the worst had passed and that improved living conditions in the townships would solve these problems. However, the evidence of the programme undermined this view.

Discussion

The two documentaries considered in this case study offer a different perspective from routine news reporting. In many respects, these programmes shared features with the special news report on Tanzania. While general news reporting is to an extent bounded by time limits, routines and news values, the documentary format allows more variability and space to explore the context within which events take place. Although the focus of the documentary *Snapshot* was violent crime within the black community, there were positive representations of the majority struggling to survive against escalating crime, unemployment and endemic poverty. With documentaries, the perspective of the reporter is a strong influence on the programme content. *The Search for Cynthia Mthebe* documented the return to South Africa of a journalist who had worked there during the apartheid years. The hook for the programme was Fergal Keane's search for a family he had met before, to assess how their living conditions had changed post-apartheid. In this edition of *Panorama*, there was some attempt to look outside township life to seek an explanation for the frustrations faced by the Mthebe family in accessing basic amenities and services. Government and opposition voices were heard in this discussion, which raised questions about pledges made by the ANC to provide a decent standard of living for black people. *Snapshot* investigated the impact of gun violence in the townships, reflecting the campaign priorities of the NGO *Oxfam*, which sponsored the tour of the townships by celebrity Helen Mirren.

The documentaries described here reported black South African experiences of poverty, and the efforts of many to improve conditions in their families and communities. The role of the ANC in government requires scrutiny, and in the *Panorama* documentary, the presenter posed some relevant questions to ANC representatives. However, neither programme looked beyond the level of local or national politics to explain the continuing difficulties of South Africa. In order to place the continuing social deprivation and escalating violence within the country in context, it is necessary to consider the role of the international financial institutions. Historically, the Bretton Woods institutions have a key role. Within

a few years of the official launch of apartheid in 1948, World Bank staff visited Pretoria and began lending to the white regime. As South Africa's GDP improved in 1967, the Bank stopped funding apartheid. According to Bond (2001), half the Bank's \$200 million loans went to expand white consumers' access to electricity, which was denied to virtually all black South Africans until the 1980s. The apartheid debt inherited by the ANC in 1994 was around \$25 billion. Because of prevailing power relations, and fear of offending foreign lenders, Mandela and his advisors agreed to service the loans. As Bond (2001) comments, apartheid had therefore to be paid for twice.

The discussion of the democratic deficit in Chapter Two has particular relevance in discussing South Africa's transition from apartheid. Many former ANC supporters within the country have become disillusioned because they had viewed the transition to democracy as being more than the establishment of rules and procedures for elections (Bond 2002). To fully understand the implications of neo-liberalism in South Africa, it is necessary also to examine the political and economic stance of the national government in the context of the grip of international financial capital. Bond (2000) makes this link in referring to 'homegrown structural adjustment'. Haffajee (2001) offers further explanation for the poor record of the ANC in delivering services and local decision making powers to the community, arguing that the ANC has changed course from the liberation movement which took power in 1994. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) it began with, was a radical social democratic policy document, centred on human, infrastructural and economic development. Its goals were one million houses, universal and affordable electricity, a national health scheme and social security. But in 1996 the ANC was pressurised by investors and the IMF to adapt itself to the 'realities' of the global economy with its new Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR) - a neo-liberal programme. Income disparity has increased since the end of apartheid.

Against this background, resistance to neo-liberalism has grown in the townships. The World Development Movement (2002) report on resistance to IMF and World Bank policies, documents protests which took place in South Africa during

2001. In South Africa, thousands of protesters descended on Johannesburg to demonstrate against privatisation of the city's water supply. The municipal water supply was sold to the French multinational Suez Lyonnaise des Eaux. In August the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) called a massive two-day strike against the government's privatisation plans. Nearly 4 million people participated in the strike.¹⁴ Haffajee (2001) refers to anti-privatisation activist Trevor Ngwane, expelled from the ANC for objecting to the government's World Bank led privatisation programme: 'For Trevor Ngwane, electricity cut-offs in Soweto are easily located in the global economic diktat that services are better run on profit lines'.

The documentaries discussed here provided information about life for people living in poverty in South Africa's townships. *Snapshot* located current violence in the townships in a context of the violent history of apartheid, and included interviews with local people working against the odds to improve life in their communities. *Panorama* also focused on the lives of local people, highlighting the overwhelming adversity encountered by one family in particular. The second programme also directly questioned governmental representatives about their failure to provide the basic services that they had promised on election five years earlier, in 1994. What neither programme referred to was the fact that South Africa moved from apartheid to neo-liberalism, with its associated anti-democratic and socially divisive components. The interests of the West are clear in this. Curtis (2003, p.250) argues that from the mid-1980s the issue for the US 'was not so much whether apartheid would be dismantled but how South African capitalism and the interests of the transnational elite in the region could be preserved following a transition period.' Meanwhile the ANC has subsumed the interests of providing basic services for its communities in the interests of attracting foreign investment and meeting the conditions of the IFIs. Both documentaries could have provided more comprehensive portrayals of South Africa by acknowledging this context.

¹⁴ Despite further protests in South Africa, IMF policies continue. The WDM (2003) report on resistance refers to an IMF report of July 2002, recommending further progress with privatisation and trade liberalisation. Another general strike took place in October 2002.

Case Study Three

Mark Thomas Product

This investigative series began its third, eight-week run on 13th January 1999, during the sample period.¹⁵ The Mark Thomas Product was distinct from other programmes on British television.¹⁶ Current affairs were combined with practical jokes in order to highlight injustices, or to seek out the truth from political and corporate decision-makers. The show was broadcast outwith peak viewing times, usually around 11pm, lasting half an hour. While most of the subject matters concerned domestic politics, the first two programmes in this series focused on the arms industry and its exports to mainly developing countries. There were three main targets for Mark Thomas's wit here. First of all, he targeted oppressive regimes that use imported arms to enforce domestic rule. Secondly, he targeted the British arms industry. Using concealed recording equipment in interviews with arms manufacturers, Thomas demonstrated their lack of concern about the use of their products. Thirdly the British government was accused of leaving legal loopholes in arms export controls, allowing the arms industry to use overseas production to evade controls. He exposed various levels of deceit, or at least evasiveness by each of his three targets on the subject of arms.

The first programme involved Mark Thomas and a friend visiting an international arms fair called Defendory International in Athens. With an accomplice, he set up a PR company called Mackintosh-Morley for the occasion, to sell PR to the visiting arms companies and regimes. The organisers of the arms fair welcomed the pair, saying that they were the first PR company they had had. Mackintosh-Morley displayed advertising banners above their stall: 'Who's Winning the War of Words' and 'Are You Ready When Amnesty International Comes Knocking on

¹⁵ The programme ran from 1996 to 2002. The show was originally called the Mark Thomas Comedy Product. The word comedy was dropped from the title of subsequent series as he honed in on the evasions and corruption at the heart of business and power.

¹⁶ While the programme could be categorised as a documentary, it is considered on an individual basis here as investigative journalism is increasingly rare.

Your Door?' At Defendory International, Mackintosh-Morley met the Serbian, Sri Lankan and Egyptian delegations. The Zimbabwean Minister of Information admitted to the pair on camera that he 'gets better at lying every year.' Doug Henderson, Minister of State at the time for the UK Armed Forces was filmed wishing the company luck, adding that he hoped they would get plenty of contracts. On the second day of the arms fair, Mr. Thomas met the Indonesian delegation and invited Major General Widjojo of the Indonesian Armed Forces to complete a brief media training exercise. As a result of this, the Indonesian delegation asked Mackintosh-Morley to pitch for a six-week media-training course to teach the Indonesian Army the skills of PR. This first programme ended with footage of the Dili massacre in East Timor, where the Indonesian military was filmed indiscriminately gunning down unarmed civilians. A caption was shown stating that 271 people were killed on this occasion.

In the second programme of the series, Mackintosh-Morley met with the Indonesian Defence Attache, Colonel Halim. Mark Thomas used this opportunity to ask questions about British arms in Indonesia. Halim hesitantly denied that the hawk jets sold to his country by Britain are used in East Timor: '*No, yes, no.*' Responding to a more general question about British military equipment being used in East Timor, the Colonel replied: '*Yes, we use some, but it is old equipment.... for example Saracen.*' Mark Thomas switched his attention in the second half of this programme to the British arms industry, and the role of government in this trade. He spoke to David Alton, of the All Party Land Mine Eradication Group, who having tabled a question that day, confirmed that over sixty new licences had been issued to Indonesia since the New Labour government was elected. Pointing to the irony of this figure, given the governmental promise of a more ethical foreign policy, Thomas commented:

The unethical policy would be for Robin Cook to go out and kill the East Timorese himself... New Labour, new torture.

In this programme, Mark Thomas referred back to an interview at the arms fair he conducted with Paul Greenwood of Pains Wessex, a British arms company, which

manufactures teargas exported to Kenya, and grenades to Indonesia. He replayed part of the interview with Greenwood:

To be honest, I don't care 'cos all that happens is, you know, gradually we'll back out of this and we'll just get it made overseas and shipped in.... Yeah, we do a licensed production to various countries; the U.K. government doesn't care. No, I've had the DTI down, I've had DESO down. I've spoken to them about it. I said "Can I take the order in Pains Wessex, but get someone else to make it and ship it.... Yeah, that's fine... As long as I don't ship it from the U.K. they don't give a toss.

This programme ended with Thomas arguing against the arms exporter's attempt at a defence of their trade - that if they didn't do it, someone else would. In the final show of this series, broadcast on 3/3/99, the comedian referred back to these initial two programmes on the arms trade. Mentioning specifically the use of U.K. equipment in East Timor, Mark Thomas reminded the viewer that the Labour government had already by that stage approved 64 export licences for arms to Indonesia. A Labour MP had asked a question about how much all the contracts were worth, and had received a reply saying:

We can't tell you as the cost of finding out this information would be a disproportionate cost to the taxpayer.

The comedian commented that he had held a benefit and raised £500 to pay a civil servant at the DTI to research the costs of the arms contracts. As he put it: 'We've had cash for questions - can we now have cash for answers.' Thomas was still awaiting a full reply by this last programme in the series.

Discussion

The Mark Thomas Product was an intriguing investigative strand of television. As indicated in the introduction to this analysis, investigative reporting is increasingly marginalised on British television. Series such as *Panorama* and the

now extinct *World in Action* were often at their best when investigating the powerful, raising questions appropriate to the role of democratic media. As *The Mark Thomas Product* similarly sought to hold the powerful to account, exposing unethical behaviour, it was an example of a highly endangered species on British television. It was innovative firstly because of the practical joke approach to political interviewing. The audacity of the stunts was captivating, making the viewer curious as to how the victim will respond if/when he is discovered, while absorbing information about often-complicated political issues. In the case of Mackintosh-Morley, the fake PR company, high-ranking military personnel were tricked into admitting human rights abuses on film. Thomas appeared to be lampooning the PR industry as well as representatives of oppressive regimes, as the sole strategy employed by Mackintosh-Morley was teaching 'trainees' how to lie effectively. His incredulous responses to his discoveries enhanced the comic value of his material.

Mark Thomas selected an appropriate target for his investigation into arms dealing, by setting up at an arms fair. Such fairs and exhibitions manifest the tendency of the arms trade to supply countries at war or in conflict with each other. Burrows (2002) notes that while deals do take place at the fairs, they are also significant meeting places - where delegates can form relationships with companies. The arms trade is also relevant to this analysis because of its impact on development, and its relationship to international trade and globalisation. Contradicting the aims of sustainable development, the economic impact of arms purchases by developing countries can be devastating. Many of the poorest countries were offered loans from the 1970s onwards, tied to arms purchases from lending countries. The implications of these debt burdens, including diversion of resources from education and healthcare, are highlighted in Chapter One.

Although Britain has led the campaign to cancel poor country debts, its development aims, as represented by DfID are often undermined by its relationship with TNCs and the aim of promoting and subsidising business interests, as with the DTI. For example, through DfID the UK gave South Africa \$43 million to help eradicate poverty and inequality in 2000. In the same year,

Britain granted export licenses to sell weapons to South Africa worth \$91.5 million, more than double the amount for aid (Burrows 2002). In a second case, commentators including Elliott (2001), Pallister (2001) and Hencke, (2002) voiced objections to a £28m deal between BAE Systems and Tanzania in 2001, asking why such a poor country needed such an expensive military defence system. Tanzania had just agreed a £1.4bn debt relief package announced by the World Bank and IMF, who also objected to the BAE deal, estimating that a suitable system should have cost no more than £10m. This deal involving a rich Western government, a British based TNC, and a heavily indebted poor country highlight the relationship between the arms trade and capitalist globalisation. BAE is among those formerly nationally oriented defense companies that are now TNCs, roaming the world in search of higher government subsidies and tax incentives, lower wages and weaker labour standards. At the WTO however, and in all other global agreements, the military is excluded from the rules governing global trade. From a WTO perspective, there are no restrictions on what munitions a country can buy or sell, how much they should cost, how much a country can spend, who they buy weapons from or to what extent they subsidise their own arms industry. The double standards of Western arms policies were evident post September 11th, as Iraq faced war with the US and UK for failing to declare its weapons of mass destruction. Meanwhile, scientists on both sides of the Atlantic warned that the US is developing a new generation of weapons that undermine and possibly violate international treaties on biological and chemical warfare, encouraging a breakdown in arms control by research into biological cluster bombs and anthrax (Borger 2002b).

As with most areas of trade, the West dominates the arms market in terms of sales. The UK is the world's fourth largest trader, after the US, Russia and France. (Burrows 2002) Despite promises from the new Labour government, elected in 1997, to incorporate an ethical dimension to its policy, including the arms trade, there is evidence of continuing unethical arms deals between the UK and countries in the South. The 12,000-page dossier submitted by Iraq to the UN in December 2002 stated that the five permanent members of the Security Council - Britain, France, Russia, America and China - allowed companies to sell weapons

technology to Iraq. (Mackay 2003) The Export Credit Guarantee Department, which has featured in the *Mark Thomas Product*, is central to the row over ethics, arms sales and environmental issues because of its role in underwriting billions of pounds of credit to British exporters. It promotes UK business interests by offering huge credit insurance funds to British companies. If the project collapses or the country involved defaults, the taxpayer picks up the bill. Hencke (2000) estimates that the taxpayer is paying between £148m and £750m a year because of defaults.

As with many of the factors that impede development, NGOs have assumed a key role in lobbying for reform of the arms trade, and in working to educate the public on the key issues. Amnesty had some input to the *Mark Thomas Product*. Thomas referred to human rights concerns they had raised regarding prospective customers at the arms fair. The success of this investigative strand in tackling complex political matters is due in part to its critical directness rarely seen on television. This has particular impact given that political analysis is fading on British television. The two programmes referred to here made critical connections between the various players in the arms trade. With the Mackintosh-Morley set-up, Thomas managed to extract admissions of human rights violations from military personnel from developing countries. However, he also highlighted the role of British arms dealers and the UK government, providing a fuller picture of the interests involved. This programme had critical resonance in an era where there is a growing sense of distance between politicians and the population.

Chapter Seven

Disaster Coverage

Hurricane Mitch Retrospective

When Hurricane Mitch hit Central America in October 1998, the ensuing floods caused thousands of deaths, destroyed hundreds of thousands of homes and devastated much of the country's farmland and infrastructure. This event, one of an increasing number of climate related disasters, was covered by news programmes on all British terrestrial channels at the time it occurred. Unusually, two television channels returned to the scene of the disaster within a few months, to report on progress in reconstruction and recovery. Participants in previous audience research projects (DfID 2000, VSO 2002) have said that they feel overwhelmed by the reporting of increasing disasters on television news. Many indicate that they would like to see follow up reports. The second reason for selecting this story was that this catastrophe in Honduras was instrumental in increasing pressure for debt cancellation. The campaign organisation *Jubilee 2000* worked with campaigners in Honduras to highlight how the country's debt was hindering prospects of recovery. It is unusual for wider economic discussion to be included in actuality reporting. BBC1 made the link between Mitch and debt, including comments from both *Jubilee 2000* and Honduran governmental voices on the obstacle to recovery presented by debt. A description of these news features will be followed by an assessment of their effectiveness in providing explanation and context for the viewer. This section will conclude with a brief discussion of the relationship between environmental factors and poverty in hindering development.

BBC1 returned to Honduras at the beginning of February to assess the aftermath of the Hurricane. This channel covered the story on two consecutive nights, the 9th and 10th February, 1999, on the *Nine O'clock News*. A few weeks later, on 2nd March, 1999, ITN's *News at Ten* similarly returned to Honduras. Both

channels began these reports with a summary of the devastation caused by the hurricane:

Newsreader:... Four months after Central America was devastated by Hurricane Mitch, the government of Honduras has only now completed its final assessment of the damage. 5,000 people were killed in the storm, the worst in the area for two centuries, and a quarter of a million are still homeless. Much of Honduras' industry has been destroyed, with 90% of its principal export crop, bananas, lost. (BBC1: 10.2.99)

Newsreader:... Last Autumn here on News at Ten, we were carrying reports from Central America on the unforgettable impact of Hurricane Mitch. Honduras in particular took a terrible battering. Thousands were killed and hundreds of thousands left homeless. Roads and railways were washed away, banana plantations flattened. The outlook for an already poor people looked hopeless. (ITN: 2.3.99)

These summaries were followed by an introductory comment on the progress made over the previous three or four months:

Newsreader:... Our international business correspondent.... looks at the country's attempt at reconstruction. (BBC1: 10.2.99)

Newsreader:... So four months on from the hurricane, what hope is there for Honduras. (ITN:2.3.99)

Both reports included pictures from schools in Honduras, indicating that there had been no school for the children to attend in recent months. The fact that the children were now able to return was highlighted as a significant step in the recovery process:

Reporter:... It's playtime at the school playground in Morolica. But school's been out for three months now since Hurricane Mitch reduced the entire town to

rubble and to dust. This community and the whole of Honduras is salvaging what it can from the wreckage. (BBC1: 9.2.99)

Reporter:... For the first time in four months the children of Honduras have gone back to school. Here in the capital Tegucigalpa they are regaining some semblance of normality. Remarkable when you remember what ripped through their lives such a short time ago. (ITN: 2.3.99)

Both channels included footage of local families or individuals that had been directly affected by the hurricane. BBC1 began and ended the report from Honduras on 10.2.99 with shots of 'Noah, Rose and their family' who had returned to where their home was destroyed, on the riverbank in Tegucigalpa. While the family themselves did not speak, the following comment was made by the reporter:

Reporter:... Three months after Hurricane Mitch they're only beginning to rebuild their lives. For this family and this country it will take many years yet to recover from nature's most savage assault on Central America in two centuries. (BBC1: 10.2.99)

ITN returned to an island they had visited at the time of the original devastation, showing how the inhabitants had started down 'the long road to reconstruction.' This report included shots of one makeshift hut, with a comment from one individual who thought it would take ten years to return to the way things were. Footage of the island showing it stripped of vegetation was followed by a current shot of a lush green hill. A similar comparison was then made of a banana farm on the island, while highlighting the positive role of one otherwise controversial multinational:

Reporter:... This is how we found one farm four months ago. The banana plants rotting under feet of mud and silt. These are the same fields today. (plants growing) Jason Green, the farm manager had feared this land would never be replanted - that the owners Chiquita bananas would not want to make the

investment. Instead at a cost of hundreds of millions of dollars, the fields are being leveled, drainage ditches redug and by next year there will be bananas here again. (ITN: 2.3.99)

While the reporter commented further on positive developments, including the reconstruction of the capital's bridge and the rapid construction of temporary housing there, he also commented positively on the country's achievements:

Reporter:... Honduras was a poor country before the storm. It is poorer now. It still needs help. But it has made a tremendous start in helping itself. (ITN: 2.3.99)

All three reports included statements from governmental representatives. Each made separate points about the impact of the hurricane.

Roberto Flores, Housing Minister:... Imagine a country that has been totally devastated. Imagine a country that now additionally it has to reconstruct the infrastructure, the road networks, telecoms. We have to recover the housing that was lost. A third of the population was directly affected. It's really a major challenge. (ITN: 2.3.99)

A significant section of BBC1's second report on 10th February focused on the Honduran government's recognition of the need to diversify, given that the country's primary export crop, bananas, had been largely destroyed by the hurricane. This section included footage of the Minister of Tourism visiting a site of Mayan architecture, which was being developed as a tourist facility:

Norman Garcia, Minister of Tourism:... After Mitch we found out that agriculture was going to be difficult to re-establish so the government has at this point in time assigned tourism the highest priority in order to bring the economy back on its feet. (BBC1: 10.2.99)

The president, Carlos Flores, made a statement about the importance of debt relief:

Carlos Flores, President of Honduras: We have lost in a few hours what it took the country to build more than fifty years. That's why debt relief is not enough. It's an important step, but it's fresh resources that the country needs. (BBC1: 9.2.99)

This last comment on debt relief was a key aspect of BBC1's initial report on Honduras after the hurricane. This report included fourteen references to the necessity of debt cancellation. This level of repetition seems appropriate, given audience comments on the need for information about economics to be repeated. There were a further three references to the fact that the country would also need to borrow afresh in order to manage the process of reconstruction:

Reporter:... Ninety percent of the banana crop was lost when three years of rain fell in three days. The only thing growing here now is weeds. The country has been robbed of a principal export. Honduras, which struggled to pay its debts before Mitch, now simply can't. (BBC1: 9.2.99)

Reporter:... And here's the problem. The loans used to build this shattered bridge still need paying back. But now new money's needed to construct another. Britain and the other rich nations have volunteered to let Honduras off its repayments for the next three years. But debt campaigners are scornful of the offer. (BBC1: 9.2.99)

This comment led into a statement from a spokesperson from the debt cancellation group Jubilee 2000 - speaking from Honduras:

Ann Pettifer, Jubilee 2000:... The human consequences of that will be that these people will not have houses, decent drainage, clean sanitation. Because it's not possible for the Honduran government to rebuild after this devastation within three years. (BBC1: 9.2.99)

As compared to routine news coverage of disasters in poor countries, this news story is atypical in two key respects. First, there was the key reason for the reports - the return to the scene of a disaster to report on progress. The second innovation came from BBC1, in linking events in one developing country with the global economy. This successfully highlighted the relationship between debt and development.

Discussion

This chapter on disaster coverage is particularly short, with just one case study. It considers an exceptional rather than a routine example of disaster reporting. This is consistent with the aim of identifying representations of the South that are engaging and informative. The limitations of more routine disaster coverage are considered further in Part Three, as a typical disaster story forms the basis of one of the exercises. While climate related disasters are clearly newsworthy, the increasing occurrence and reporting of such events, which impact more on the South, can lead to the viewer feeling overwhelmed by images of destruction and death. As indicated in Chapter Three, coverage of disasters tends to emphasise aid arriving from the west, with little focus on the reality that most assistance comes from within the country, or from neighbouring countries. This story provided positive images of recovery, and perhaps most importantly, highlighted the efforts of the Honduran government and people in trying to rescue what they could from the consequences of the hurricane. All three reports included messages that although Honduras was partly dependent on aid from other countries, local people were making the best use of their own resources. As with the government's decision to focus on tourism as an alternative to the banana industry, Hondurans were also shown to be taking initiative in the recovery process.

Hurricane Mitch was a key event in the process of campaigners' attempts to highlight difficulties with international debt. This natural disaster highlighted the existing 'disaster' imposed on Honduras, which was paying more than half of

government revenue in external debt payments. Before the hurricane, Honduras had a total debt of £2.7 billion, owed mainly to international finance organisations like the World Bank and the Interamerican Development Bank (Gunson, 1999). While limited bilateral arrangements were designed to assist Honduras, the stringency of Bretton Woods lending conditions undermined them. Much of the aid money going into Honduras, which had been spent on infrastructure, was going back to Western countries in debt repayment. As Mitch destroyed much of the infrastructure, the country was left to borrow anew to rebuild, while still paying for destroyed buildings. The response of international creditors to the plight of Honduras post-Hurricane Mitch is worth further consideration. Following the hurricane, the Paris Club of lending countries (described by Jubilee 2000 (1998) as a secretive cartel), which includes Germany, Britain, the US and Japan, announced a three year moratorium for Honduras. These creditors made any debt relief after the three-year freeze conditional upon Honduras signing up for a structural adjustment programme. Meanwhile the IMF and WB chose not to sign up to a moratorium on debt payments. The Jubilee 2000 (1999) website disclosed that half of the £20 million that was pledged by Britain to help reconstruction efforts ended up being used to pay debt payments.

Honduras is included in the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative, which was launched by the Bretton Woods institutions in October 1996. In practice, HIPC has been very limited in effect (see Chapter One). The WDM (2000) reports that throughout summer 2000, a series of strikes took place in response to harsh economic policies imposed as conditions for an IMF loan of US\$21 million. The IMF urged the Honduran authorities to 'proceed quickly with structural reforms, especially privatisation of telecommunications and electricity distribution and the reform of the social security and pension system.' One month later, Honduras received US\$900 million in debt relief under the enhanced HIPC initiative. More recent conditions attached to debt relief have included privatisation of water and sewage management and electricity distribution. In late 2002, Honduras was stalled in its relief programme for not adequately complying with IMF conditions (WDM 2003).

Another aspect of this story that merits further consideration is the environmental context. US scientists described Hurricane Mitch as the worst natural disaster ever recorded in the Western Hemisphere (Jubilee 2000, 1998). Taking account of climate change predictions, Christian Aid (2000) has predicted increasing climate related disasters in the near future (see Chapter Two). On the basis of UN, insurance industry and other figures, this NGO has calculated that between 2000 and 2020, half of the world's population, mostly in poor countries, could be at risk of drought or flood, resulting in damage worth trillions of pounds. At the time of writing the report, twelve of the past fourteen disasters that Christian Aid and its partners responded to were the result of extreme weather. Among others, these included the two disasters referred to in this thesis: Hurricane Mitch and the floods in Mozambique in 2000 (see Part Three). Godrej (2001a, p32) comments: 'Already the number of environmental refugees worldwide has been estimated at 25 million, more than the total of all other refugees. Fleeing into adjoining lands they are largely invisible to the rich West.'

Audience research indicates that viewers would like to see more retrospectives. This case involved a progress report some weeks after a disaster had taken place. A repeat visit a year later would be helpful. This case also provided a significant opportunity to explore the issue of debt relief, particularly as the events surrounding Hurricane Mitch escalated Jubilee 2000's campaign for debt cancellation. However, while Jubilee 2000 campaigned to persuade rich countries to reduce the debt, promises made to this effect were not kept. While the complexities of the role of the IMF and World Bank were not discussed in this report, it provided an illustration of the hindrance of debt to development, and in this case, disaster management. There is a growing recognition among those concerned with the negative impacts of globalisation that solutions have to take both the environment and poverty reduction into account.

Chapter Eight

Consumer Programming

Holiday and Travel programmes

The programmes in this section fall into two main genres. The first genre - holiday shows - is primarily consumer oriented and is far more prevalent on television. All five terrestrial channels have at least one holiday show, and some of these are broadcast throughout much of the year. Most holiday shows cover a number of destinations per programme, indicating the attractions of each destination for the potential holidaymaker, and usually providing information about the costs involved. There were 19 programmes in this category of the sample. The second genre is travel/adventure programmes, which tend to focus on just one country or city, with more focus on the people and culture of the area. There were only two such programmes broadcast during the sample weeks. The table below indicates the content of the sample:

Table 7: Sample of holiday and travel programmes

Programme title	Channel	Date	Destinations covered
Holiday	BBC1	12.1.99	Tunisia
The Edge of Blue Heaven	BBC2	14.1.99	Mongolia
The Travel Show	BBC2	14.1.99	Bali
Wish You Were Here	ITV	15.1.99	The Dominican Republic
Was It Good For You?	Channel 5	15.1.99	The Dominican Republic
Holiday Guide to the Caribbean	BBC1	17.1.99	Tobago, Dominican Republic, British Virgin Isles, Jamaica, Grenada
Scottish Passport	ITV	19.1.99	Kuala Lumpur, Langkawi, Phuket
Holiday	BBC1	19.1.99	Mauritius
Full Metal Backpack *	Channel 4	2.2.99	Vietnam, Cambodia
Holiday Guide to	BBC1	14.2.99	Bahamas, Lamu (Kenya), Las

Honeymoons			Ventanas (Mexico)
Scottish Passport	ITV	16.2.99	Africa
Holiday	BBC1	16.2.99	Malaysia, Himalayas
Wish You Were Here	ITV	19.2.99	Mauritius
Was It Good For You?	Channel 5	19.2.99	Mauritius
Holiday Guide to Africa	BBC1	21.2.99	Capetown, Lake Malawi, Tunisia, Tanzania/Zanzibar, Kenya.
Rough Guide	BBC2	22.2.99	Bolivia
Holiday	BBC1	2.3.99	Sri Lanka
Holiday on a Shoestring	BBC1	3.3.99	Goa
Wish You Were Here	ITV	5.3.99	Himalayas
Was It Good for You?	Channel 5	5.3.99	Kenya
Holiday	BBC1	9.3.99	The Caribbean
Holiday	BBC1	16.3.99	Vietnam

A total of 21 holiday/travel programmes were recorded, and one documentary programme about travelling in Vietnam and Cambodia*. Of the holiday and travel shows, 15 were broadcast during the sample weeks. Four additional holiday programmes have been included from the period 1st January to 31st March, where developing countries were featured. These were *The Holiday Guide to Honeymoons* (14.2.99) which covered several developing countries, *Scottish Passport* (19.1.99) providing an example of a regional travel show, and two editions of *Holiday* which covered Mauritius (19.1.99) and Vietnam (16.3.99).

BBC1 produces more holiday programmes than the other terrestrial channels. The *Holiday* show was once a 14 part series shown in the New Year. By 1999 it had expanded into a year round project, with a number of spin-off series. During the sample period, a series of *Holiday Guide* and of *Holiday on a Shoestring*, were shown in conjunction with the *Holiday* programme. The format of all three versions is similar, usually covering four destinations each programme. BBC2's *Travel Show* offers a similar presentation, as does ITV's *Wish You Were Here*.

Channel 4's holiday programme in 1999 was *The Real Holiday Show*, where the main focus was on the personalities and interaction within each family or group of holidaymakers. During our sample weeks *The Real Holiday Show* did not cover destinations in developing countries. On Channel 5, the weekly travel slot was *Was It Good For You?* With the slightly shorter broadcast time of 25 minutes, one destination is covered in each programme. These mainstream holiday shows are all broadcast between 5.30pm and 9pm, capturing peak viewing times. Separate presenters cover each holiday venue, and celebrities may be invited to present a one-off feature.

There were only two travel/adventure programmes broadcast during the recording period. Both covered countries that did not feature in the sample of holiday shows. These were BBC2's *The Edge of Blue Heaven* (14.4.99) a series which followed the personal journey of adventurer Benedict Allen as he made the 3,000 mile trek around the edge of Mongolia. The second series was *The Rough Guide*, also on BBC2. The only relevant destination covered was in *The Rough Guide to Bolivia* (22.2.99). Presenters Edith Bowman and Dmitri Doganis guided the viewer around this South American country, talking to local people and visiting a range of places of interest. The documentary *Full Metal Backpack* (2.2.99), made by *Rough Guide* presenter Doganis has been included because it focussed on the views and experiences of a group of travellers to Vietnam. Both genres will be discussed in turn, comparing the different approaches and assessing the information offered to the viewer. Reference will also be made to alternative sources of information, including press reports. I will also discuss developments following September 11th, which have affected several of the tourist destinations featured here becoming targets for terrorism.

Holiday Shows

Many holiday shows follow a similar pattern. They usually commence with a brief comment about the geography and climate of the area:

One of the 13,000 islands that make up the Indonesian Archipelago, Bali is about the same size as the Isle of Wight. (The Travel Show [Bali] BBC2, 14.1.99)

I'm in a world of superlatives - the highest sand dunes, the oldest deserts, the biggest animals but also the fewest people. (Wish You Were Here [Namibia] ITV, 12.3.99)

Come to a North African country blessed with 700 miles of coastline, and a reputation as a year round Holiday destination. (Holiday [Tunisia] BBC1, 12.2.99)

Each item ends with costings for flights and accommodation, and for any special activities covered. This information might include any special offers available, or compare prices between peak and off-peak periods. These facts are usually presented in the form of graphics against a background still, possibly of a beach or hotel featured in the item. The main content of the item tends to vary depending on the destination. Within the 19 holiday programmes in this sample, there were a total of 31 separate items from a range of locations in the South. Some of the *Holiday* spin-offs such as *Holiday Guide to Africa*, covered four or five separate developing countries in one programme. There were distinct 'types' of holiday covered across the channels, with the main emphasis of the feature varying accordingly. The numbers in each category as follows: Beach (13), safari (5), wedding/honeymoon (5), and city-based (3). There were also a number of unusual holidays presented, with one each of the following types: charity bike ride, trip across South Africa on the blue train, trekking, cruise and sailing. The less frequent types, including three city-based holidays and the individual ones were mainly covered by *Holiday* series. Regarding location, there were 13 features from Africa, 9 from the Caribbean, 8 from South and Southeast Asia and 1 from Central America. The figures for Africa and the Caribbean are partially augmented due to the editions of the *Holiday Guide* to these destinations. Central and South America barely feature.

While the emphasis on the main activity or attraction varies according to location, there were a number of themes that ran consistently through the holiday shows. The dominant theme was consumption, including information about food, standards of service, shopping facilities and bargain hunting. Secondly, there were frequent references to the local atmosphere and level of development of the destination. These included the extent to which the area is suitably 'developed' for tourism (or undeveloped enough for 'travellers', usually referring to how far facilities have been specifically designed for tourists. There were also many references to the influence of a colonial past, usually presented as beneficial for tourists. Additionally, several shows featured optional visits to traditional villages. These were largely featured as cultural resources which tourists could tap into. Thirdly, there were instances where more detail on the destination and its inhabitants was given. Where such references were made, they mostly referred to religion. Beyond such fleeting references, there were also rare instances where the political background or history of a destination was included in holiday shows. Each of these themes - consumption, atmosphere, development and contextualising information - will now be discussed in turn.

Consumption

Most of the information given in holiday programmes emphasised resources available to the tourist. There were frequent references to ways of maximising consumption while minimising costs. Local people tended to be viewed as resources to enhance or diminish the quality of the holiday experience. On one occasion in the sample, an impromptu visit was arranged for presenter Kate Humble to a village school in Lamu, an island on the Northern Kenyan coast. However, most of the interaction with local people tends to be with tourist industry staff. The emphasis in these examples was on the high level of personal service available to the holidaymaker:

But it's easy to forgive the occasional blip when the staff try so hard...A real fire lit, a candlelit table on the balcony looking onto the Atlantic - your own chef and waiter (Holiday Guide to the Caribbean [Mexico] BBC1, 14.2.99)

There's nothing to carry but your camera. The sherpas deal with everything else: (Wish You Were Here [Himalayas] ITV, 5.3.99)

From the moment you step into your room, your personal butler is at your beck and call. How did I ever get by without him. (Holiday [Mauritius] BBC1, 19.1.99)

The last of these examples came from a feature where the imagery of the butler, Marco, was particularly depersonalising. While the white presenter moved around in his hotel suite, his every whim was attended to by the butler, who appeared mainly as a black hand at the edge of the screen. In the bath, the presenter calls for Marco, and a hand is filmed passing him a towel from the end of the bath. While the presenter lies on bed watching television, the hand reaches from below the bed and hands him the remote control. The hand also selects fruit from the fruit bowl, passes him a bottle of champagne while he rummages in the drinks cabinet and selects a shirt for him while he is standing in the wardrobe.

There were several features emphasising the retrospective atmosphere of the British colonial lifestyle, with references to the 'British' aspects of tourist culture in former colonies, even to new tourist developments modeled on colonial lines. This was notable with Mauritius which was covered by three channels during our sample:

After independence in 1948 and nationalisation in the 1970's, the British planters left, but their old base of Nuwara Ekiya remains and still goes by the nickname of Little England. (Holiday [Sri Lanka] BBC1, 2.3.99)

Mauritius is a small island off the coast of Africa, just twelve hours flight from the UK, and luckily for us Brits it's also very English. The official language is English, they drive on the left side of the road, they've got a football team called Arsenal, and they even have British plug sockets! (Was It Good For You [Mauritius] Channel 5, 22.2.99)

I was staying in the Sugar Beach resort - a new family hotel built in the style of a colonial sugar plantation. (Wish You Were Here [Mauritius] ITV, 19.2.99)

The hotel is a cluster of colonial plantation style buildings which recreate the style and elegance of the twenties. This could easily be Raffles by the sea. All I need now is a Singapore Sling. Marco! (Holiday [Mauritius] BBC1, 19.1.99)

In one example, the presenter joked that colonialism was inevitable in one Caribbean destination because of its beauty and the wealth of local produce:

Now this is my kind of paradise, it's a banana republic, it's hot, it's lush, it's got palm-lined beaches. It's people are beautiful and friendly, they know how to brew great beer and even better rum and they can roll a mean cigar - apparently on thighs like these. No wonder Christopher Columbus couldn't leave without colonising it 500 years ago. Welcome to the Dominican Republic! (Was It Good For You [Dominican Republic] Channel 5, 15.1.99)

Destinations in developing countries were sometimes portrayed as oases of luxury and chic, without reference to the conditions of the surrounding inhabitants:

Can you buy luxury? Judging by the wealthy American Clientele, it would seem so. If luxury is a status symbol, then Las Ventanas is the badge. (Holiday [Mexico] BBC1, 14.2.99)

This hideaway is the epitome of luxury - it's the ideal setting for our Comic Relief prize. (Holiday [Caribbean] BBC1, 9.3.99)

Much of the information on consumption focussed on the luxurious resources available, with frequent references to the advantages of former colonies maintaining elements of British culture. However, there was also strong thread through holiday programming, on bargain hunting, right from the point of choosing a destination.

If you've always thought of Bali as a lottery winner's destination, then think again. Cheaper flights and packages now make it much more accessible. (The Travel Show [Bali] BBC2, 14.4.99)

My mum and dad came a couple of years ago - absolute disaster, thought it was a horrible place. They stopped in bad accommodation.... My mum came home - she was really ill (due to food poisoning). We thought she was going to die, it was that bad.... With the weather being so bad at home, we were flicking through teletext and there were some unbelievable offers. (Couple with two small children) (Wish You Were Here [Dominican Republic] ITV, 11.1.99)

Advice may be offered on goods that can be bought cheaper than at home, or how to save money on living expenses:

I got advice from an expert picking up Balinese furniture to sell in her shop in Brussels.... (looking at chest of drawers) So that's about £60 back in England - that's not expensive when you see the sort of prices you end up paying in the shops back home. (The Travel Show [Bali] BBC2, 14.1.99)

CDs and electronics were especially good buys. (Scottish Passport [The Far East] ITV, 19.1.99)

Reference was frequently made to the subject of haggling or bartering, whether with street traders, craftspeople or shop owners. Some of these comments involve cautionary tales about by vendors.

Otherwise the street traders and hawkers will wear you out in seconds. (The Travel Show [Bali] BBC2, 14.1.99)

But the phrase 'just looking' does not exist in the trader's vocabulary. You just have to cast a glance in their direction, and they'll bombard you with a barrage of

sales talk, some of it strangely out of context - 'nice to see you, to see you nice', 'come on down, price is right.' (Holiday[Tunisia] BBC1, 12.1.99)

Wildlife conservation projects have become very significant to the tourist industry, and were presented in positive terms in holiday programmes.

There's about 180 elephants in Phuket, and organisations like Siam Safari adopt them as part of their elephant conservation project. They put them out to work, giving the tourists rides around the jungle. (Scottish Passport [The Far East] ITV, 19.1.99)

About an hour's drive brings you to the elephant orphanage at Pilawela, set up by the government to save abandoned, wild elephants. (Holiday [Sri Lanka] BBC1, 2.3.99)

The emphasis on maximising benefits to the tourist was often made without regard to the impact on local people. The following example involves a reference to recent difficulties experienced by people inhabiting a Caribbean Holiday destination. A hurricane had caused hundreds of fatalities only months before the programme was made. Yet even in circumstances where hundreds of lives have been lost, there was a comment on how the aftermath of this catastrophe can benefit the tourist:

Last Autumn, Hurricane George hit the island. The North was largely unaffected, but the South was devastated. The tops of palm trees were blown out, hotels were badly damaged, and hundreds of local people died. So it's wise to avoid the hurricane season, which lasts roughly between July and October. (Shot of presenter white water rafting) But one of the advantages of the bad hurricane season is the river runs really wild. (Wish You Were Here [Dominican Republic] ITV, 11.1.99)

Development/Atmosphere

There is a distinction to be made between the concept of a developed country and that of a developed destination. Most discussion of resorts in the South emphasised the benefits of specifically developed tourist infrastructures. At the most 'developed' end of the industry, the all-inclusive deal covers food and drink, entertainment, accommodation and activities. The compounds that have sprung up to cater for such holidays, can be self-contained. Tourists have little incentive to leave the compound, partly because they have already paid for the facilities, but also because they are isolated from the world outside. One tourist at Beaches resort in Jamaica, a country described in the programme as 'the birth place of the all-inclusive' commented:

It's great. We've not set foot out of this complex for two weeks, and we've not been bored. (Holiday Guide to the Caribbean [Jamaica] BBC1, 17.7.99)

Less typically, presenters advised the viewer of the benefits of a specific area that has not been exposed to tourism as yet, and is therefore 'less developed.'

I don't know exactly what I was expecting of Zanzibar, maybe a beach paradise on the Indian Ocean, a slick resort developed to meet the desires of modern longhaul tourism. In reality it's like this, exotic but raw. It's not been sterilised or scrubbed for tourists and it'll be a long time before Zanzibar resembles the bland perfection of holiday brochure land. (Holiday Guide to Africa [Zanzibar] BBC1, 21.2.99)

Out of all the places you visit, Langkawi is probably the most underdeveloped. Although very much on the tourist trail, a ten minute taxi ride and you'll find yourself in the small villages, where people have water buffaloes wandering around in their front gardens. (Scottish Passport [Far East] ITV, 19.1.99)

Where there was a stronger emphasis on the advantages of more 'developed' resorts, several of the holiday programmes covered organised excursions to see 'traditional tribespeople' whose villages have in some instances become part of the tourist trail. Apart from contact with service providers, these excursions to

rural areas to see ‘natives’, were usually the only point of contact between presenters and local people.

Well, this is Nongo Mongo, a park specially created to promote awareness of Kenyan tribal culture The people here are from the Bantu tribe. This would be a Bantu bed - they actually live here all the time, they actually sleep in this, they don't just turn up for work here, they stay here all the time, it's the genuine article. (Holiday on a Shoestring [Kenya] BBC1, 9.3.99)

Background and Contextualising Information

While in most cases, the inhabitants of the destinations covered were viewed as resources, there were also references that considered the lives of local people. Most of this information was given on the various *Holiday* series. Some of these references were fleeting, including information about local culture. These included mentions of the predominant religion of an area, or the main industry. In contrast to the dominant theme of how to maximise consumption while minimising expenditure, there were examples where presenters recognised the responsibility of the tourist to support local traders. There were also examples where, rather than focussing on the benefits of colonial culture for the British visitor, decolonisation was viewed positively. Finally there were three examples where the political history of a destination was covered. The following provide typical examples of brief remarks made about the lives and circumstances of local people, mostly on the *Holiday* series. The first of these focus on the religion of an area, in relation to tourist sites:

You have to visit a temple - they're everywhere and play a vital part of the culture. Bali is predominantly Hindu, though the rest of Indonesia is Muslim. (The Travel Show [Bali] BBC2, 14.1.99)

Karawari is the holiest city in Tunisia, and the fourth holiest in the world for Muslims. The grand mosque dominates the town, visited by thousands each year. (Holiday [Tunisia] BBC1, 12.1.99)

The second group of comments relates to local industry, which in some cases indicate the extent to which a destination is reliant on tourism:

Tea is one of its biggest exports. Everywhere you look across the mountains, there are fields of it. (Holiday [Sri Lanka] BBC1, 2.3.99)

Before tourism, the island's main income came from exporting nutmeg, mace and saffron. (Holiday Guide to the Caribbean [Grenada] BBC1, 17.1.99)

(Lamu) now relies heavily on tourism. (Holiday Guide to Africa [Kenya] BBC1, 14.2.99)

Although references like these were fleeting, they acknowledged that local people and cultures exist in destinations, rather than focussing entirely on tourist facilities. They also acknowledge that tourism may impact on local economies. In contrast to the more usual emphasis on getting a bargain, were references to the responsibility of the tourist in poor countries. *Holiday* in particular, acknowledged that haggling is not always appropriate, and an occasional plea was made to support local traders:

No two carpets are identical. The 4000 or so women who make them work from memory. Haggling is all part of the deal here, and it's tempting to beat them down to silly money - but don't forget that some of the larger carpets actually take up to a year to make. (Holiday[Tunisia] BBC1, 21.2.99)

A day trip to Funzi Island gives the tourists a chance to give something back to the community. Tourism is the only source of income on the island, so be prepared to buy at least a few small mementos. (Holiday Guide to Africa [Kenya] BBC1, 21.2.99)

Where most references to colonialism were about benefits to tourists, there were examples that indicated support for the now independent countries, rather than expressing a desire to continue the colonial lifestyle:

(Kuala Lumpur) is a mixture of very different architectural styles, and the heart of it all is the colonial district and Mardecca Square. Mardecca means independence and this is the most famous piece of grass in the whole country, because it was here in August 1957 that Malaysia was awarded its freedom. (Scottish Passport [The Far East] ITV, 19-1-99)

This week I'm in Kenya, one of Africa's most beautiful lands. The English tried to colonise it but the Kenyans have got it back and are busy trying to conserve all its marine and wildlife. (Was It Good For You [Kenya] Channel 5, 8.3.99)

There was one direct reference to poverty in a holiday destination, made by a guest presenter visiting Puerto Plata in the Dominican Republic. This comment is also unusual in its praise of local culture:

Despite being one of the poorest countries in the Caribbean, it's virtually crime free. Local culture is a blend of Latin American vitality and West Indian warmth. (Holiday Guide to the Caribbean BBC1, 17.1.99)

Among our sample of 18 mainstream programmes, there were three significant examples in the *Holiday* series, of discussion of the lives of people living in the destination. Two were from countries which have experienced lengthy conflicts in their recent history. These indicated that it is possible to explain the context and history of holiday destinations.

You might like to learn about the island's past - it was a centre of slavery, but there's little to help you. Maybe Zanzibaris are trying to forget the shameful history because there's no museum, no monument and no memorial to the slave trade, just this dark cellar, where apparently slaves were kept before being taken to the market. (Holiday Guide to Africa [Zanzibar] BBC1, 21.2.99)

The following two examples referred to recent conflicts which many British viewers would be aware of:

Presenter: Crossing on the same boat which until seven years ago took prisoners to the island (Robben Island) - the looming image hits you hard. Nelson Mandela ended up spending 18 of his 27 years of imprisonment here. Lionel Davis, our guide and a former political prisoner himself, spent seven years locked up beside Mandela:

Guide: Initially we worked out in the yard here crushing stones with hammers and thereafter they sent us to the lime quarry. The worst experience is that the clay, you know from the lime actually hit your eyes, and it actually hit Mandela's eyes. (Holiday Guide to Africa [South Africa] BBC1, 21.2.99

The above example is also unusual in that the guide, who is a local person, has a voice. In the following case, the presenter provided a brief history of Vietnam, connecting historic events with buildings and features in and around Saigon.

Sanka Guha: Over 2 million men, women and children perished in what is known here as the American war and they can hardly forget it. There's plenty of very obvious reminders. The Vietnamese are very keen to point out to anyone who's listening, 'we're a country, not a war'... After the war, America slapped an economic embargo on the country which left Vietnam crippled, but things are looking up now. The American are back and one of the first things they've done is pull down their old embassy buildings, famous for the scenes of panic when they scrambled out of the country in 1975.... People sometimes forget, the French were also here. They built the general post office just over a century ago. Now, under the watchful gaze of Ho Chi Min, you can write your postcards. Ho was the Vietnamese patriot who led the war of independence first against the French, and then the Americans. An hour out of Saigon, a secret 250km network of tunnels, used by the Vietcong right under the noses of the American forces. I wonder how they missed it. From here, the Vietcong took on the mightiest military power in

history. The Americans threw everything they had at this area.... At the other site, tourists can even play their very own Nam war games, for a few dollars.... Not perhaps in the best possible taste.' (Holiday, [Vietnam] BBC1, 16.3.99)'

Travell/adventure programmes

A distinction is sometimes made on holiday programmes between travellers and package deal tourists. The view is that some destinations are 'discovered' by travellers, who move on when ordinary tourists arrive. An example of this distinction from the Holiday programmes included:

These days Goa ... is very much on the beaten track, although it's been accused by more hardened travellers of being a diluted version of India proper. In Calangut, one of Goa's more developed resorts, you'll still see cows on the roadside and rickshaws swerving past.... Calangut beach used be the only beach all self-respecting hippies headed for. Now they've moved on and the package holidaymakers have moved in. (Holiday Guide to the Caribbean[Kenya] BBC1, 14.2.99)

In our sample there were three programmes about travel which offered alternatives to holiday shows. One of these was *Full Metal Backpack* (2.2.99). Although a documentary, it is relevant to this discussion in that it portrayed the motivations and attitudes of British travellers to Vietnam and Cambodia. The other two programmes were shown as part of travel/adventure series broadcast early in the year. These were *The Edge of Blue Heaven* (14.1.99) which centred on Benedict Allen's journey around Mongolia, and the *Rough Guide to Bolivia* which offered an alternative view of travel in a developing country. Dimitri Doganis, presenter on the Rough Guide series, made the documentary entitled *Full Metal Backpack* shown as part of a series entitled *Short Stories*. The title is a play on the name of Kubrick's movie *Full Metal Jacket* which explored the experiences of American GIs in the Vietnam War. Doganis followed the experiences of two young male friends who may have inspired the title. Their

interest in visiting the country was motivated by their fascination with Hollywood movies about the Vietnam War, as one of them explains:

There's war souvenirs everywhere. Places like these - theme parks almost. I've always wanted the G.I helmet. It's the coolest thing to come out of Vietnam... Travellers are looking to go to different places now - new places, possibly because Vietnam's becoming too much of a tourist trap, and I think maybe new places such as Cambodia could well be the next one...just because it's got that element of danger with it. At the moment it's slightly dubious as to whether it's safe to travel there, and I think that's what's going to attract a lot of people there next, all your hard worn travellers. I mean Cambodia had the Khmer Rouge all the way through the seventies, so ooh! Bit more danger there, you know that's a bit more up to date. There were killing fields there more recently. That possibility of kidnap in the mountains - oh what a thrill that would be.

There was a moment in the war remnant museum in Saigon where the two men are stopped in their tracks by a photograph of a G.I holding a Vietnamese child upside down by the feet. The fleeting reflection on the reality of the horror of war does not interrupt the agenda of trying to recapture gritty Hollywood images of GIs on the edge of existence. While sitting on a boat getting stoned, they comment on their reactions:

In Vietnam nowadays it's just party city all the time. I'd no idea. Everything's been geared towards keeping the tourists drunk, who'll spend lots of money. It's hardly Full Metal Jacket.

Others who appeared in the documentary had a slightly different agenda. One lone traveller was waiting for his girlfriend to arrive in Saigon. He was sitting on a small boat with others, planning to go to a nightclub. There was a close up of two packets containing brown substances on the boat. Our traveler summed up his priorities as the nightlife and the bars. Thirdly, Warren, a nightclub entrepreneur had travelled to Vietnam with his girlfriend. He explained what travelling means to him:

My philosophy on travelling was always low budget, intense cultural experiences, mixing with the locals and I think I've spoken to about three people the entire trip. You know drink, obviously only the local brew, that's probably the most intrinsic part of your philosophy. You've got to get to know the Satan source in the country you're in - that's the way to get to their hearts I think.

Warren and Ali's attempt at a cultural experience resulted in further disappointment. They took a boat to Angkor Wat to visit the Buddhist temple:

Without proper guides this is almost as nonsensical as drinking ourselves stupid every night.

Ali made the following comment prior to leaving:

I want out. I've had enough of Cambodia. I've done it - got the T-shirt.

None of the people on this programme used the word holiday. They viewed themselves as having a separate agenda from holiday-makers, referring to their cultural expectations. The two male travellers had clearly chosen Vietnam because of Hollywood movies on the war there. They initially expressed disappointment that the reality was at odds with their expectations of experiencing risk. However, they later appeared content to join the alcohol and drugs culture of the traveller community there. Other contributors to the programme had a concept of 'exploring a bit of Vietnam' or 'having an intense cultural experience.'

However, again alcohol and drugs featured more in their activities. Rather than exploring uncharted territory, the emphasis appeared to be on being surrounded by likeminded 'travellers.' *Full Metal Backpack* presented a distinct view of tourism.

Although it did not provide much contextual information on Vietnam and Cambodia, it effectively raised questions about the philosophy of the travellers featured.

By contrast BBC2's *The Edge of Blue Heaven*, (14 January 1999, 8pm) was more about exploration of 'both territory and the self'. In the series of which this episode was a part, adventurer and presenter Benedict Allen undertook a solo 3,000-mile trek around the edge of Mongolia. Allen chose to journey around a country relatively untouched by the tourist industry. At the beginning of this episode, he summarised his progress so far:

I was a third of the way through my trek around the edge of Mongolia, filming the expedition myself. With Khurmet, an expert herdsman, I'd reached Ulgii in the Altai Mountains just in time for a festival.... But in only four days, all three of my original horses and T.C. the strongest camel, had been bitten to death by bloodsucking flies. I needed a break. I'd been travelling since the middle of June. It was now mid-July.

Allen and Khurmet decided to rest at a village called Dayan Nuur and stay with a herder Allen had met during the winter. What was initially striking about this film, compared to any of the other destinations covered was the isolated setting among the Altai Mountains. The presenter was the only tourist, surrounded by local villagers. He lived in the herder's family tent. Allen commented here on the warmth of the welcome he received from the villagers:

What a tonic this is - suddenly to be included as a stranger amongst such a tight community.

At the point of moving on from Dayan Nuur, he again expressed his gratitude to the local people:

The stay with the family gave me the strength to look forward, not back.

With a new team of horses and camels, Allen and Khurmit approached the edge of the Gobi desert. The presenter maintained his original plan of crossing the Gobi Desert alone. As Allen said goodbye to his companion, he asked the translator to thank him for he has 'done so much for him.' *The Edge of Blue Heaven* stood in

contrast to the holiday shows in the sample, which rarely covered activities or exchanges outside tourist zones. The most striking difference with Allen's experience was the level of intimacy he enjoyed with Mongolian villagers. He felt privileged to be included as the only outsider in a festival and a wedding in Dayan Nuur. By following his own personal odyssey, Allen gave an idiosyncratic portrait of travel across Mongolia.

On BBC2, *The Rough Guide* series fits somewhere between mainstream holiday programmes and the kind of personal odyssey encountered in *The Edge of Blue Heaven*. Unlike the latter programme, the *Rough Guide* provided information to potential visitors to the country covered. However, in terms of format, the focus on one destination with two regular presenters allowed for greater depth of discussion than with most holiday shows. The presenters talk to ordinary people on their travels. The *Rough Guide to Bolivia* was the relevant destination in the sample. Early in the programme, Doganis stopped at a stall selling magic charms, and asked the vendor in Spanish about them. This was the only occasion, apart from the occasional 'buenos dies' in the mainstream programmes, when a presenter attempted the local language. It also dealt with areas largely ignored by holiday programmes: colonialism, history, industry, economics and contemporary politics, without being 'preachy' and still presenting an overall positive and attractive picture of the destination. The presenters explained that Bolivia has experienced many coups and wars since it declared its independence from Spain. They commented on the legacy of colonialism:

The skyline may be modern but Bolivia is regarded as one of the most traditional Indian of South American countries. Pure Amerindians make up more than half of the population. Despite this, indigenous people were treated as property by the land-owning elite until 1952. Yet there are very few Bolivian families that don't have some Indian blood.

And later in the programme:

La Paz is the administrative capital: Sucre the legal capital - that's where independence was first declared. Potosi was once the biggest city in the world. It was also so rich that the Spanish would describe something valuable as being worth a Potosi.

Visiting a mine at Potosi, the presenters comment that by the middle of the nineteenth century, the silver from the mine was exhausted. Currently, the miners dig for less valuable minerals - zinc, tin, copper and lead which were 'ignored by the Spanish.' Doganis and Bowman visit Vallergrande, to see the burial site of Che Guevara. They interview Don Mario, a former intelligence officer for Guevara, who gives an account of the revolutionary's aims for Bolivia, and the involvement of the CIA in leading to his death. They also interview street children, who explain what their lives are like. While commenting that Bolivia makes more money from coca than all its other industries put together, and that its biggest export is cocaine, the presenters explain the difficulties for farmers to find alternative crops. Again, there is an interview with a local person, in this case Don Alexandro, a farmer:

While *The Rough Guide to Bolivia* presented the country as an attractive and colourful place to visit, it also informed about the country's history, politics and people. Bolivian people from a variety of backgrounds were treated as individuals with stories to tell, rather than as resources to entertain and provide service to the holidaymaker.

Discussion

Holiday programmes on the whole present positive, often glamorous, images of their destinations. As discussed in Chapter Three, there are few television programmes that portray positive images of developing countries. Given that holiday shows, in common with other consumer-oriented television strands, have become a pervasive feature of British television, they provide an opportunity to inform the viewer of aspects of the lives of local people. However, too often, the emphasis on consumerism tends to override this potential. In the most consumer-

oriented holiday shows there is a strong emphasis on 'getting a bargain', while references to poverty are absent. Contact between holiday presenters and local people is very limited. With few exceptions the lives of people living in the destinations are not considered.

Some effort had been made, particularly by the *Holiday* series, to encourage consideration of the lives and livelihoods of local people. Examples included references to local culture, particularly religion and industry. There were also comments suggesting that it is not always appropriate to barter, with reminders that local people's livelihoods may depend on tourist purchases. Finally, on three occasions, the *Holiday* series discussed the recent history and political background of destinations covered. However, a considerable gap remains between the two genres covered in this sample. The travel/adventure programmes tended to recognise local people as individuals with human rights, including contact with people from a variety of backgrounds. Benedict Allen's *The Edge of Blue Heaven* offered an insight into the lives of people inhabiting an isolated Mongolian village. The *Rough Guide to Bolivia* offered an alternative agenda of looking at factors that affect local people, including information about politics and industry. Most references to colonisation in holiday shows imply that the remnants of colonial culture are an advantage to tourists in providing familiar comforts and elements of luxury. In the *Rough Guide* by contrast, there were several references to the lasting damage and impoverishment caused by colonisation of Bolivia. *Full Metal Backpack* offered a different perspective on the travel culture, highlighting that while some tourists define themselves as 'travellers', their agenda is generally similar to that of holidaymakers.

The more consumer-oriented representations presented in mainstream holiday shows provide a distorted view of the destinations covered. By excluding local people and ignoring local concerns, including the impact of tourism, they elevate consumerism above all else. Meanwhile events following the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Centre have had a particular impact on tourism, indicating that the relationship between tourism and globalisation cannot be ignored. As security around western embassies and military installations

tightened following September 11th, attention switched to holiday destinations. Many of those destinations covered in this sample have since become targets for attacks. In April 2002, a suicide bomber in Tunisia killed 21 people, mainly German tourists. This was followed months later by attacks in Kenya, killing 3 Israelis and 14 members of a Kenyan dance group. In October the same year, almost 200, mainly Australian tourists, were killed in explosions in Bali. Around the same time, Thailand and Malaysia were subject of warnings from many countries who believed they would become targets. As Western tourists curtail their foreign travel, the impact on destinations deemed to be high risk is devastating. With regard to the attacks in Kenya, Foden (2002) and Nahdi (2002) highlight some of the factors that made Mombassa a target. They both refer to the recent activities of American intelligence agents in Kenya as causing resentment due to alleged violations of human rights. As Palestine has become the central issue for Islamic communities, the Kenyan regime's close relationship with Israel did not help, according to Nahdi. On the role of tourism, Nahdi (2002) makes the following observation:

Tourists are no longer seen as friendly neighbours who have come to share. A young man outside a mosque told me they were the 'vanguard of western cultural decadence and exploitations. Despite the massive growth of the tourism industry, only a limited number of local people have a stake in it. It is not only seen as a way of exploiting the local people - all tourist-related industries are either owned by foreign multinationals or non-Muslims - but also a way of corrupting society.

Tourism is the biggest industry in the world. Watching holiday programmes, it would be easy to draw the conclusion that developing countries benefit greatly from the increasing interest of Western tourists in more 'exotic' locations. Local economies should be booming due to the presence of rich tourists. In fact, little of the income generated by tourism filters through. Western tour operators take the majority of the profit from this industry. Tourism Concern is a London based organisation concerned with promoting ethical tourism. They have raised concerns recently about the use of the term 'eco-tourism' and specifically

misapplication of a range of terms including responsible tourism, green tourism, pro-poor tourism, and ethical tourism. They have found that the term 'eco' does not alter the principal impacts of tourism. Wheat (2002) reports that much ecotourism development comes as part of 'development packages' funded by donors such as the Intra American Development Bank and the World Bank (funding an eco-park in Kamataka, India that involves a long running land-rights battle with *adivasis* communities). So, as well as being exploited as sources of cheap labour, there is also, often a price to pay for local communities, in terms of damage to the environment, local livelihoods and culture. Many of the contradictions of globalisation are particularly apparent in the holiday industry, where customers are most profitably engaged by immersing themselves in consumerism, while conditions for impoverished communities living in the vicinity may actually deteriorate as a result. Further, post September 11th, there are critical implications for the safety of both local tourist industry staff and holidaymakers. Meanwhile, most consumer-oriented holiday shows continue to ignore the impact of tourism on local communities.

Discussion of Content analysis

The aim of this content analysis was to examine the dominant themes and explanations available to the British television viewer on the subjects of development and globalisation. The sample includes eight strategic probes into relevant programmes, representing a cross-section of formats and content. The selected subject areas of politics and disasters were among the most frequent categories of TV news coverage concerned with the South. While economics was less well represented in the news sample for this research, it has been included as a topic which is necessary for understanding events in the South. The inclusion of a large sample of holiday programmes represents the increasing consumer orientation of British television. While the probes chosen for the analysis are reasonably representative in terms of subject matter, they are less so with regard to format. As a key aim was to identify the most effective means of reporting the South, some probes were selected specifically because they provided contextual information, and/or used innovative methods of reporting. The formats chosen include documentary and investigative strands, both very limited in availability. With regard to the pattern of news coverage in the three-month sample period, most news was concerned with recent events, limited to reporting visible activities. Some news programmes made an effort to produce contextual special reports, giving background to aid understanding, and sometimes providing positive stories from developing countries. Channel Four and *Newsnight* in particular were much more likely to cover stories outside the rather limited and negative coverage of disaster, conflict and western visitors. In order to assess alternative approaches to reporting developing countries, two of these stories were selected as probes for the content analysis.

What is shown in Part One, is that events in the South cannot be fully understood without reference to the global economy, and particularly the IFIs. On the subject of economics in Chapter Five, the coverage of the 1999 Banana War formed the bulk of the analysis. The analysis indicated how coverage emphasising descriptive information, with limited contextual information, can be confusing.

Much of the coverage of the banana dispute suggested that the UK government remained firm and authoritative in face of the US sanctions. Part of this impression was created a reliance on official sources. Far less consideration was paid by TV news to the ACP countries involved, many of whose economies were dependent on the disputed bananas. The lack of discussion of the WTO, a relatively new and unfamiliar body, gave no clue as to the protests which took place just eight months later, in Seattle. The influence exerted by the major corporation involved behind the scenes - Chiquita - was largely ignored. The most limited section of the coverage, concerning wider economic references would have been far more informative if it had acknowledged the fact the potentially conflicting principles involved in the drive for global free trade.

In contrast to the banana war, the news feature on education in Tanzania was selected because of its more informative and engaging content, and on that basis was to be used in the audience research. This special report, which focused on the relationships between education, debt and development, benefited from background research, including reference to a NGO as an alternative source of information. Where the Tanzanian story differed from most similar items in the news, and in contrast to the banana war coverage was in its attempt to explore concepts of development in relation to the role of an international financial institution. Although this report did not make an explicit link between debt and trade, it made inroads in reporting the failure of the IMF to impact on poverty in the country, and the hardship caused by IMF conditionality,

As with the economic programmes, the political probes in this sample included examples of both routine news coverage and less available formats. The former example consisted of news coverage of the Nigerian elections. The latter were examples of two genres that are isolated examples in this study, reflecting their increasingly rare appearance on British TV: the documentary and the investigative journalism format. One of the gaps concerned the relation between the elections and the global economy or broader Western interests. With regard to the negative impact of globalisation, the Nigerian story highlighted the three concerns set out in Chapter Two: class polarisation, environmental degradation and a democratic

deficit. Nigeria highlights the contradictions of the poverty of the mass of the population in a resource rich country, and the pollution inflicted by the oil industry, which continues to extract huge profits from the country. There was also the issue of whether formal elections could deliver democracy to the country. However, the question of any conflict between democracy and the wider context of neo-liberalism was not acknowledged. The candidate who was approved by the West, Obasanjo, had indicated a willingness to pursue neo-liberal policies when in power, and has fulfilled this commitment. While BBC and Channel 4 did cover some of the economic issues, there was little attempt at analysis integrating the various aspects of globalisation.¹⁷

Both documentaries in the sample provided information about life for people living in poverty in South Africa's townships. With *Snapshot* valid links were made between the history of violence under apartheid and current alarming levels of violence in many areas. Importantly, the documentary included interviews with local people working against the odds to improve life in their communities. *Panorama* also focused on the lives of local people, highlighting the overwhelming adversity encountered by one family in particular. What neither programme referred to was the fact that South Africa moved from apartheid to neo-liberalism, with its associated anti-democratic and socially divisive components. The ANC has subsumed the interests of providing basic services for its communities in the interests of attracting foreign investment and meeting the conditions of the IFIs. The discussion of the democratic deficit has particular relevance in discussing South Africa's transition from apartheid. To fully understand the implications of neo-liberalism in both Nigeria and South Africa, it is necessary to examine the political and economic stances of the national governments in the context of the grip of international financial capital.

¹⁷ For example, while the issue of debt relief did not feature in the television news, Jubilee 2000 had highlighted the burden imposed by international debt lent to former Nigerian dictators by equally irresponsible Western lenders. Conditionality accompanying any further 'assistance' from the IMF was and is critical in determining the conditions of life for most Nigerians.

The final political strand was the investigative programme. In this case, the subject of the *Mark Thomas Product* was the international arms trade. The two programmes in the sample made critical connections between the various players in the arms trade. Importantly, the programme did not stop with exposure of unethical behaviour by representatives of poor countries, or reliance on more routine portrayals of one-sided corruption in the South. He also recorded British arms dealers attempting to distance themselves from the charge of contributing to the abuse of human rights abroad. Thirdly, he questioned the UK governmental role in issuing numerous licences to Indonesia in particular. This programme had critical resonance in an era where there is a growing sense of distance between politicians and the population, as discussed in Chapter Two.

The probe selected for analysis of disaster reporting in Honduras was an exceptional piece. While the complexities of the role of the IMF and World Bank were not discussed in the key report, it provided an illustration of the hindrance of debt to development, and in this case, disaster management. It should be considered against more routine coverage of disasters in the South (see Chapter Three), where local people are routinely presented as helpless victims. What was not discussed was the role of climate change in causing the disaster in the first place. Audience research (DfID 2000) indicates that viewers would like to see more reports like this, where reporters return to the scene of a disaster to assess the process of recovery. In the audience research, a more routine disaster story formed the exercise (see Part Three). Consideration will be given to how more typical coverage limits viewer frameworks, as well as to how local initiatives can impact on damage limitation. The links with the debt campaign were significant in beginning to locate the crisis in a global context.

Holiday and travel shows were the subject of analysis under consumer programmes in Chapter Eight. The key point about most of these programmes is that they involve presentation of resorts in the South as playgrounds for rich Westerners. Although these programmes show positive aspects of many developing countries - scenery, climate and cuisine - local people are left out of the scene, unless appearing in the tourist service sector. The fact that tourism is

the biggest industry in the world, and that the influx of rich Westerners to sometimes very poor countries highlights many of the contradictions of globalisation, is not discussed. It is also the case that Western tourism can significantly impact on local culture, transgressing cultural and religious customs. As Nahdi (2002) reported from Mombassa, following the deaths of many tourists from terrorist attacks, the lack of understanding of local people and culture had bred resentment towards Western tourists in the area.

In Part One, I referred to research and campaign work by NGOs highlighting the relationship between globalisation and development. It is notable that in five of the eight case studies referred to here, reference was made to NGOs.¹⁸ The programmes containing more background information had input from these organisations. Clearly, such input has been significant in including alternative viewpoints. However, as discussed in Part One, Western NGO perspectives are sometimes contested by campaigners in the South, whose views have a place in debates about development.

The selected subject areas of politics, disaster and economics were among the most frequent categories of TV news coverage concerned with events occurring in the South. In most cases, coverage tended to focus on news events, with limited attempts at exploring contextual issues. This was certainly the case with reporting of the banana war, which only superficially covered the role of the WTO. Overall, the structure of attention of British TV news is skewed towards the richer and more economically powerful countries. Both Nigeria and South Africa have strategic business connections with the UK. As with the overall news sample, the quality of reporting of the Nigerian elections varied across channels. The documentaries from South Africa made efforts to focus on local people, and positive developments within local communities. However, critically in both cases, neo-liberalism was omitted. This is particularly relevant to South Africa

¹⁸ The relevant NGOs were the WDM (banana war, BBC1) Oxfam (education in Tanzania, BBC2) Oxfam (*Snapshot* South Africa, BBC1) Jubilee 2000 (Hurricane Mitch, BBC1) Amnesty International (Mark Thomas Product, Channel 4).

and Nigeria, where both presidents have had a key role in formulating NEPAD¹⁹, which largely conforms to neo-liberal orthodoxy (Ngwane 2002). This agreement aims towards further trade liberalisation and foreign investment, though such strategies have contributed to the exploitation of Africa over decades. Part One of this thesis outlined the key players in the global economy: the financial institutions, neo-liberal governments and corporations. This content analysis indicates that although aspects of these factors might be considered in exceptional formats, the significance of these players is largely excluded from TV coverage.

¹⁹ Mbeki, Obasanjo and Bouteflika of Algeria formulated the New Partnership for Africa's Development in 2002. Ngwane (2002) commented that social justice campaigners across Africa see it as a double legitimacy -booster for Mbeki who is failing at home, and for the G8 'whose disastrous international economic policies require a frontman from the global South'.

PART THREE

AUDIENCE RECEPTION

Introduction

The aims of this audience research were to identify patterns of understanding and belief with respect to development and globalisation, and to trace the origins of these, whether from the media, personal experience, or other sources. Reference will be made to Part One of the thesis, which identified the information required for audience understanding.¹ This audience research has also been conducted with consideration to Part Two, which highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of the various subject matters and genres available on television, on the issues surrounding development. This research has also been undertaken with the understanding that there are diverging views within the television industry on the increasingly consumer-oriented content of British television, and the extent to which this reflects the priorities of viewers and/or producers (Chapter Three).

There is evidence that television news audiences are in decline in both the US and the UK. In the US, the reduction in peak-time news audience figures has been dramatic over several decades; from 90% of the TV audience in the 1960s, to 60% in 1993 and 30% by 2000. Satisfaction with network news has also fallen, with the numbers declaring themselves very satisfied declining from 43% in 1994 to 32% in 2000 (Pew Centre 2000). News audience figures are also in decline in the UK. Total national newspaper circulations have fallen by 25% in the last 40 years. According to one survey, British newspapers are less trusted than anywhere else in Europe, with the UK at approximately half the percentage of the EU as a whole, at 24%. On TV, total audiences for evening news bulletins are down by more than 10% since 1994. In a wider sense, the annual survey by the ITC revealed that 47% of viewers believed television standards had fallen in the past year, up from 28% in 2000 (Wells, 2003b). Despite these figures,

¹ Occasional reference will be made to the research for DfID (2000) which used similar methods of audience research.

Hargreaves and Thomas (2002) conclude that evidence of a structural decline in public interest in news is mixed. Such contested views of audiences will be referred to again at the end of this chapter.

In the history of research on audiences, the pendulum has swung between weak and strong theories of media influence. Much audience research over the past two decades has been conducted in the framework of the 'active audience.' From this perspective, audiences use central 'frames' for interpreting public issues. The audience is seen by Fiske (1996) and Morley, (1992, 1999) as organising information in 'personally meaningful ways'. There are limits to any explanation here of how much audiences understand complex social and political processes. Neither does this model explore whether this understanding is related to the degree of interest shown. There are links here with the discussion of cultural studies in Chapter Three. Some within this field argue that consumerism enhances individual choice and power. Miller (1995) and Lury (1996) for example, focus on the instability of meanings and the variable way meanings can be interpreted by consumers. This approach will be reconsidered in the conclusion to Part Three. From the point of view of this research, the active audience's lack of engagement with issues of knowledge and belief makes alternative approaches more useful. One such is C. Wright Mills' (1963) argument that meaning is not only interpreted, but can be rejected, refracted and passed on (see overall conclusion).

Method and sample

The method used for this audience research was focus groups of between four and six adults. A total of fourteen groups were held across the Central Belt of Scotland. The groups chosen were 'naturally occurring' in that they were groups of colleagues, friends, neighbours or in one case, relatives. This preserved elements of the context within which people receive media messages. The initial six focus groups were held in autumn 2000. The remaining eight groups were held eighteen months later, early in 2002. The groups covered a range of low

income, middle class, ethnic minority and retired groups.² While there were only two ethnic minority groups, some of the other groups included individuals from ethnic minorities. Each focus group lasted approximately one hour. Within each session, participants were required to:

- Complete a brief questionnaire.³
- Complete a 'news exercise' or be shown video material
- Participate in a 'focused' discussion

Table 8: Focus group exercises

VIDEO - Mangetout, Zimbabwe	VIDEO - Education, Tanzania	PHOTO STORY Travel, Bolivia	PHOTO STORY Flood, Mozambique
Retired	Retired	Semi-Retired	Retired
Middle class	Middle class	Middle class	Middle class

² Some of the middle class groups consisted of public sector workers, specifically psychiatric nurses and social workers. Given the crisis in recruitment in both professions, due to increasing workloads and stagnant pay rates, their categorisation as middle class is perhaps not clear cut.

³ In the questionnaire, respondents were asked to record any recent programmes they could remember. In most groups, at least one participant cited specific programmes (During discussions, individuals recalled other programmes, referred to below). In some cases, individuals could not recall the programme name, referring to a country or other detail instead. The responses are recorded as written.

Retired, East Lothian, 2000 Dalrymple's documentary on India - his own journey;
William Dalrymple's programmes on India; Landward Female charity shop workers, East Lothian,
2000 Dalrymple's programme about India; Zimbabwe, Sierra Leone Middle class 1, Edinburgh,
2000 Programme about solar fridges Low income 1, Edinburgh, 2002 Horizon and Panorama
Ethnic minority, Chinese, Glasgow, 2000 Discovery Low income 1, Glasgow, 2002 Behind the
Veil; Discovery Channel, Lost Continents Ethnic minority, Kashmiri, 2002 Correspondent Female
middle class, Glasgow, 2002 Newsnight, with Blur in Mali and Emma Thompson in Uganda on
Trevor McDonald; Various on Afghanistan Retired women, Edinburgh, 2002 Horizon and
Panorama
Low income 1, Glasgow, 2002 Three documentaries by Sean Langan, on Iran, Iraq and
Afghanistan.
Retired men, East Lothian, 2002 One about water in Africa, one about eyesight in Africa and one
about rainforests in South America

	Ethnic minority		Ethnic minority
Low income	Low income	Low income	Low income

The sample consists of 65 individuals

All groups were in Scotland; 5 in Glasgow, 5 in Edinburgh and 4 in small towns in the Central Belt. The average number of participants in each group was 5.

Ages range from 16 to 87

The sample is 38 female and 27 male, or 58% and 42%.

75% of the sample watched daily news programmes.

There were ten participants from ethnic minority groups, or 15% of the sample.

Given the limited size of the sample in this study, larger scale recent research will be referred to where appropriate. The three key studies referred to below include the research for DfID (2000), using focus groups and based on a larger sample of 165 individuals. Second, the report by Dawe (2001) for DfID that was based on data collected in Britain by the National Statistics Omnibus Survey in July 2001. This research used survey data collection rather than more in depth discussion, and was based on a random sample of 1725 people aged 16 and over. The most recent report referred to - *The Live Aid Legacy* - is based on research by VSO (2002). This consisted of two components: quantitative research involving an NOP poll of 1,018 UK adults aged 15 and over, and qualitative research based on six focus groups.

Exercises

Following completion of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to participate in an exercise. The results of these are discussed in Chapter Nine. The DfID (2000) research had identified critical gaps in coverage of development, and

audience understanding of the subject. A key concern of this research therefore is to identify how development in the context of capitalist globalisation can be made accessible to television viewers. There were four exercises which formed the basis for audience group discussions. These exercises largely correlate with the probes used in the content analysis. In terms of subject matter, two exercises of the four focus on economics. For these exercises, groups were shown one of two short videos, which formed the basis for discussion. Chapter Nine begins with transcribed responses to two videos on economic subjects, which were shown to a total of eight groups. The first was one of the news features from Part Two, about debt in Tanzania. In terms of content, the feature contained contextual information, including reference to the role of the IMF and the impact of its policies on development. The second video focused on trade in one product between Britain and a developing country⁴.

The next two exercises involved photo stories. Groups were presented with a set of photographs from which they had to construct a feature for either a news programme or in the second case, a holiday programme. The images were selected to represent major themes in the first two parts of this thesis, and to highlight key issues, which were pursued in the discussions which followed. Six groups worked with photos taken from television, on the topics of travel and disaster coverage. Of these six, four larger groups were divided in two, and two small groups produced one story each. There are therefore ten stories in total. It was observed how groups interpreted the stories and what sources of information they used to construct their own features. The news exercise was based on photographs of a natural disaster in a developing country, which was flooding in Mozambique in 2000.⁵ The second photo exercise represents consumer television, on the subject of holiday/travel programmes. The latter photos were taken from a less typical travel programme of a less covered destination, Bolivia.

⁴ The video was edited from a longer documentary which had been screened prior to the original DfID research, and had been viewed positively within the television industry. The criteria for inclusion of examples of such output in the DfID research was that at least three television production interviewees had highlighted the programmes as 'successful.'

⁵ The disaster story in the content analysis was not selected because it was atypical, as a retrospective report, and this could not have been replicated in still photos.

The aim was to assess audience expectations of such programmes and how they responded to the predominant consumer-oriented format of television. It was observed how groups interpreted the stories and what sources of information they used to construct their own features.⁶

Group Discussions

The discussions, which are covered in Chapter Ten, provided an opportunity to examine some of these topics covered in the exercises in greater depth, as well as exploring some other areas covered in Parts One and Two. There remains an emphasis on economic matters here. The first sections therefore cover debt, trade and aid. This is followed by sections comparing people's experience or knowledge from other sources, with what they see on television. Moving on to the consequences of globalisation, a number of groups discussed climate change. Groups were asked about their perceptions of poverty in Britain, or other rich countries, and to express opinions of how this is portrayed on TV, compared to poverty in the South. The question of poverty was related spontaneously by a few groups to the issue of consumer pressure, which is the next topic in Chapter Ten. Following the priorities set out in Part One, groups were also asked about consumer programming, and a brief discussion of responses to holiday programming follows. For six of the seven groups which took place after Sep 11th 2001, events of that date, the subsequent bombing of Afghanistan and related questions were very much to the forefront of discussions. Finally I will discuss some of the suggestions from groups as to what makes them turn off and what engages them on programmes about developing countries.

⁶ The table indicates that three groups participated in the Bolivia photo story exercise. One of the three groups was the first group held for this project. Participants watched a video including two edited TV samples: one a holiday show and one a travel show. This video was discontinued in favour of a second photo story. However, the first group has been retained in the results because participants made helpful contributions.

Chapter Nine

Results of exercises

Economics: debt

This chapter relates the responses to the videos and photo exercises that were the starting points for audience groups. Starting from the viewpoint that economic coverage is often superficial and lacks context to help make sense of events, the central aim of the exercises was to identify ways of making the subject more engaging and accessible. In this chapter, initial responses to relevant videos on economics are recounted, while fuller discussions on the same subjects are discussed in Chapter Ten⁷. Four groups were shown a video of a news feature from 1999 about the impact of IMF policies in Tanzania (see Part Two). This feature had been selected from the overall news sample as exceptional in its inclusion of explanatory material, and innovative reporting of the consequences of IMF policies on education. One primary school is at the centre of the film, demonstrating the impact of user fees on education. The focus is on a farming family whose children are sent home from school for failure to pay, following successive droughts and crop failure. The groups discussed the material in relation to any changes in perception or understanding. This video seemed to strike a strong impression with three of the four groups, while the fourth group had an existing knowledge of the subject.

Group 1A

I: (Summarises the video to J who's just joined the group). They've to pay their school fees of £12 a year. The kids' fees are not getting paid and the parents can get charged and their wages can get docked. They can't afford to pay because of the droughts and famines and floods.

⁷ Please note that in the account of focus groups, the initial F indicates contributions by the group facilitator, the author.

J: Where was it?

F: Tanzania.

I: What we pay for one McDonald's for a kid, they can get educated for a year.

...

D: That's not right them having to pay their school fees. (Low income 2, Glasgow, 2002)

Despite the fact that D had commented from the outset that he had no interest in programmes about developing countries, he was sufficiently motivated by this feature to express an opinion on it. He also referred back to the video later in the discussion.

Group 1B

E: I found it very effective though - very individual you know. The one headmaster, the one father, the one family. You got the real facts.

F: You liked the individual voices, local people telling their story

E: Yes, rather than just like a newspaper headline.

F: Do you think you see much like that on television?

E: No. I found that very powerful.

L: What came over there was the fact that there were loads of people - Africa must be full of loads of people trying hard. What comes over on the telly - they're always showing us people heavily armed, shooting each other and you think the whole place is in uproar and they're corrupted - I know there are a lot of corrupt players - but there's all this mayhem. But the fact is the country must be full of

huge numbers of people - all these kids - they were well behaved, and their disappointment at having to go home, and the teachers and all these people doing their very best, and it made you feel yes, we should do something about the debt.
(Retired, East Lothian, 2000)

This feature clearly presented new information about the relationship between debt and the provision of services. It was viewed by the group as providing a welcome alternative to more routine negative coverage of developing countries.

Group 1C

F: Did you find that interesting, dull, too long or too short. What did you think of it?

L: I thought it was very interesting. It tells you how bad it is

F: With the school?

L: The poverty. The fact is if they don't pay they don't get any schooling at all.
(Middle class females, Glasgow, 2002)

The conversation moved away from the programme at this point. When the group was later asked about their knowledge of international debt, they began talking about the feature again, indicating that it had added to their knowledge of the subject.

F: Have you heard of the IMF before and the World Bank.

(4 of the 5 have)

F: What about the campaign to cancel debts. Have you heard of that?

(4 of the 5)

K: I thought that was going to go ahead - that all the debts had been cancelled.

N: That's what I was led to believe.

F: So from the last reports you heard, the debts had been cancelled.

K: Well, obviously it wasn't, but I thought it was.

N: I thought the agreement was there for it to happen. I didn't think it had happened yet. But I didn't realise that there were these three-year deadlines. Or three years had to pass and then another three years

K: I didn't realise that either. (Middle class females, Glasgow, 2002)

The fourth group discussed the programme less than the others did. However, this was not because they found it uninteresting. Throughout the group, they used details from the programme to illustrate points they wanted to make about the issue. This seemed to be due to their greater existing knowledge of debt and the role of the IMF

Group 1D

W: There is a problem in this picture with the International Monetary Fund or World Bank. Sometimes they put conditions too much. For example, I'm not against conditions against corruption, but not against like here you see that they can't even afford - even the government can't afford the money for education. (Ethnic minority, Kashmiri, Glasgow, 2002)

The subject matter of this news feature, the economics of international debt, could be fairly dry and difficult to digest. However, the background information in this feature and the personalising of the impact of IMF user fees successfully engaged these groups, from a range of backgrounds. This subject of debt was discussed more widely among most of the groups in this research, and the results will be referred to in Chapter Ten.

Economics: Trade

This exercise was an edited video of a documentary (*Modern Times: Mange Tout*, BBC2 26.2.97). The documentary followed the story of the mange-tout pea, including interviews with the various individuals involved in production and consumption. On the production side, the film included workers on a farm in Zimbabwe, a trader from Tesco who visits Zimbabwe to inspect the farm, and the farm owner. On the consumption side, there is the British Tesco customer, buying the peas and serving them at a dinner party where the guests discuss the origins of the vegetable. The film concluded with captions highlighting the disparity in income between the workers, the farm owner and the supermarket. While the previous video, of debt and education in Tanzania, included a mix of economic information and personal stories, the emphasis in this video tended towards the latter. Three groups watched this video. Within all three groups, there were mixed responses to the programme, with some responding enthusiastically, and others saying they did not find the film particularly informative. In groups 2A and 2B, it was notably male group members who said they would prefer to have the case study put in context. However, it was also notable that in both these groups, the subject matter of the video was brought up repeatedly during the discussion. Within groups 2A and 2B, females tended to respond more positively. There were exceptions to this in group 2C, which included two teenage females who expressed complete disinterest in any television.

Group 2A

D: I probably watch more documentaries than other things. It was ok.

A: Yes, it was alright. I wouldn't have chosen to watch it but I wouldn't turn it off. It didn't really get to - you know later on how much the workers were actually getting paid - that should have been brought up before the end.

C: I've actually seen that one before, a couple of years ago. I'd forgotten a lot about it. But I think it's really good from the perspective that it shows how much profit the supermarket makes out of it, at the expense of the employees.

A: The farmer - he appeared downtrodden but he was making a great profit out of it as well. It was just basically the workers.

J: Those vegetables must need a lot of water, and they always have problems with water. And treating a vegetable like a child as well. It's obviously very important to them because it's their main income.

D: And you also hear about starvation and they're....

J: Yes, they're feeding the things to cows. (Middle class 1, Edinburgh, 2000)

In group 2B, which consisted of retired men, the discussion began with comments that several participants were surprised to discover mange tout peas came from Africa. There were mixed responses within the group, with one participant commenting that the origin of the peas was the only thing he had learned from the programme, while others were surprised by the disparity in pay for workers at various stages of production of the peas.

Group 2B

G: What I thought about personally was the profiteering, when I saw the percent they were getting for their labour.

F: Did you find that surprising

J: I think it was obvious from the start what was coming

I: But it was one penny they were getting. It was totally disproportionate to what the others were getting.

R: The Tesco buyer seemed to be very sure of himself. He's got an immense amount of power. To be honest, I didn't take to him too much (laughter). I wonder how they've gone to the country in the first place to find the product. (Retired men, East Lothian, 2002)

It should be noted that personal experience is evident as a factor in responses to this programme. In the above group, the low pay of the African labourer strikes one individual, while J is not at all surprised. At the time the group took place, J's daughter was doing voluntary work in Africa, which he discussed later in the group.

In the following example, C and V are two young women in a low-income group. They said at the beginning of the group that they had no interest in television. The response to the video by one of the girls indicates a general sense of alienation, and identification between her community and the farmworkers, as opposed to the wealthy dinner party guests consuming the mange tout peas.

Group 2C

F: What did you think? Did you not like that programme?

C: No

V: No, I dinnae like that kind of thing.

F: Why is that. Do you just find it boring?

V: No. Just everything just revolves around politics and money. They can all sit in their fancy house and big restaurants, and there's people like them (the farmworkers) and us (on estate in Edinburgh). (Low income 2, Edinburgh, 2002)

Since the mange-tout documentary was made in 1999, fair trade produce has become more widely available in the UK. Sales saw a leap in the UK of 40% in 2002 alone (BBC news online, 2002). The stated preference for more contextual

information from some participants in these focus groups is likely to be due to higher awareness of the unfair trade conditions highlighted by the fair-trade campaign. The wider context of trade, as set out in Chapter One, could include the role of the WTO and the relationship between debt and trade.

Consumer: Travel

This exercise represented consumer programming on the global South. It included a range of photographs taken from a travel programme set in Bolivia. The photos included a map of Bolivia, with two cities highlighted. Some photos depicted tourist type views, including a bus trip, cacti on the beach and a hotel room. There were also pictures of local people, working in a mine and drinking in a bar, children working and getting on a bus, as well as a 'hole in the wall' with a sign for drinks and cigarettes for sale. In contrast to these were photographs of a more prosperous city centre and a mercedes showroom. There was also a photograph of a mural of Che Guevara and one of a soldier holding a gun. Given the volume of holiday programmes, it would be expected that most television viewers would be familiar with this format⁸. This photo exercise presented images from an atypical travel programme from South America, the only example from this region in the overall TV sample. Groups constructed their own holiday/travel feature using the photos.

Group 3A one:

One of the latest hotspots in tourist destinations is Bolivia. Miles of untouched silver sands, lonesome cacti and mountain regions are bringing Western tourists and their lolly in abundance. Away from the plush resorts and upmarket shopping boutiques, there is a far more sinister side, hidden from the tourist gaze - guerrilla rebels, exploited workers- and tourists pay more to watch them labour

⁸ Indeed, 41 of the 65 participants in this research stated on their questionnaire that they regularly watched at least one holiday programme. Holiday and travel programmes formed the largest section of the three-month sample of television coverage from 1999. Subsequent research by J. Stone (2000) indicated that this trend, towards consumer oriented programming in Britain, was increasing. Most participants referred to at least one programme by name, with BBC's *Holiday* among the most quoted.

than they earn. Dodgy cabaret acts are a side effect of organised crime. Tour buses deliberately avoid the thousands of homeless with their heavy bags and grubby hands, on the way to the quaint authentic tavernas for under-priced wholesome food. All the natives can hold on to are the romantic dreams of a dead hero whose ideals are now lost in the bottom of a tequila glass. Do what's right. Give the money to who it belongs to - buy black market. (Middle class 2, Edinburgh, 2000)

Group 3A two:

In this week's Rough Guide we visit Bolivia where the journey began at La Paz and concluded in Santa Cruz. Throughout this we will explore the contrasting sides of this country. The journey began with a bus trip through the countryside where the rough terrain was home to wildlife such as the llama. Many varieties of cacti were to be found, though travelling further South the landscape changes and this provides scope for the country's fishing industry. Moving into the city, the tranquillity of the countryside is replaced by the harsh reality often found in large poverty-stricken cities. On arrival into the city, scenes of deprivation immediately become evident. This deprivation is largely responsible for the upsurge in organised criminal activities in the inner city. The political climate remains fraught with conflict. Portraits of extreme political icons decorate the streets. However, a growth in capitalism is indicative of the contradictions of increasing emphasis on materialistic cultures and products. On a more positive side the vibrant nightlife is combined well with traditional customs where there is a wide range of entertainment available. For a holiday with all the elements of a varied active holiday this tour would be perfect. (Middle class 2, Edinburgh, 2000)

In group 3B, both subgroups reflect the consumer agenda of mainstream holiday shows. They also both use humour, with references to a local coach firm as a transport option.

Group 3B one:

C: This is a trilogy this one. It's called 'the day, the night and the morning after.'

Come visit Mexico - you'll be maraca'd (picture of desert). When we say nothing, we mean nothing - to pay for your holiday until spring 2003.

N: This one is 'if you're looking for the local watering hole'.... Which transport do you prefer? Travel by Nelly's coaches.'

C: This one is 'wild boar hunting for the novice. Ten free shells.' (Low income 1, Edinburgh, 2002)

Group 3B two:

We're going to Llama land which is situated between La Paz and Santa Cruz, where you can mix with the lovely locals in the local tavernas, enjoy the nightlife where you can boogie along to the local musicians. Then you can get away from it all in the lovely beach and desert, or go away in a boat. Llama land is called llama land because of the wildlife there, which you can access very easily by Nelly's coaches and you and your loved one can enjoy a lovely peaceful scenic holiday. (Low income 1, Edinburgh, 2002)

The third group in the category of travel/holiday programmes watched a video with two features from different programmes. The first clip on the video featured a conventional holiday programme based in Mauritius. The holiday included the full personal service of a butler for the duration. The second clip featured a less conventional travel/adventure style of programme, based in Ghana. The contrast in agenda and approach to travel were both commented on by the group.

Group 3C

A: I preferred the second one. He was too much of a clown for me.

F: You don't like the presenter in the first one.

A, E and H: No

F: And what did you like about the second one

E:.... What matters when you go to that type of country is the country and the people rather than the creature comforts. It's nice to have that as well, but its not the main thing, as it was in the first programme I thought. (Retired charity shop workers, East Lothian, 2000)

The focus group exercises indicated that groups were familiar with these programmes, with varying emphasis between the styles of holiday and travel programmes. Three of the four subgroups took a light-hearted approach to their features, reflecting the tone and style of some of more conventional holiday programmes. Group 3B in particular, reflected the agenda of mainstream holiday programmes, focussing on the photos which presented images of leisure and consumption, ignoring images of poverty. Both subgroups in Group 3A reflected the economic disparities evident within the area presented. The second subgroup in Group 3A focused more broadly on the wide range of experiences presented in the photographs, reflecting the type of agenda associated more with travel/adventure programmes. They commented on the implications of poverty for local people, and linked this with an upsurge in crime, with a more critical reference to 'contradictions' in the 'growth of capitalism'. The latter remark was the closest to a reference to globalisation in this study. During the discussions which followed the exercises, the middle class groups in Group 3A indicated wider experience of visiting developing countries, or having family and friends who had, as compared to the low income groups in Group 3B. Participants in Group 3C were among those who stated a preference for radio and other alternative sources to television, because 'radio provided a range of opinions'.

Disaster coverage

This exercise included a range of photographs taken from television news coverage of extensive floods in Mozambique in February 2000. These included photos of transport, people and cattle stranded by floods, and one of a woman carrying a mattress on her head. There were two pictures of aid arriving, one from the USA and one from Tunisia, and a disaster committee sitting round a

table. There were also pictures of a newborn baby wrapped in cloth, of missing people on a wall and a newscaster with a map of the world and the slogan El Nino behind him. On the basis of these photos, the groups wrote a story, which then formed a springboard for further discussion. Most of the groups focused on the consequences of the flooding for local people, particularly the human impact of the damage to infrastructure. Group 4A focused on the wider environmental causes of the flood, and on the photo with the slogan El Nino in the background.

Coverage of disasters in the South is particularly prone to iconographic reporting (Chapter Three). Moeller (1999) reports on the tendency to present western aid workers as indispensable heroes and local people as passive victims in such crises. One focus group participant, who did not participate in the Mozambique exercise, spontaneously recalled the flooding there and that there were problems with the Western intervention. She accurately recalled that there had been delays in the UK government sending in helicopters for the rescue operation. This was the subject of considerable media coverage at the time. However, contradictions with the coverage were less well reported. The Red Cross (IFRC) World Disaster Report (2002) which devotes a chapter to the Mozambique crisis, indicates that although international help was crucial, it only succeeded because Mozambicans led. Where local responses were ignored by the media, the IFRC emphasises the importance of local involvement in disaster preparedness: 'A key lesson...is that relief co-ordination worked best when Mozambicans led or fully participated in the response.' These contradictions in the Mozambique case are discussed in Appendix 5.

Group 4A

Because of people destroying the environment and cutting down rainforests, the El Nino effect has been created, creating droughts and floods around the world, and famine in Africa. The Amazon is the lung of the world and has been destroyed. Pollution gets worse and worse. International aid agencies and green agencies get together to discuss how to help the area that has been flooded out. (Ethnic minority, Chinese, Glasgow, 2000).

One woman from the group then added the following comment. The group member translating for her was keen to emphasise that it this is only one point of view, and not the view of the group:

These backward countries get flooded. Even people who want to give aid can't do enough because they do nothing for themselves. These third world countries rely on aid too much. They take no notice of notions of birth control, depleting resources. They are unable to give their children a chance. It's a mistaken idea that children have a better chance the more of them you have. (Ethnic minority, Chinese, Glasgow, 2000)

While the wider group wished to disassociate themselves from the latter view, that people in 'backward countries' do nothing for themselves, they still viewed the role of international agencies as being key to solving the problems caused by the flood. The following group commented on the lack of planning in the rescue operation.

Group B

Devastation - Flash floods have raged, devastating vast areas of Central Africa. Desperation is evident. Horrific pictures of rescue attempts evidence the inadequacy of any concerted planning. This leaves many being unaccounted for. Whole villages have been destroyed leaving many people homeless and without food, water and medical supplies. Those who have managed to be rescued give accounts of friends and relatives lost in the floods. (Middle class, North Lanarkshire, 2000)

Most of the six groups commented on the arrival of aid for the flood victims. While most comments on this subject were neutral, sceptical comments were made in groups 4C and 4D about the role of the west in the situation. However, only one person, in group 4D, commented that aid was arriving from Tunisia, another developing country.

Group 4C one:

Here we have had terrible floods in the continent of Africa. This is Mozambique where thousands of people have been made homeless in the floods. The infrastructure has been widely damaged, with roads and transport out of use. The aid has started to pour in, thanks to the 'wonderful west'. People and animals have been stranded, but helicopters are bringing relief to some of the victims. (Low income 1, Glasgow, 2002)

Group 4C two:

Global Warming

The severe weather conditions in Mozambique has caused major flooding in part of the country. Large area of crops ruined and cattle drowned, homes destroyed. Fear that it could cause major famine in the area. There is now a high health risk due to lack of clean water and sanitation and the effects could be far reaching and long term. Relief has started to come from the west. (Low income 1, Glasgow, 2002)

This next group of five had a more conversational approach to presenting their news story. There was a divergence of opinion within the group as they commented on each other's contributions.

Group 4D one:

I: From the devastation to the rescue, looking for the missing. Giving them help, being better and the people who're still missing.

G: Are they all from the one area?

F: Yes

G: All from the one area. In that case I don't think that's the place with the lake - that's too soon. I would say that was obviously a drought.

M: Or it could be relics after the floods have gone

Group 4D two:

J: My friend here is a very intelligent lady. She says that this is about a hurricane called La Nina, or a typhoon. And it happens in Africa. Then they show you the devastation with everywhere flooded. People bring mattresses out of their houses and bits and pieces. Don't you change your story! (To the other group)

G: The mattress was actually a relief mattress.

J: Not in our story it's not. In our story it's the lady rescuing what she can from the house. The flood is so bad that it's right up the side of this lady's house and the cow is having to stand on the roof. This is the devastation of all the stuff that's been carried by the floods. There are more flood pictures. There's pictures of people bringing relief from the USA. The wonderful US bringing relief.

G: Here, here. Don't you ever make faces like that

J: I will. They think they jolly well rule the world.

G: It's too bad they don't.

I: Relief from Tunisia

J: And these are people who are lost, and can you please tell me where my mummy is or where my daddy is or my wife is. Is that right.

This group also commented on what made this news story memorable for them:

M: But the thing that made that stand out was the woman who had the baby in the tree. That caught the world's attention

F: So that made that event more memorable.

M: Something very human

G: It was a miracle that she did it all by herself. Then you saw the baby a few days later. And that really was quite tremendous. (Retired Women, Edinburgh, 2002)

The style of news presentation in these last groups clearly varied from television news in that they were conversational. However, the content of the stories on the whole reflected the type of agenda associated with mainstream news. It is notable that the delivery of aid from within Africa was barely noticed, with only one participant mentioning it. This does not fit expectations of a Western audience that it is the role of Western agencies to deliver aid in disasters. This story had impact among the many disaster stories on the news, mainly because of the focus on the woman giving birth in a tree. It was notable that some individuals could recall the name of the country involved.⁹ While it was appropriate that 'the baby in the tree' story' was included by TV news, what was missed in the coverage was the fact that Mozambique successfully managed the disaster, and as emphasised in the IFRC report, this was key to saving thousands of lives (Appendix 5).

Discussion

Beginning with economic coverage, this audience research indicates that most people who had heard of the debt campaign had encountered it on television, recalling either celebrity involvement, or media stunts such as the human chains. Most of those who reported awareness of the campaign however, had little understanding of the role of the IFIs, indicating the limitations of most of the television coverage. In contrast to more simplistic coverage, the *Newsnight* video on debt and education in Tanzania was selected because it attempted to explain the role of the IMF and the implications of structural adjustment policies - in this case the introduction of school fees. This video successfully engaged and

⁹ In another group involved in a different exercise, one participant spontaneously recalled this news story. He remembered the baby in the tree. This was also from one of the few individuals who stated no interest in television from developing countries.

informed the groups who watched it, even gaining the attention of one young male who had stated no interest in developing countries.¹⁰

The second video was about trade in mange tout peas. This met mixed responses among and between groups. It appeared to appeal more, though not exclusively, to females, while males tended to say that they would prefer more context. One retired male found it uninformative because he was already well informed on the subject of trade, through his daughter working in Africa. Another male in the same group was struck by the trade figures presented at the end of the film. This presented new information to him about the discrepancy between levels of income generated at each stage of production, highlighting the huge profit margins of the supermarket. Among the viewers who reported enjoying this film, the individual stories were part of the attraction. For the young female in Edinburgh who identified with the poorer workers on the farm in Zimbabwe, the video confirmed existing inequalities to her, and made her angry. There was no indication in the film that anything could be done to change the circumstances portrayed. The roles of both individual preference and experience were particularly evident in these mixed responses. This film was made just a few years after the WTO came into being. A similar film could be made on trade, using individual stories and linking them to the WTO as the Tanzanian film on debt did with the IMF. One focus could be on the need for global intervention on setting fair prices for commodities. Judging by the responses to these two videos, such contextual information would broaden the appeal of such a programme.

The consumer programme exercise appeared familiar to focus groups. This is not surprising given the high frequency and profile of holiday shows on television (see Chapter Three). The photographs were taken from the less prevalent travel strand of programming - which focuses more on the culture, history, politics of the destination than a typical holiday feature. People who had less experience or knowledge of developing countries tended to reproduce the consumer format of holiday shows, while those who used alternative sources of information, tended to

¹⁰ A participant in another focus group using the Tanzania video subsequently wrote a letter to the organiser of his group to say that he had gone on to order a book about debt from his local library.

reflect broader issues. In the latter groups, there was a sense of discomfort evident, with more concern expressed for what is left out of such programmes, particularly local people. The reference to 'contradictions in the growth of capitalism' was the closest to a reference to globalisation in any of the groups. This may be because the contradictions of globalisation are most apparent in the case of the tourist industry, as will be discussed in Chapter Ten.

The final exercise involved groups using photos to produce a disaster news report. This story was fairly typical in involving one of an increasing number of climate related disasters in a poor country. While local people tended to be excluded from holiday programmes, disaster coverage necessarily includes local people. However, their roles tend to replicate stereotypes. The audience responses to this exercise indicate that most participants were familiar with frameworks of disasters in third world countries, consisting of western aid arriving for victims. Some participants were sceptical about the routine representations of western aid arriving on the scene of a disaster, particularly about its efficacy and intention.¹¹ However, in the exercise on Mozambique, local people were seen as they were portrayed, as passive victims, 'saved' by the intervention of western donors. Representations of active local efforts are virtually absent from audience frameworks. Even though a picture of aid from Tunisia was included in this exercise, this was almost completely ignored by groups. In any case, this picture did not fit with the other images, which included greater focus on US aid arriving and a conference of white men meeting to discuss management of the crisis. The Red Cross report referred to above indicates how unrepresentative a portrayal this is, and, critically, that in Mozambique lives were saved precisely because of effective local strategies. Many of the issues raised in the exercises will be discussed further in the account of the discussions to follow.

¹¹ This was also the case with one focus group participant who critically commented about AIDS 'victims' in Africa being portrayed as entirely dependent on outside help.

Chapter Ten

Results of Group discussions

Introduction

Chapter Ten consists of an account and analysis of the wider discussions which took place in focus groups. This chapter offers an overview of the topics raised. The topics broadly correspond with the subject matters of the programmes included in Part Two. There were also particular topics which were raised by group participants, which also relate to the account of globalisation in Part One. Specifically, these include discussion of poverty in the richer countries of the North, particularly Britain and the US. Secondly, for groups which took place in the months after September 11th, the events surrounding the World Trade Centre and the subsequent war with Afghanistan were a concern to most participants. The role of television in each case was a focus of conversation. While these issues do not refer to specific programmes in this research, they have been included here because they raise important issues about the impact and reception of messages about the global South.

Among the 65 participants in this audience research, a range of levels of interest and knowledge in developing countries was demonstrated. All fourteen focus groups included individuals who were sufficiently motivated by the topic to maintain lively discussion following the exercises. A minority of five respondents stated that they had no interest in development. These five were all members of low-income groups, and included some of the youngest of all participants. Having stated no interest, two subsequently indicated in discussion that they had awareness of specific countries or issues and could refer to relevant programmes they had watched. Most participants referred to the mass media as their primary source of information on the South. 75% of respondents to the questionnaire indicated that they watched television news on a daily basis. Several others specified that they watched television less regularly, but at least

weekly. The highest number of those watching news on a daily basis, watched BBC (28%) while more than one in five (22%) watched news across several channels. Where reasons were given for preferring specific television news programmes, the time of broadcasting was the most common explanation.¹² Among those watching various channels for news, seeking a range of opinions and information was cited as the reason. Thirteen respondents (20%) cited radio as an important source of information, and several of these preferred it to television, including one male who chose not to watch TV news.¹³

A majority of respondents referred to alternative sources of information to television. Several of those who had more in-depth knowledge of development referred to the internet as a source. Sixteen respondents had visited at least one developing country, and were therefore able to comment from direct experience. Many others referred to relatives who had worked or lived in developing countries, and made contributions based on these second hand accounts. One retired man had worked as an economist in the West Indies, and had direct experience of working for the Intra American Development Bank. A middle class woman in Edinburgh mentioned religious studies at secondary school as her source of knowledge on the subject of debt. Another member of this group had participated in a human 'debt chain' in Edinburgh. A retired man brought photographs of a project in Africa his church was involved with.

¹² Several people commented that they liked to start the day by catching up with the news. One woman watched *Channel 4 News* because she preferred it, and it coincided with her evening meal. Another commented that she preferred to watch news in the morning as she avoided watching distressing television after work in the evening. A number of parents selected the time for the evening news they watched depending on their children's meal and bedtimes.

¹³ One male in a low-income group in Glasgow described radio as less sensationalist than TV news, *Radio 4* in particular. The same respondent described TV news as 'patronising and an insult to your intelligence.' Three of the female charity shop workers preferred radio news. The reasons given were that more detail was provided and that they liked a range of opinions in discussions. One male stated a preference for *Five Live* and programmes 'which give you more information.' Radio was not wholly praised however. Another added that while he preferred radio, it was 'still very biased.'

Previous research conducted for DfID (2000, 2001) indicated that audiences tend to refer to Africa when they discuss developing countries. As much of the content analysis of this current research refers to Africa, focus groups were asked what came to mind when they think of the continent. Ten of the fourteen groups participated in this word association. While most concepts were negative, they also reflected a wide range of issues and some were positive. The most common, with seven references, was poverty. There were seven terms which received two or three references each: poor infrastructure, AIDS or disease, naked babies, apartheid, feed the world or live aid, football and music. Single references were also made to flies, colonialism, failed leadership, heat and animals. These images would seem to represent a fair summary of routine television coverage. Some participants reported feeling overwhelmed by negative experiences of television about the South. This was largely because they had no sense of there being any viable solution to the problems they witnessed, as reflected in some of the comments above, and below. Many expressed a desire to increase their knowledge and understanding of developing countries

Economics

I: I find I can start watching a programme like that with some interest and eventually it would just wear you down and you would go and make a cup of coffee. I think they should break it up into two-minute explanations, and repeat them every so often so that it goes in. (Middle class, Lanarkshire, 2000)

As discussed in Part One, the economics of globalisation have a crucial role in determining international wealth distribution. Quality of life is also linked to global economics in terms of access to services including health and education and amenities such as water and energy. While these issues affect television audiences in myriad ways, television coverage of economics, with some notable exceptions, tends to be marginalised. Most economics in the news is focused on business interests, as with reports on the FTSE 100, and is not presented in a manner intended to reach a mass audience. Some respondents in this audience research reported that they felt intimidated by such coverage, and felt they were

not equipped to understand the issues. It is unsurprising that viewers feel baffled by economics, given the lack of coherent explanation on television. To take an example from Part Two, there is the coverage of the 'banana war' - a trade dispute involving the WTO. Analysis of this coverage indicated that there was limited explanation and context to help the viewer understand the economic basis of the dispute, and its significance for the developing countries involved. While there are exceptions to this, economic issues need to be mainstreamed in terms of accessibility, context, frequency and scheduling, as indicated by the quote above from one participant.

In recent years attempts have been made by development NGOs and anti-poverty campaigners to bridge the public knowledge gap on economics. Some NGOs which traditionally focused on using images of needy residents of poor countries to raise funds, have changed tack, launching campaigns with the aim of engaging the public in lobbying politicians. As in Part One, the focus groups discussions are categorised under the headings of debt, trade and aid. Starting with debt, I have already described how NGOs and churches joined together to form Jubilee 2000 - a campaign to cancel the international debts of poor countries - in the run up to the millennium. High profile celebrities were invited to take part in the campaign. Despite its success in raising public awareness of the issue, Jubilee 2000 ended with its aims only partially achieved. Post millennium, the Jubilee Debt Campaign continues the work of its predecessor. Chapter Nine indicated the positive responses from groups who watched the video about debt and education. I also asked all audience groups about the debt campaign. The responses indicated widespread engagement with the core concepts.

Debt

In Part One, I discussed the central role of debt in sustaining and increasing poverty in the South. The Jubilee 2000 campaign worked to educate the public on the need to cancel poor countries' debts. In this audience research, 52 out of 65 respondents had heard something about the campaign. Most had also heard of the IMF, and slightly fewer had heard of the World Bank. A minority of respondents

demonstrated understanding of many of the issues involved, as indicated by comments below. The first group of quotes indicate the sources, which informed participants' awareness of the debt campaign. Some people recalled the involvement of celebrities in the campaign, with various degrees of enthusiasm:

V: Has Bono got something to do with it? I think I saw an interview with him actually. (Middle class, Lanarkshire, 2000)

K: I think I picked up on it quite a bit because there were people like Bono and Bob Geldof involved. (Middle class females, Glasgow, 2002)

The individual making the following contribution was less enthusiastic about celebrity involvement, but had a clear memory of one pop star:

F: Has everybody else heard about the debt cancellation campaign?

J: Bono and all that. He was giving the pope a pair of his glasses. Dear oh dear. (Middle class 2, Edinburgh, 2000)

Reflecting the success of NGO campaign tactics, others recalled the 'human chain' demonstration that took place in a number of cities across Britain:

LD: There were churches involved too - there was that thing where they all linked arms in London.

K: That kind of thing brings it to your attention probably more than just reading about it in the papers. (Middle class females, Glasgow, 2002)

F: Have you heard of the campaign to cancel international debt?

*M: There were demonstrations not so long ago in Edinburgh and London.
(Retired women, Edinburgh, 2002)*

In one case, a female respondent had actually taken part in the human chain demonstration against poor countries' debts.

P: I was doing the chain around Edinburgh - where we linked hands. (Middle class 2, Edinburgh, 2000)

Finally, on NGO campaigning, one individual recalled seeing an advert, and was impressed by the fact that instead of a request for financial contributions, the campaign was aimed at lobbying politicians:

C: One of the adverts shows the pictures again that we've all been talking about. Rather than at the end saying please donate, it's please contact your local MP or your local such and such and protest your claim about the fact that they're not abolishing it. I've seen one like that. (Low income 1, Edinburgh, 2002)

While most people had some awareness of the debt issue, there was still considerable uncertainty and in some cases confusion about the details. Before discussing general responses to the campaign, it is worth comparing two contributions from other groups, which highlight the degree of confusion about the issue. In the first group, the majority view was that the debts had been cancelled:

G: Hasn't that been done already

C: I think it has.

M: Brown did. The Chancellor of the Exchequer helped to an extent. I don't know whether it's been done completely. (Retired women, Edinburgh, 2002)

By contrast, the commentator in the following group expressed enthusiasm for the campaign, but had the impression that no debts had been cancelled at all:

C: It's where there's countries still paying off millions of interest, without even getting into the fact of paying off the loan. We sit here as a developed nation, taking all that interest and the poverty gets worse and worse. And what they say is that if we cancelled that debt relief for these countries, they would then be able to start on the process of building their own economics and start to develop as a country rather than being stuck there. The campaign really is going to stop taking that interest big man, and no-one yet - I don't think - has taken a step in that direction, at all. I could be wrong, but nobody so far has said we're going to wipe out your interest.

(Low income 1, Edinburgh, 2002).

The following quotes relate to responses to the campaign to cancel debts. While the first two groups expressed strong support for the concept, other groups held mixed views about it:

F: What do people think about the idea of cancelling third world debt.

E: It's essential

B: Because they'll never get on their feet otherwise. (Retired charity shop workers, East Lothian, 2002)

D: I remember not so many years ago banks in America were lending South American countries to pay the interest on debts. It was absolutely crazy. I go along with doing something about that. (Retired men, East Lothian, 2002)

A number of groups had reservations about the concept of debt cancellation. The first two examples allude to the potential for corruption, in terms of local leaders using the money to help themselves, as opposed to the ordinary people. The key

concern of the commentator in the next example is how to ensure that debt cancellation actually benefits those who need help most:

G: Well who's it helping. It's not helping the ordinary guy who's standing in the dirt with nothing. It's only helping the ones who're running the country.

J: It must be helping the man who's standing in the dirt.

G: But how long does it take to trickle down to them.

(Retired women, Edinburgh, 2002)

A similar doubt was expressed by the following individual:

G: The problem is with that is you cancel these debts and you wonder where is that money going to. I mean the leaders of these countries, they're not poor.

There are some fat cats involved there. (Low income 1, Glasgow, 2002)

Other doubtful responses included concerns about well intentioned but ill-conceived infrastructure projects:

D: One of the problems with the loans that are made is that is that they're using the money sometimes to build skyscrapers instead of hospitals. There was one country I heard about where they were building this wonderful motorway as a way of allowing mobility to traffic, and it was built to a very high standard. And when the road was passable there were more three wheeler trikes and donkeys than motor vehicles. And it seemed like the money could have been better spent.

(Retired men, East Lothian, 2002)

In fact, information is available to account for how finance generated from debt relief is being used. As detailed in Part One, Elliot (2000a) and the *Drop the Debt* (2001) campaign indicate the successful reallocation of the funding to health, education and infrastructure projects. Further to this, what is not clear in news coverage is that lending institutions often have a role in directing the original

loans towards ill-conceived and sometimes damaging projects. There was one focus group participant, a retired architect, who had worked for many years in developing countries, and had experience of working with the Intra American Development Bank in Borneo. He expressed concern about the consequences of an over reliance on economists:

A: Well, the problems that brought on were tremendous, because you were dealing with economists. Admittedly an economist has to go and talk to these people. But there seems to be only one that they should go and talk to, because the thing that comes through in some of the documentaries, like Landward and places like that, is when you send out farmers to deal with people, they can appreciate the situation because they're professionals, alright - in a different context, but they can think it out, they can see the problem, they can perhaps draw from their own experience what might be appropriate.... To my mind there must have been either serious corruption on the one hand, in not determining how the money should be spent and checking on it, or they're sending out the wrong people to actually appreciate the problem and try and sort out the individual problems in an appropriate manner for that context. (Retired, East Lothian, 2000)

This comment also reflects many of the concerns expressed by critics of the aid industry; about one size fits all approaches to development (see Chapter One). While some reservations centred on how funding generated from debt cancellation would be redirected, only two individuals were already aware of and concerned about IMF conditionality. These two individuals were members of ethnic minority groups. In the group of Chinese adults, one woman had heard of the debt campaign. She expressed cynicism about the conditions that might be attached to debt cancellation.

Y: I think they don't mean it.

F: You don't believe they're going to do it. Why do you think they're saying it then?

Y: Because they're going to be put conditions to the cancellation of the debts. What kind of conditions. We don't know do we? (Ethnic minority, Chinese, Glasgow, 2000)

In the following group that was held eighteen months later, there was a clearer idea of conditionality attached to loans from the IMF.

W: They have to put some conditions because otherwise how are they going to pay it back, but they shouldn't put too much. Give them breathing space. What happens in some cases people can't afford basic things because IMF has got conditions. Ordinary people they can't afford to buy butter or milk or salt or basic things you need every day. Some countries we have seen people going out of control and destroying their own country.

F: Can you think of any examples?

O: Argentina. (Ethnic minority, Kashmiri, Glasgow 2002)

Regarding television coverage of the issue, one low-income group critically discussed the lack of information on debt on mainstream television

F: Following up what you're saying J, about Radio 4, getting a broader range of opinions and more discussions.

J: More foreign news as well. You were talking about the international debt. How often do you hear about the international debt on the 6 o'clock news?

D: Never heard it

J: Exactly. It doesn't get on the 6 o'clock news, which is scandalous

F: Had you heard about that before

J: Yes, for years

F: Is that from different sources

J: Yes. But the tabloid press and news doesn't touch it so how are you supposed to get information

S: It needs to be David Beckham breaking his foot to hit the headlines. (Low income 2, Glasgow, 2002)

While there was limited understanding evident of the roles of the Bretton Woods institutions in most of the groups, the general principles of the reasons for the Jubilee 2000 Campaign had been absorbed by most individuals. Even within groups, some who heard of the campaign for the first time appeared receptive to proposals to cancel the debts of poor countries. In the following example, one adult who had not heard of the campaign before, referred to it as a potential means of development later in the discussion, although still uncertain about his knowledge base on the subject.

F: Just one other thing, how do you help move poor countries on?

N: I'd cancel the world debt thing. Looks a good start.

C: I'll second that motion

N: I don't know that much about it. (Low income 1, Edinburgh, 2002)

In one group in Glasgow, a young male who had stated no interest in international development, made this comment during discussion after watching the video about international debt and education:

D: That's them having to pay their hospital fees.... No - they shouldn't have to pay for their stuff, like if they don't pay their school fees they get their bike stolen (by

the community council as a sanction for failing to pay). (Low income 2, Glasgow, 2002)

Given the limits to economic coverage on television, and that most people rely on television as a source of information about the world, it was unusual to find such a high proportion of focus group participants who had awareness of an international economic issue. As indicated by the sources referred to, it is clear that the Jubilee Campaign to cancel international debts is largely responsible for this. News events created by the campaign, including celebrity involvement and stunts, succeeded in generating media coverage of the issue, although there were limits to the level of explanation offered in most coverage. While there are concerns about the details of the Jubilee campaign (Bond, 2000 and Rowbotham 2000), it raised the profile of debt as a development issue. In the discussion groups, there was considerable interest in this issue, and several comments indicate motivation to obtain further information. The video about debt and education in Tanzania explored the role of the financial institutions further, and the results indicate that while most people started with little understanding of their role, they were highly engaged by the video. The final quote in this section indicates that it is possible to engage viewers with economics, particularly where alternative solutions are highlighted. These results are supported by Dawe's (2001) report based on data collected for DFID. In 1999, cancellation of debts had been perceived by the largest proportion of survey respondents as the most important contribution that the UK Government could make to poverty reduction. The proportion fell from 33% in 1999 to 22% in 2001, following the end of the Jubilee 2000 campaign. As coverage declined, it would be expected that this issue would have less impact on public awareness.

Trade

Most groups in this study were asked specifically about whether they had heard of the debt campaign, as it had been a high profile campaign during the sample period. To introduce the subject of trade, groups were also asked if they had heard of the WTO. There was far less recognition and more confusion evident in

the responses. Much of the awareness of the debt issue related to NGO campaigning, which had not extended to the trade issue at the time the groups were conducted. The key trade related story in Part Two was the WTO dispute between Europe and America over bananas. As discussed previously, the news did not highlight the significance of the WTO, despite its key role. The rules of international trade began to receive increased media attention from spring 2002, as a raft of NGOs launched campaigns for trade justice, to combat third world poverty. This campaign was launched after the audience research was completed. While some groups attempted to define the role of the WTO, the accounts given were confused.

F: The World Trade Organisation, do you know about that?

J: Yes

G: World Trade? It's all universal anyway trade, it's all international. What's world trade? What does it mean?

J: Promotes trade.

I: Is it an umbrella over all trade?

G: And they obey the rules that are set down by international trading? (Retired women, Edinburgh, 2002)

In the following example, one respondent confused the WTO with Fair-trade organisations.

F: I was going to ask if people have heard of the World Trade Organisation.

Sh: I've heard of it but I don't know what it does

V: I've never heard of it

P: Do they do like fancy coffee and stuff? Do they make sure that people haven't been exploited? (Middle class 2, Edinburgh, 2000)

Other respondents remained unsure about the exact role of the WTO, but had picked up that protestors had targeted this organisation. The first respondent believed this was because poor countries were getting an unfair deal:

Sh: Was it the WTO that the anti-capitalists were protesting against. Well the World Trade Organisation is supposed to be supporting developing countries.

F: Is that the impression you've got?

Sh: No, the only impression I've got of the WTO is that it's what the anti-capitalists are targeting because they're exploiting third world countries (Middle class 2, Edinburgh, 2000)

In another group, one respondent had heard that there were allegations of corruption, based on unfair decisions favouring the US:

A: I think the WTO tend to - everyone considers them as corrupt these days because they decide between - like if Europe has a problem with American imports - it goes to the World Trade Federation - they say there's something wrong with that and they want to hear yes or no. And it's been making a lot of decisions in favour of the Americans. (Middle class 1, Edinburgh, 2000)

There were limited references to specific impacts of globalisation. One respondent was concerned about the international relocation of corporations according to where labour is cheap:

D: The thing about trade is that the conditions are changing for this country too. Take Mitsubishi - that was a major employer in this country. But now the company has stopped operations here and moved to Turkey because operating

costs are cheaper, resulting in major job losses here. That's true of other companies too. (Retired men, East Lothian, 2002)

The following comment reflected negotiations taking place at the time over admitting a new member to the WTO, which were subsequently successful:

A: Is it China that's trying to get in at the moment, with the Americans. (Retired charity shop volunteers, East Lothian, 2000)

Apart from those examples where the facilitator specifically asked groups about the WTO, there were few spontaneous references to trade as a development issue. In the next example, one respondent who had watched the video about the IMF in Tanzania, spontaneously raised the issue of poor prices for primary commodities:

O: See in that film as well, because the government are putting pressure on education they're in turn under pressure to get money off people who can't afford it. People don't have the money. Although they're working through agriculture, their agriculture is worth nothing in term of export. So they're in a no win situation.

F: So it's about trade conditions as well

O: Definitely. (Ethnic minority, Kashmiri, Glasgow, 2002)

In Part One, I discussed the central role of trade in development. Part Two indicated the limitations in coverage of the issues involved. Unsurprisingly, the current audience research reflects limited awareness amongst groups of the significance of trade as a development issue. The NGO campaign launched in 2002, to 'Make Trade Fair', should have some impact on public awareness. Audience research conducted in 2002 for DfID and VSO, indicates that the various issues connecting international trade with poverty, had still not been mainstreamed. Dawe's (2001) report for DfID, on what the public views as important in development, framed the trade question in such a way as to limit

responses. Making trade fairer did not appear as an option in the report survey. The only trade option was increased trade and investment. However, the view that increasing international trade in itself boosts development is contested (see Chapter One, p16). The VSO (2002) research gave people seven options to choose from as the causes of poverty or humanitarian crises. The most popular options were war/conflict, bad government and corruption, reflecting apolitical explanations of the roots of poverty. While debt came fourth, trade did not appear at all as an option.¹⁴

In Part One, I discuss the links between trade and debt as essential to understanding poverty in the South. However, this information is not included in television discussions of the majority world. Only two individuals in the focus groups for this research indicated awareness of IMF conditionality, which implements trade conditions favourable to rich countries. Further, as indicated in Part One, debate between NGOs and some voices in the South, are taking place off-screen as to whether and how trade should be increased between North and South.

Aid/Development

Most of the focus groups discussed aid as a key component of development. As discussed in Part One, financial aid from North to South is a familiar concept to British audiences, due to traditional appeals by NGOs, and to television coverage of disasters, which often includes appeals for donations. There were eight groups which highlighted specific development options. There were one or two references each to the suggestions of access to clean water, medical facilities, family planning and building the economy. There were four references to

¹⁴ The categories used by NOP in the research for VSO would tend, I would argue to produce a limited range of responses. Four of the seven categories fit the type of stereotypical images criticised in this research: War/conflict, bad government, corruption and lack of motivation/laziness. To counterbalance this, there were the two options of debt and exploitation by the West. Finally, the seventh option was natural phenomena. This set of categories emphasises blaming the countries themselves while underplaying the role of the international financial institutions by excluding trade.

technology and five to education. In one group, a participant brought along a case study of a development project his church was involved in, including photographs:

D: I am involved with this project in our church - it's through the Church of Scotland. In the past we have been involved with building projects in Uganda. One of the things that we donated money to this year was this water well in Uganda. This shows you the well - it's fifteen feet deep to access the water. That's the kind of thing that can really help with local facilities. (Retired men, East Lothian, 2002)

However, while not expressing opposition to financial aid in itself, more than half of the focus groups expressed doubt about how aid is administered as a channel for assisting development:

S: I've got this horrible feeling that like you say (L), the money's not actually going to the people or the areas where it's needed. But there's money going in. There's an awful lot of money going to the wrong places. (Retired, East Lothian, 2000)

Several of the criticisms made by respondents were centred directly on aid agencies. The criticisms centred round suggestions of inappropriate spending of funds, with three of the groups raising administration costs and/or staff salaries as examples:

S: I no longer shop in Oxfam.

F: Why

S: Because Oxfam portrays that they do all these great things and do their fair-trade, and their administration costs for the work they do are through the roof, but they don't let people know that. So people are genuinely going in and putting money into these things not knowing that most of it is going on paper and

envelopes. A pittance from that actually goes to where Oxfam claims. I became so disillusioned. (Middle class 2, Edinburgh, 2000)

The following group touched upon one of the difficulties identified by Black (2002) in her analysis of aid and development. As Black comments, the idea that a programme of investment in infrastructure and technical expertise might cure 'underdevelopment' is unrealistic. The broad spectrum of infrastructure could not emerge spontaneously, courtesy of a transfer of funds and Western know-how:

Sh: Do they not need to establish some kind of economy within a country.

S: See I would go for health first, that's the nurse in me.

P: Education. But you'd never have health and education if you'd a skewed economy

Sh: It's such a broad problem. You need to support all the different factors of making a society. (Middle class 2, Edinburgh, 2000)

In discussions of debt cancellation, some contributors highlighted problems they had heard of associated with inappropriate or ill-conceived 'development' projects. In the discussions of implementing development projects associated with western aid, one respondent expressed uncertainty as to whether solutions should be based simply upon mirroring Western concepts of development:

I: All the fundamental building blocks, but they're the building blocks of our societies and you don't know if they're appropriate. (Middle class, North Lanarkshire, 2000)

As indicated in the discussion of aid in Chapter One, much recent thinking on aid has moved away from imposition of programmes by Western agencies to consultation with and involvement of local communities. The concept of consultation with local people to identify how best to target development projects

would be acceptable to most of the focus group participants, but is not a familiar concept. In the following example, concerns were expressed about imposing hi-tech solutions:

Y: When you don't have a lot of high tech, you have to use traditional methods. That is what aid agencies are missing out on. Instead of stepping down from high tech into more primitive methods, people who have been without anything for decades have no chance of immediately being able to operate high tech stuff, so you have to step down from the technology and build up until you have the personnel. (Ethnic minority, Chinese, Glasgow, 2000)

The final comment is from a participant whose daughter was at the time working as an aid worker in Africa:

J: All these organisations are out there just now. There are dozens if not hundreds of different agencies out there from all countries. The first two months my daughter was out in Tanzania, she attended a course to learn Swahili and there were Germans, Dutch, French, all sorts of countries represented - all doing similar projects, and all there for a time limited period. They're just there to finance their own projects and it's what happens after they move out. They set a project up and then leave.... L mentioned an example where she saw tractors just sitting in fields rusting away. They have been donated by an agency, and it ran fine at first, but then they must have run out of diesel and had no means of buying more or it needed essential repairs and there was nobody to do it. (Retired men, East Lothian, 2002)

This refers to a notorious example of naïve aid policy resulting in spectacular failure.¹⁵ Many of the groups expressed reservations about how aid is directed. Most comments indicated some conception of infrastructure requirements, but there was uncertainty about how aid programmes could be effectively

¹⁵ Black (2002) documents how attempts to mechanise agriculture in Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia left a trail of abandoned tractors littering the landscape. Problems included rapid breakdowns, no spare parts, misuse for private purposes, failure to recover cultivation costs, etc

implemented. Scepticism surrounding aid and development is unsurprising. Despite the fact that it is fifty years since the concept of 'international development' was born, and a burgeoning industry has grown from it, the numbers of poor people in whose name this operates have increased. Still, television appeals for aid continue apace. Sogge (2002, p166) suggests there is recognition within the aid industry that simple, upbeat narratives can be counter-productive: 'By over-simplifying matters, they make aid look too good to be true, fuelling doubts about the aid industry's honesty.' Some of the views expressed by TV producers in Chapter Three, indicate a view that audiences are prone to 'compassion fatigue.' Cohen (2002) argues that in contrast to this, humanitarian agencies see *media fatigue* - the view by the media and cynical elites that no one is interested. This may lead humanitarian workers to look for more outrageous ways of getting attention. From this perspective, the political problem is the media framework of reporting, rather than the public's capacity to absorb. In the next section I discuss topics which highlight negative impacts of globalisation: climate change and poverty.

Climate change

The focus group exercise relevant to the theme of climate change was the disaster story - the floods in Mozambique. As indicated in Chapter Two, extreme weather conditions and climatic disasters have increased dramatically over the past decade. While the inhabitants of wealthy countries and their high levels of consumption contribute to climate change, the worst impact of these events has been in the South. There were limited references to climate change in the television news coverage of the flooding in Mozambique. A picture from a newsroom with the caption 'El Nino' was included in the photo exercise. However, of the six subgroups that participated in this exercise, only two referred to climate change. Although one subgroup headed their story 'climate change', they didn't refer to it in the story. The Chinese ethnic minority group referred to pollution and deforestation as contributing to climate change, causing droughts and floods. None of the groups discussed climate change spontaneously. On

three occasions, I specifically asked groups to comment on this topic. One contributor described her sense of helplessness on the subject:

F: One other thing I was going to ask was whether anyone was interested in the effects of climate change, have you seen anything about that? Global warming.

L: I wouldn't watch because I find it quite scary. It's going to happen. I've got a defeatist attitude, can't do anything about it, it's going to happen, so I just don't want to know. (Middle class, North Lanarkshire, 2000)

Another group accepted that climate change existed and discussed the human factors that contribute.

A: In some countries. In our country (Bangladesh).... they had a flood. There was a few reasons for the flood. One is the weather and the other is that they have the river which needs digging again. What every year in rainy season how much water is coming and is become overflow and makes floods. Digging in Summertime, it could be possible to have more water in rainy season coming to the river and not getting overflow and flood.

F: Do you think the climate is changing

A: Yes

V: More people in the population

A: Population. More houses built day by day and more cars with black smoke

V: And there's not enough recycling any more

F: Not enough attention to pollution?

A: Not enough green tree. Need more green

F: Do you think that that's highlighted at all. Do you think people are aware of that?

V: They can see the change. But they don't know what to do about it because what can you do about it. (Low income 2, Edinburgh, 2002)

It is notable that respondents in both groups were concerned about climate change, but felt powerless to intervene. The third group used a variety of techniques of denial in discussing the subject:

J: I think that's one of the things that's on the news - it's become a newsworthy story. Is the climate changing - is that what we're getting fed again. We're getting told that the climate's changing, and about the global housewarming.

N: Housewarming! (laughter)

J: That's what I meant - the Greenhouse effect.

C: I think it's amazing how they've managed to get that much glass up there!

J: We're being fed that, so obviously when an environmental story comes about, they're obviously going to cover it.

F: Do you think they do - when one of these events happens - bring in climate change?

C: It's like the weather down in England - the floods and things like that - it's been horrific compared to - but the other opinion is that it's cyclic. If you look back the records far enough you'll find that this sort of stuff happened periodical throughout the ages, and it might be that there's absolutely nothing to do with it. (Low income 1, Edinburgh, 2002)

Within this group, members diffused any potential for acknowledging climate change with humour and by replicating the version preferred by climate change sceptics, that it is natural and cyclical. Most media discussions of climate change include at least one climate change sceptic. Monbiot (2002e) suggests that the level of coverage given to climate change sceptics far outweighs the scientific support they muster. Energy corporations, with the vast PR resources at their disposal, have strong interests in sustaining this scepticism. With reference to the current research, perhaps the most telling comment came from the first respondent in this section. Her admission of denial due to a sense of helplessness may indicate why the topic was not raised in other groups. As discussed in Chapter Two, as well as being a threat to polluting corporations, environmentalism presents a threat to the consumer agenda of globalisation and a globalising television industry. Despite increasingly extreme climate conditions, the manifestations of these are reported, but not usually with reference to human and industrial impact on climate, or to sustainable alternatives.

Portrayals and experience of poverty in Britain

Almost all groups were asked about their perception of how poverty compares between developing and developed countries.¹⁶ One of the key reasons for asking this question was that from the first group, individuals spontaneously raised the issue of poverty in Britain, giving it high priority in discussion. Further, there was the question of whether audiences view poverty globally as having a common basis. As discussed in Part One, the processes of globalisation are impacting on North and South, and global inequality is increasing as a result. The range of responses across the groups indicated perceptiveness about poverty and its portrayal. Comments indicated that people had formed their opinions from a range of sources, including their everyday experience of seeing poverty around them, or of living in poverty.

B: Poverty in this country is not the same. Poverty in a developing country - they would think that people in poverty here were quite well off.

¹⁶ In two of the fourteen groups, there was not enough time to cover this topic.

A: You're never without a meal because everybody gets a government handout.

B: Nobody need starve.

F: So the difference is there's a safety net?

A: I'm just thinking of Thailand because I live there (temporarily) But there, if you've got nothing you've nothing. There's absolutely nothing. The poverty in Thailand is not as striking as the poverty in India. I went on a tour, a ten-day tour of India. And there it hits you in the face because people are dirty. There's no water in India to keep clean. Thailand - the poorest of the poor is clean. I mean you see these hovels that are made of corrugated iron and a bit of wood and some cardboard, there's always washing hanging outside. (Retired charity shop workers, East Lothian, 2000)

The comment about people in Britain receiving 'government handouts' was one of three references to a safety net making poverty in Britain less acute than in developing countries. However, privatisation and residualisation of the safety net of welfare provision is one of the key concerns about globalisation, as discussed in Chapter Two. In the following discussion, a group of female neighbours with children discussed the focus of charity appeals on BBCTV's children's programme *Blue Peter*. Underlying the conversation is a sense that the focus of appeals has moved from poor countries to UK welfare provision, a source of concern for the group.

N: That's the one thing I always used remember about Blue Peter. It was always far off countries - to supply them with the basics, clean water or to supply them with food. Helping to build the schools and providing paper and pencils for them to work with. But I didn't realise they started doing things in the UK.

K: There was an eye thing

K: Now it's all stuff that the NHS should be blooming well doing, that our health system should provide.

L: We'll be there one day. (Middle class females, Glasgow, 2002)

It should be emphasised that while most groups focused more on poverty in Britain during this part of the discussion, this was not because they were not concerned by poverty in the South. Concern about international poverty is evident in other sections. For most contributors here, the issue was that media portrayals of Britain did not match their experiences. Social class of the groups had a bearing. The next quotes from low-income groups indicate concern about high levels of poverty in Britain.

K: The thing is about poverty in these countries is that it's very much a western idea of poverty. I mean who defines poverty? It's the west that decides that. There's terrible poverty here. We see it here around our work.

Tr: That's right. There are people here and in America who're raking through the bins trying to get something to eat. There are huge numbers of people in this country who don't have enough to live on. The difference is it's more widespread in other countries.

B: Look at Harlem. My brother was over there and he couldn't believe the poverty and the segregation that still exists. How often do you see that? (On television) (Low income 1, Glasgow, 2002)

The comments below followed a group member's remark that there wasn't much to go round in her family because there were a large number of children. Another group member emphasises that the income gap in Britain is particularly wide.

J: Maybe bigger families there was more deprivation, but I don't think there was the gap there is nowadays.

F: Do you think the gap is bigger now between the poor and the rich?

J: Without a doubt

F: Even in this country?

J: Especially in this country. (Low income 2, Glasgow, 2002)

The individual who rightly emphasised inequality as being particularly high in Britain reported that he did not watch TV news, viewing other sources of information as more reliable. The following involved another group of adults living and working in the Maryhill district of Glasgow. Some weeks before the focus group, a report by the Child Poverty Action Group (Guardian online, 2002) had ranked Maryhill as the most impoverished area in Britain. This external perception had come as a surprise to the group. They discussed the tendency to compare their own situation both upwardly, towards better dressed kids at school, or downwards, to people in poor countries:

I: It was on TV a couple of weeks ago that Maryhill was one of the most poverty stricken places in Glasgow... Poverty is what they class us as being - Maryhill is one of the worst places - ashamed.

F: What did you think. You were ashamed when you saw that?

I: I know I'm in the poverty bracket. But at the same time his (teenage son) clothes are clean. And if there's a hole in it I'll mend it.

D: That's it.

I: If I can't afford to buy something, I'll tie dye something or I'll go chopping something up and make it, rather than going without. But when you see that it brings you back down to earth with a big bump. (Low income 2, Glasgow, 2002)

There was some debate within the following group as to how poverty compared between North and South. While one member of the group certainly felt that the UK had a role in sustaining the high level of poverty of poor countries, she also felt that domestic poverty is ignored. She also noted that with regard to media coverage, celebrities appeared to be more inclined to attach themselves to third world poverty.

S: I remember at Live Aid or even that chain thing you did for world debt (P) and that's been a big thing again. You'll get superstars who will focus in on third world issues, but I don't remember the last time somebody stood up there and actually spoke about issues to do with our country. I'm normalised to it as well. Every day you pass somebody in a doorway and you don't - there seems to be more of a presence in the media relating to third world issues.

V: I think the problems there are a lot greater than what they are here. You see pictures on the TV - like millions of starving women and children.

S: We still can't look after our own. And I'm not decrying what's going on there. Certainly my own opinion is there is part of that as a nation we have to accept responsibility for those things that people did an awful long time ago. We largely allowed them to get into the debt that they are in now, and still to continue to do so, and there is still an economic gain out of keeping them in that position. But I do think that a lot of the time our own issues at home to us are brushed under the carpet, because they're not seen as important. (Middle class 2, Edinburgh, 2000)

Discussion about refugees in Scotland took place spontaneously in two groups. The comments on refugees are included in this section because the discussions concluded with reflections on refugee perceptions of life in Britain - the reverse of the subject of this analysis. The comments were both made by people living in poverty - one in Glasgow, one in Edinburgh - and began with comparisons of refugees' and local people's access to council housing. In both cases, younger members of the groups aired grievances about their perception that refugees had been favoured over them in their quest for council housing. Also in both cases,

older group members argued that the refugees did not create the problem of housing shortages.

K: Honestly I do think there's a lot of people start off where you started off V saying that refugees do come into the country and why would they get a house. That is very - I dinnae want to be ageist here - but it certainly seems to be a lot around your age group. Because C and her pals - now that they're looking for houses - you're hearing comments and I've said to C "I dinnae want to hear you talking like that." And she's really negative....

V: I've just experienced this in the last couple of weeks and I've seen people in a better situation than me and they've been offered big main doors and I'm having to fight just to get a house somewhere. And they've just come in - there you go, three-bedroom house. And this is what causes racial harassment and problems. We see people with different cultures coming in and getting what they want. We live in this country and we cannae get one piece of it. (Low income 2, Edinburgh, 2002)

There was a fairly rapid rise in numbers of asylum seekers entering Scotland in 2000/2001, under the UK government dispersal scheme. In June 2001, the number of dispersal cases supported by the National Asylum Support System in Scotland stood at 3,391, all of them in Glasgow (Scottish Asylum Seekers' Consortium, 2001). The young Edinburgh woman who made the comment about having to compete with newly arrived asylum seekers had stated that she relied on *The Sun* newspaper as a news source. Mollard (2001) reported for Oxfam in Scotland on how press coverage had served to create a climate of fear and hostility towards asylum seekers, lending credibility to government policies which increase hardship and suffering for Scotland's asylum community. It would seem that this individual formed the impression of competing with asylum seekers from this source, as none of the new arrivals had moved to her city. The following exchange took place in Glasgow:

J: The newspapers never tie it in that these countries are in excruciating poverty and that's the reason they're leaving their country and the international debt is one of the reasons they're in poverty.

D: No, I don't think they should stay here because we can't even get a house.

J: They get the very worst of the housing, but.

S: But they get furnished flats. We don't even get that.

D: I've been waiting for a house for six years and I've not even heard.....

J: Surely you'd get a house in Sighthill (Where the largest group of new asylum seekers were housed). You'd get one of the flats there.

D: I went to the housing in Govan and in Pollok and I've not heard a thing

J: They house the refugees in the very worst houses that nobody else wants. I think you might have a point but I think it's two different things. I think they should be building more houses for everybody. (Low income 2, Glasgow, 2002)

These were also two of three groups where consideration was given to the idealised images presented within developing countries, which were perceived as attracting immigrants into Britain. In the first two cases, the comments are made by immigrants from developing countries:

A: When I came to this country, it was always my dream that they must be living really good - their lifestyle is really good (all laugh). Honestly, that's what I thought before I come. Most people who are not coming from this country - they always thought that - it's like a dream country. Coming in here, doing a better job, earning money. It's their dream. (Low income 2, Edinburgh, 2002)

In the second example, a group of Chinese immigrants discuss a story in the news about 58 young Chinese adults suffocating in a van in an attempt to enter Britain.

J: They were misled. Someone told them, oh if you go you will get a good fortune - maybe.

F: You think they were told you will get a good job, good money?

Y: London pavements all gold. (Ethnic minority, Chinese, Glasgow, 2000)

In this final example, a Scottish male respondent makes the comment:

J: See what they're saying about the refugees - I think there's a point about these people coming to this country because they've got expectations about what life is going to be like that doesn't match up to reality. I heard the Home office was going over to Sangatte with a video to show the other side of life in Britain to try and put them off. (Low income 2, Glasgow, 2002)

While there was considerable concern amongst the focus groups about poverty in the South, the specific question about comparing poverty North and South elicited mainly responses focusing on domestic poverty. It would appear from the comments made that people are concerned about increasing poverty they can see around them. There was little evidence that participants viewed global poverty as having a common root however. The two groups which raised the subject of asylum seekers had similar conversations about competition for housing. It is unsurprising that group members viewed asylum seekers as rivals, given the hostile tone of relevant press coverage. Mollard (2001) reported that while few articles in the Scottish tabloids associated the increase in asylum applications with the rise of civil war and ethnic conflict, many linked poverty among the host population with the resources used to support asylum seekers. This served to turn legitimate criticism away from government failure to address UK poverty effectively. The issue of domestic poverty relates to the next subject, which was raised by three groups.

Consumer pressure

In Chapter Three, I discussed the increasingly pervasive culture-ideology of consumerism, on which capitalist globalisation depends. The only focus groups which spontaneously raised consumerism as an issue, were three of the four low-income groups, identifying consumer pressure as a problem in their communities. In the first example, one woman on benefits comments that although her teenage son wants expensive trainers, he can put this desire in perspective when he considers that there are people worse off than him. Reflecting the views expressed by Oliver James on consumerism in Chapter Three, another group member comments that there is still pressure to compare himself to his peer group:

I: He starts realising £100 shoes are not exactly what I really need, are they. It doesn't stop him moaning, but it makes him realise a pair of Nike at £35 are not that bad son, considering they kids haven't got a pair of shoes on their feet.

D: But he's not comparing himself to them.

I: He's realising what he's got.

D: But when he goes to school he's going to be compared to the other kids that have got the expensive gear.

I: The kids with £100 trainers are slagging him. He comes home upset and I explain that I can't afford to buy that. He understand that way when he realises although my mum can't buy me everything I want, I've got a clean bed, I've got a roof over my head, I've got a meal on the table, I've got an education

J: I still think it's hard to keep reminding yourself about that, because you do think I wish I could afford a foreign holiday. (Low income 2, Glasgow, 2002)

In the second example, one contributor viewed the media as having greatest impact in putting pressure on poor people to buy expensive clothing. She did not feel that consumer pressure is adequately tackled by political television programming.

K: And there's the media thing as well, isn't there. Because if you look at the generation thing now. Everything that's in advertising.... Well, if you hear a lot of older people maybe turn round and say they don't know how lucky they are. I don't agree with that. I think that's a material thing and it's all geared towards younger people and that they feel basically an outcast if they've not got that.

F: Do you mean pressure?

K: Yeah. I mean you can see families coming in here and they'll maybe say 'I'm really skint. I cannae afford this and I cannae afford that and they've got the best gear, because their kids feel intimidated that they've not got known trainers or whatever. So I think that a lot of political programmes and that aren't geared towards younger people for understanding. (Low income 2, Edinburgh, 2002)

In the final example, the link is again made with media pressure to consume. This conversation included discussion of many aspects of Chapter Three. This group included mainly low paid staff from a youth project in Maryhill, Glasgow:

K: One thing that the young people are getting from the media is pressure to buy stuff. They are under a huge amount of pressure.

F: Does anyone else think that.

(All agree)

F: Where does that come from. Do you all think it comes from the media

Tr: It's everywhere in the media, the magazines, the TV, the cinema.

K: None of them have the money to buy these things.

G: It's all about money. They want a pair of trainers because they cost £70, not because they like the trainers. If they saw the trainers at £70 in one shop and at £35 in another shop, they would buy the first ones.

Tr: The thing is as well that the £70 trainers only cost a couple of pounds to make.

K: They mainly come from developing countries anyway. There's a lot of exploitation in that.

Tr: If people knew that that's what the people who made the trainers were earning they would be totally shocked. (Low income 1, Glasgow, 2002)

While this focus group study consists of a small sample, it is clearly significant that within the fourteen groups, three low-income groups spontaneously discussed consumer pressure as a problem. It was clearly where consumer pressure was experienced most acutely as a problem that group members raised the issue. The views expressed on this topic, correlate with those of a range of commentators referred to in Chapter Three on the idealised lifestyles presented on television. James (2000) links increased mental health problems associated with the rise of consumer society, with increased hours devoted to watching television. Chomsky, (1995), notes that because consumption is skewed towards luxuries for the wealthy rather than towards necessities for the poor, there are particular pressures for those without the means to consume. Two of the groups in this study viewed the pressure as coming from mass media, while the third felt that television is failing to tackle the issue.

Holiday programmes

Holiday/travel programming represents the largest category of television coverage of developing countries. Mainstream holiday shows, as discussed in Chapter Eight, are primarily consumer oriented, with limited reference to local people. The DfID research from 2000 included audience comments on holiday programmes. The most frequent contributions concerned lack of representation of local people, and an over emphasis on consumerism. In discussions for the current research, individuals raised similar concerns. In the first example, group members had expressed a preference for programmes which included local people. One group member went on to discuss the difference between travel and holiday programmes.

F: And what about images of local people in holiday programmes. Has anyone noticed any difference between one programme and another?

V: I think more kind of trendy ones, if you like. You know that one the woman with the sunglasses used always do - on BBC2 - Rough Guide. I think they showed more what you imagine - whether what you are seeing is actually right or not, but more unusual places, less touristy and more of the people who actually live there. Whereas I think some of the mainstream ones are the ones that are on at 7 o'clock on BBC1 or whatever, tend to do more of the touristy things, and it's unusual for them to do stuff that's more of the country.

F: Which do you prefer, if they were both on at the same, which do you watch

V: The trendy one. Well, you are interested in the touristy bits as well, because obviously that's part of the reason you go, whether you call yourself a traveller or not.

F: Do you think that makes a difference, the label traveller

V: Yes.

F: What do you think of that

V: I think it's just a label. I think if you visit another country you're a tourist, whether you're away for two months or not. (Middle class, North Lanarkshire, 2000)

The views expressed by this individual about the limited differences between 'tourists' and 'travellers' reflect the views expressed in the travel documentary by Dmitri Doganis¹⁷. The key point here is that, in most cases, a consumer agenda is promoted to Westerners engaged in visits abroad, whether tourists or travellers. In the next example, a group of retired women comment on the tendency to show only positive images on holiday programmes. As with the comparison of poverty in North and South, the concluding comment reflects the view that poverty is hidden from television portrayals in general.

I: When we were in Thailand we were at a wedding. My nephew is married to a Thai girl. We saw quite a lot but it was still mostly upper class Thailand, which is different. You go along the street and there's these little places where the poor people live. They're all very clean. The Thai people are so gentle. As a tourist you don't usually see the nitty gritty and the programmes certainly don't show you the nitty gritty. They only show you the glamour

J: We would too. You wouldn't see a holiday programme in Edinburgh and show them Pilton or Westerhailes. We do exactly the same thing don't we? (Retired women, Edinburgh, 2002)

In the next example, there is a comment on contrasting portrayals of local people, according to the format of the programme:

F: Can you think of anything positive. Anything different from the disasters.

¹⁷ His programme on travel in Vietnam and Cambodia, *Full Metal Backpack*, is discussed in Part Two

A: I've seen some different images on holiday programmes.... It's like they're completely separate countries.

Tr: You get all the negative stuff on the news - all the stuff about the people who live there. And then you get the nice hotels and the swimming pools and that and it's just for the white people who're going there with all their money to spend. You don't see local people on those programmes. (Low income 1, Glasgow, 2002)

The final example in this section reflects some of the examples in Part Two. The programme referred to traumatic circumstances affecting local people in a developing country, but quickly dismissed the event as irrelevant from the Western holidaymaker's viewpoint.

L: There was one on within the last two nights about Sri Lanka. I only saw that part of the programme.... Someone like Judith Chalmers said at the very beginning - showed you a map of Ceylon - and she said of course there's a war going on up here with the Tamil Tigers and the government, but that won't impinge on your holiday, and went on to describe all the luxury hotels and the beautiful beaches and all the rest of it, and I've seen more than one programme about Sri Lanka showing all the stuff up, and there's this terrible carry on going on - but dismissed very rapidly, it wasn't mentioned. (Retired, East Lothian, 2000)

While most people in the groups watched holiday programmes on a regular basis, many expressed the view that they preferred to see more information about the countries portrayed, and particularly about the lives of local people. In most cases, however, discussion of holiday shows was responded to with indifference. This may be due in part to the programme subject and format. Where the focus is on consumerism, or what the viewer can get from an area, viewers are more likely to be accustomed to such limited representations of other countries.

September 11th and Afghanistan

The events of 11th September 2001 in New York, and the subsequent war with Afghanistan, were discussed by seven of the eight groups conducted in 2002. In some groups, this was the topic that stimulated most discussion, and elicited the strongest responses. These events in many respects highlighted the dark side of globalisation. While audience responses do not include direct references to globalisation, many of the issues raised are relevant. Many group members, even those who preferred radio, used television as a means of accessing information in the immediate aftermath of the attacks on the twin towers, with several commenting that they were 'glued to their sets'. There was a sense of unreality for many people surrounding the images they had seen of the planes crashing in New York.

A: I watched it round the clock at first. I happened to be at home the afternoon it happened. I thought it was a film at first then I saw the Sky News logo at the bottom of the screen. It was hard to believe it was happening.

G: I thought it was a film too. (Low income 1, Glasgow)

Even six months after these events, three members of another group commented that they struggled to make sense of the attacks in New York:

LD: I think it's the disbelief as well. The more you watch it the more it can become real.

K: You try to make sense of it.

L: Reality. They showed it the other night with the plane crash. I still can't believe it's happened. (Middle class women, Glasgow)

For most participants, their attention quickly switched to the potential consequences of these attacks, and made them continue seeking information on

the subject. There was very little support expressed for the bombing of Afghanistan. One individual was supportive of the war, arguing that 'there was no alternative.' Amongst the others, some individuals expressed uncertainty as to how the campaign was conducted:

I: I don't know about whether what happened afterwards in Afghanistan was right or wrong or what. I feel there should have been a better way to attack this.

J: Yes, I feel the people who were attacked who lived there were the poor people and it was coming up to winter and it must have been dreadful for them. (Retired women, Edinburgh)

Whereas in other cases, there were more fundamental objections to the entire action:

Tr: There was such an outcry on Sep 11th because it happened to the Americans. But nobody seems to care that thousands of Afghanistsans are being killed for no good reason. For me personally that is just horrendous. How can you possibly put more of a price on an American life than on an Afghanistan person, Afghan, whatever you call them. It's totally unfair. (Low income 1, Glasgow)

All of the seven groups had objections to the coverage of the events in New York and Afghanistan. There were a variety of themes contained in these criticisms. In two cases, there were critical comments linking to media coverage of previous wars, one of which referred to coverage of the Falklands War:

R: One doesn't know what the facts are. We're fed information, but there's a lot we don't know. There's an awful lot of spin.

...

R: Mrs. Thatcher with the Falklands War was the same. We didn't know what was happening; only what the government wants us to know. (Retired men, East Lothian)

Some groups highlighted gaps they had perceived in television coverage. The following example indicates alternative sources which had altered perceptions of events.

A: I read something in the paper yesterday. It was an article about how they're still bombing Afghanistan and have been all along. I thought it all finished weeks ago. You would never know that from watching the news. (Low income 1, Glasgow)

Other individuals in this group cited alternative sources they had used, including the internet and the radio. In the same group, a young Asian male made a comparison with Arabic coverage of the war. Even during this discussion, some group members heard about an event during the war that was news to them:

B: It's like during the Afghanistan war there was this Arabic radio station - I can't remember its name and they transmitted in Arabic, and we couldn't understand it so we didn't see their programmes here. But what they were putting out was totally different from what we were seeing here. A completely different story

G: But that's always going to be like that. In a war every side is going to put out their own side of the story

K: But that Arabic station was called Al Jazeera. It was bombed too.

B and A: Was it? (Low income 1, Glasgow)

In the following example, two individuals recalled a story about an example of footage being used out of context:

C: There were reports that a lot of countries had been celebrating (September 11th). And then the day after it was like - no they weren't celebrating. I'm sorry; we reported that kind of wrong. And like there was maybe twenty or thirty people on a street corner out of a population of how many that had their beliefs along that line and the rest of them were getting tarred with that brush. The media are great at that

N: Was there not actual footage of a festival, that was it. There was folk out on the streets, was that not it.

C: If the camera panned out, you would have seen that that street was empty. The camera stayed close, and made it look busy, for their own reasons. (Low income 1, Edinburgh)

For many of those who were critical, concerns centred on the different values placed on human life according to geographic location:

L: Take it back to New York last year where that was horrendous. But then they compared it to India and the floods where they'd lost 10 to 15 thousand people.

K: A lot of it is the people are so far away

L: That's it. But because it's New York and you can relate a bit more to it. But it shouldn't be like that. (Middle class females, Glasgow)

The above comment indicates one individual's recognition of the need to resist notions of superiority and inferiority; in this case, the greater emphasis on the lives of people in the West compared to people in poor countries. Similarly, the next comment related to the categorisation of civilian casualties in Afghanistan as 'errors':

Tr: All you see on the television is reports about how terrible the Taliban regime is - other than the fact they did report the 'errors' as they called them in America's

campaign - where they bombed the wrong village and murdered millions of civilians. (Low income 1, Glasgow)

There was an emphasis in the following group on the under-reporting of numbers of Afghans killed:

O: I also believe that what happened in America - it was terrible and you can't justify that at all. But in a way they do believe that a Western life is more important. I don't actually think they believe that but they have to put it across to justify their actions. Like through the American bombing there have been 4000 Afghanistans died.

W: More than that.

O: What we're told is the tip of the iceberg and plus the problems that they also face, more than half a million having to leave their homes. That's justifiable. There wasn't any service for them, was there. Or 25 Afghanis dying in the raid that was a mistake. What's the headline - an American soldier broke an arm. It makes you wonder, it really does.

W: So the sad thing is the west went to so extreme double standard that the world has lost confidence. (Ethnic minority, Kashmiri, Glasgow)

Significantly, in some cases, individuals could clearly recall details of specific programmes they had seen after September 11th which they found helpful in accessing further information. In the first case, the women commenting had seen a *Newsnight* panel discussion that included a group from Afghanistan and one from Britain and America. Their perception was that the Afghan women were condescended to:

K: There was a panel, on some kind of Newsnight thing that was from Afghanistan.

V: I saw that

K: And I was much more interested in what they were saying because they seemed to be shouted down by the other panel, which were the Brits and the Americans.... I felt that the emotions were so high, and rightly so. There were people there - the section weren't being listened to. In fact, I'd go as far as to say they were being talked down to. This was educated women - this is women that had been teachers that couldn't work in the country at that point. (Low income 2, Edinburgh)

Six months after September 11th, one contributor watched a documentary on Afghanistan, which questioned the efficacy of Western involvement after the bombing:

LD: I saw Panorama a couple of weeks ago and I thought that was pretty amazing. Although we've been in Afghanistan, and doing stuff over there, obviously trying to find al Qaeda. They've done nothing to build an infrastructure for the Afghanistan people. They're not showing them anything different that the west are doing, to perhaps build a loyalty to the west. Although they've taken out Osama Bin Laden, they've not done anything to show different ways. So instead of creating stability there's a chance that some other leader might come along and offer them a better way. I found that quite disturbing. They're talking about leaving around April time and what have they done - nothing. (Middle class females, Glasgow)

Much of the coverage of Afghanistan around the time it was being bombed, late 2001, included footage of women dressed in blue burkhas. Pictures were broadcast repeatedly on the news of women in burkhas being beaten with sticks in a public street. Another piece of footage shown repeatedly was of one woman being executed. There were two strongly contrasting responses to these images.

G: The thing that impressed me most was how we found out how the women were treated under the Taliban. There were scenes on TV where they were being beaten. They were publicly executed and all that business. The women are really at the lowest rung. Whether it's improved I don't know.

F: Have you seen anything more recently?

G: I think there's now a strong movement. There was a thing on TV about a woman who was trying to get them to stop wearing this damn burkha thing... This burkha thing was forced on them to make them invisible. (Retired women, Edinburgh)

While the next comment referred to a programme broadcast shortly before September 11th, it included similar images to those described above.

Tr: The programme I watched was Behind the Veil, which was all to do with the Taliban regime. It was basically a Western made programme saying look how terrible these people are. Look how poorly they treat their women, like they don't in this country, you know what I mean.... What I found out after that through speaking to people, through reading newspaper articles - not tabloids, was that under the Northern Alliance, among other things, it had the highest number of reported rapes of young women in Afghanistan's history. And I think things like that had been swept right under the carpet. The UN linked up with the Northern Alliance for their own purposes and really kept all that side of things under wraps. (Low income 1, Glasgow)

In the final example in this section, the contributor had watched *Correspondent* on Iran in November 2001.

O: On Iran there was actually a documentary on BBC2... Iran didn't want to be part of the world system, as in the internet capitalist society. They were doing well on their own. But this programme showed you that their head of government

was actually taken out by American forces. And that took Iran to trouble. They (America) want the world to live by their view, because they don't think it's acceptable to have any other view. In a way they're saying that they're the extremists and that's why they hate them so much..... The American students' reaction after it - they were amazed. (Ethnic minority, Kashmiri, Glasgow)

The comments indicate particular enthusiasm for the historical context the programme gave to Iranian politics. This viewer was impressed by the interviews with American students visiting the country, and the dramatic impact the visit had had on their perspective and understanding. The same individual, a young Asian male, felt that the television coverage after September 11th had resulted in hostility to Asian people in the UK, which he had experienced himself.

O: Although what the Taliban was doing was not perfect by any means - what you hear and the spin that you get of what they do is also not perfect by any means. I don't blame people in the west at all for the ideas they have - it's only what they've been told, bang bang bang, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. After September 11th who could blame people for looking at any Asian. I mean I used to feel it on the street. I did on the bus. (Ethnic minority, Kashmiri, Glasgow)

The events of September 11th and subsequent bombing of Afghanistan were high on the agenda for the later groups in this study. Individuals reported anxiety about the potential for further terrorist attacks, but also expressed fear of how America might react. These comments broadly correspond with research of multi-ethnic audience responses to TV news after September 11th, by Gillespie and Cheesman (2002). Consistent with the responses of Muslim respondents in the current study, the authors report that in their research, the American government and news media were blamed for failing to properly inform the American people of the consequences of its foreign policies. This was viewed by many British Muslim respondents as a deliberate strategy by the American government, in order to pursue foreign and military policies without opposition. In contrast with the high level of coverage given to victims of the World Trade Centre, it was felt that UK and US television news showed little interest in the

consequences of the American strikes for the Afghan people in the war zones: 'This, it was felt, is typical of 'Western' disregard for the suffering of 'others'' (p32).

The quotes from the focus groups above indicate reservations among most groups regarding both events and television coverage post September 11th. There were concerns that conditions for ordinary people in Afghanistan had not improved as a result of the bombing. Several individuals sought out a range of sources of information to help make sense of events, and obtain alternative views. Some could clearly recall details of documentaries or news reports they had watched following September 11th. Within and between groups, there were variations in responses to specific aspects of the coverage. One female respondent expressed concern for the position of women in Afghanistan, having viewed repeated images of a woman in a burkha being publicly executed. In another group, an already sceptical female contributor was suspicious of this portrayal, presented as a reason for Western intervention. The latter used alternative sources, believing that oil interests were the primary reason for the bombing. Overall, despite attempts to make sense of these events, few individuals seemed to have a clear understanding of the reasons for the bombing of Afghanistan, more a sense of unease and/or anger about the outcomes and the impact on local people.

Other than in the discussion of Afghanistan, three groups made spontaneous reference to the interests of the West in international conflicts and in determining the news agenda. The first of these comments referred to the lack of coverage of conflict in Kashmir. One focus group member originally from Kashmir, referred to 'the double standards of Western media, that was supposed to be champion of human rights.' This point was particularly poignant given that Kashmir was to become a major news story some weeks after this discussion took place, reflecting the perceived risk of nuclear conflict between India and Pakistan. Scepticism about Western economic interests determining interventions in the South was evident to a lesser extent in the earlier groups. There were two examples of this. The following two comments in this section refer specifically to oil as being a key

determinant of what makes the news. Both were made in groups held prior to September 11th:

P: When things were really bad in Rwanda, there were bits and pieces in the papers, but the scope was nowhere near as intense as it was for the farmers in Zimbabwe.

F: You think there's more focus on that than there was on Rwanda?

P: Yeah. Or there was more speculation about whether to intervene and try and do something, but there was nothing at all about doing that in Rwanda.

V: It's about protecting our economic interests. There's still this thing about Great Britain.

Sh: That was the case with the Gulf

P: Human rights violations go on all over the world, but we don't always intervene and I don't always believe it's because we have to do the things that are closest to home. I believe it's largely - purely - out of money. (Middle class 2, Edinburgh, 2000)

H: I think that a lot of the media attention is given to countries that matter, like countries that are beneficial to the Western hemisphere.

E: Self-interest. If there is oil involved for example. (Retired charity shop workers, East Lothian, 2000)

These three examples all came from individuals and groups who had referred to alternative sources to television as important in informing their understanding of development.

Repetition/negativity

In the last two sections, consideration will be given to additional criticisms and secondly to constructive suggestions on coverage of the South. Most of the groups raised criticisms that centred on what they perceived as repetitive and excessively negative coverage. Six groups made comments along the lines that developing countries were receiving a 'bad press.' Three examples are included below. Four other groups made related points, of which three are included.

Y: Can we go back to the media image of China presented to the British audience. Can I say, as a Chinese I agree with everybody else that the image presented by the media is very bad. And definitely slanting towards making China look as bad as possible. You never hear anything good. You just hear the Western perception of bad areas.

(The others agree)

J: It's like a white piece of paper with a dot - you only see the dot, you don't see the white part. (Ethnic minority, Chinese, Glasgow, 2000)

A: Most of the stuff we get about developing countries is really negative. (Low income 2, Glasgow, 2002)

The next group had watched the video of mangetout production in Zimbabwe. As well as detailing unfair terms of trade between a British supermarket and an African farm, it included considerable detail about the lives of local people:

J: I was surprised to see how these people were living a reasonable lifestyle. They seemed to have enough income to live on, unlike some of the other countries in Africa. It seems like quite a lush country as opposed to Ethiopia and Somalia.

R: It tends just to be poverty, starvation, and bad news you see

F: On television?

R and J: Yes.

R: Poverty, famine and disaster and so on. That's the impression you get of Africa. (Retired men, East Lothian, 2002)

One participant commented that the coverage of AIDS in particular tended to present stereotypical images of helplessness:

L: Regarding the AIDS epidemic as it's portrayed - whether it is or not - it portrays a population who are illiterate, ignorant - these people who aren't able to cope without outside help. (Middle class, North Lanarkshire, 2000)

The next example, which makes similar points again, also reflects what the commentator believes the priorities behind newsworthiness are. Interestingly, his perspective coincides with some of the television producer comments included in Chapter Three:

F: Do you follow news stories about developing countries.

D: I try to. It's seeing the wood from the trees sometimes. I think papers, media coverage - you'll get certain amounts of truth coming out. In other senses, you won't. Certainly with some things happening recently, we don't exactly know what's going on. I don't think the coverage is giving a full story.

F: Do you think it's superficial?

D: To an extent. Whether we have involvement with that country or not is important. Whether there's a past involvement with that country is important or seems to be important. And whether we've got troops in there is another thing. What is actually going on is another story. (Middle class 1, Edinburgh, 2000)

The next example involves childcare staff in a poor part of Edinburgh discussing the portrayal of their locality in *Comic Relief*. Their area had received funding from the charity. They compare what they see as the stereotyping of the area with portrayal of poor countries on TV:

C: It was a terrible picture they painted of Craigmillar. To get the money, that's the kind of picture you've got to paint.

F: So you think it was a very negative picture

C: It was - oh it was all - this area here, that's had nothing touched in it, and missed out all the fantastic stuff that's happening. But that was how they got access to their money, so who are we to - it showed Craigmillar School all boarded up, and kids saying 'we want this school open' and I'm going, 'No you dinnae.' (All laugh) 'I ken you dinnae. You were the ones inside burning it last week.'

F: Right, so that's the kind of images you think they use to get the right response.

C: That's the images that people use. And with third world countries they put the kids on

N: Starving

C: And people are going to say 'oh my goodness' and put money into that. (Low income 1, Edinburgh, 2002)

This example highlights how personal experience of media distortion had increased the scepticism of this viewer. While many of the comments here indicate limited awareness and in some cases, confusion about development and globalisation, these comments indicate awareness of the limitations of most relevant programming. In Chapter Nine, I recorded the results of the exercises. There are two comments there from participants in separate groups, on their sense of anger and powerlessness when watching programmes about developing countries. These two individuals were both females in low-income groups, one each in Glasgow and Edinburgh. The individual in the following example makes a similar point, but with further explanation. She had been motivated to educate herself on development. Her experience was that as she became more informed, and understood that there were practical solutions to alleviate poverty, she also increasingly understood that there were political interests which conflicted with these solutions. Understanding that made her feel 'powerless' which is why she lost motivation.

S: At one point I did actively seek out information. I used to know quite a lot. I haven't a clue any more. One of the reasons is because - that would be really good to have something that would explain all that down - but to me the reality is that is that even with all these things, with our government being the way that it is, that these things aren't ever going to change. So it makes me feel worse in the fact that I have a knowledge about it ...Because to me our government is only going to do what America says that our government can do as opposed to - to me it seems really simple when it's explained to you that these things could be solved, but they become so politically interwound.

F: Do you think that the political will is not there?

S: I think there's another agenda. I sound like I'm paranoid. I think there's information that you're never going to be allowed - or that people are going to attempt to hide from us because there are an awful lot of powerful people who're standing to make a great deal. A lot of it goes on with third world countries. I can't believe that in today's society that along with - even now the stars become

involved, and it's really high profile, and there must be a tremendous amount of pressure on the government to do these things - and the fact there really is no action at all. There must be people who're gaining from that. There must. And one of the reasons I don't want to know is because I feel powerless to do anything about it. (Middle class 2, Edinburgh, 2000)

This point has been included because of the contrast with comments made by some of the television producers in Chapter Three. While certain of the producers are sceptical about the motivation and/or ability of viewers to watch and appreciate programmes about global economics and politics, the views of several contributors to this research are that their sense of political powerlessness and the lack of alternative views are what demotivates them. The subject area which met most resistance, was climate change. Part of the reason for this was again, a sense of helplessness.

What's interesting?

In the main, comments about the kind of programmes which viewers find interesting concur with previous research cited in the introduction. To give an example of this, one observation for journalists and programme-makers in the VSO and DfID research was a stated desire for programmes that don't just educate but create emotional points of connection: television which shows the everyday lives, history, culture and people in developing countries. The following contributions illustrate this view:

F: What would particularly hold your attention?

E: Well, if you think of how we live. We get up in the morning and have breakfast and go to the shop. How other people live.

F: Day to day life?

E: Yes, and the problems they encounter in their everyday life, with how to get the water and the shopping. What they do with their children. How do they get from A to B. Things like that, just normal life. (Retired charity shop workers, East Lothian, 2000)

F: What would make you watch a documentary about any of those countries? What makes it interesting, appealing, watchable?

L: If you felt it was honest to the best of your knowledge, you were getting a true picture

V: A real picture of life, and people.

I: And families, maybe stories about a family and that's much more real and you can relate to that. (Middle class, North Lanarkshire, 2000)

In the third comment, the respondent indicates a desire for a change of focus from consumer oriented television to programmes which focus on local people in developing countries:

F: What would make a documentary about a developing country more interesting. What do you like to see?

C: More about what it's like for people who live there, not how it is for us so much going there, or what we get from there. (Middle class 1, Edinburgh, 2000)

The following comments indicate that many group members liked programmes that allowed them the opportunity to get more information on specific news stories. Again, this is in keeping with the previous research projects cited here where audiences asked for contextual explanations,

F: So most people prefer the teatime news (all do). Do you think that the main news gives you enough information, a fair picture?

LD: It depends what is happening. I might tune in to Newsnight later on, if something major has happened - to get more depth. Or Panorama or Horizon usually have good interesting documentaries that give a different approach. (Middle class females, Glasgow, 2002)

The individual in the next group expressed an interest in military manoeuvres, which would motivate him to try to get information about the conflict involved, and in documentary strands.

C: If you see troops wandering through - guerrilla warfare. It kind of does beg the question what the hell are we doing now to some other poor person's country.

F: So that would make you want to find out about the politics.

C: I would. I'd stop straight away and say what the hell are we there for and what's the situation.

F: I think you mentioned in your form you watch Panorama and Horizon.

C: Some of them are great. Anything that Jeremy Paxman is on as well. He's fantastic. He's vicious. I love him. (Low income 1, Edinburgh, 2002)

Both previous research projects, by DFID (2000) and VSO (2002) had highlighted viewer demands for the portrayal of positives as well as negatives from developing countries. There had also been a demand for follow up stories, with updates six months or a year later. The following discussion reflects these demands:

F: If you were flicking through the channels, what would make you watch something about a developing country.

V: Watching people getting something done in the country.

F: Progress?

K: Definitely. Looking for something more positive. (Low income 2, Edinburgh, 2002)

Some comments reflected a desire to see less familiar territory on television.

C: There was a wonderful series about the Congo. I think they did two or three together which I thought was marvellous.... It was totally somewhere I knew nothing about. I'd never seen anything and I knew nothing about the Congo. I found it very interesting. It was so remote and so extraordinary. I purposely watched all of them, having discovered it by accident. (Retired women, Edinburgh, 2002)

One respondent suggested the following innovation:

J: It would be interesting to see what an African newsreel was like, what is their news.

D: About exploited workers in Europe. (laughter) (Middle class 1, Edinburgh, 2000)

There is a high degree of consistency in this audience research as to what viewers find engaging and appealing to watch. These comments also correlate with the aspects of programming which turn viewers off.

Discussion

The focus group discussions held for this research indicate considerable interest in the global South, among people from a range of backgrounds. The majority of participants contributed to animated discussions on television and development. In contrast with the views of those producers who believe audiences only make 'aspirational' claims to be interested in the world (Chapter Three), many participants in these groups recalled significant programmes which had made an impact on their understanding and/or engagement. This indication that audiences are interested is consistent with other research in the area (DfID 2000, DfID 2001, VSO 2002). However, it is also the case that television portrayals of developing countries are often confusing and/or depressing. This research has identified strengths and weaknesses in existing coverage, with a view to recommendations for improving coverage. I will consider some of the criticisms of television portrayals of the South. First, there are four key points to be made, based on audience responses.

The first and second points are related, concerning context and negativity. On context, Part Two of this thesis indicates that television representations of the South are fragmented. In particular, because economics and the role of the west tend to be ignored, there is no holistic view of development and globalisation. Correspondingly, Part Three indicates that the language of economics and traditional, limited methods of reporting the subject have clearly proved intimidating to most viewers, and many do not expect to be able to understand the issues. However, people can grasp economic issues when the arguments are presented in an appealing and accessible manner. Further to this, the second related point is that almost exclusively negative coverage of the South can be overwhelming for viewers. The VSO (2002) research indicates that 80 per cent of the British public associate the developing world with doom-laden images of famine, war and disaster.¹⁸ This is consistent with several comments made in

¹⁸ While an emphasis on negativity is also true of domestic news coverage, people have positive direct experiences of their own and often neighbouring countries to put the bad news into context.

these groups. Where explanatory information is absent, this sense of negativity is intensified. In such circumstances, viewers are inclined to switch off.

The third point concerns the increasingly consumer oriented focus of television, which impacts on representations of the South. The consumer format selected for this research was holiday/travel programmes. As indicated in Part Two, local people are largely excluded from this format, in favour of an emphasis on consumption for the tourist. A minority of focus group participants commented on this exclusion of local people from holiday shows. One commentator made the point that while local people were included in all the bad news stories, they were excluded from the positive imagery associated with holiday programmes. On the whole, however, most participants did not have strong views about the programmes, indicating the degree to which viewers are accustomed to programmes which present local people only as resources for the western visitor. It is likely that the absence of local people would be more noticeable in other formats, such as documentaries from the South.

The fourth point is the extent to which portrayals of local people in developing countries continue to be based on conceptions of inferiority and superiority. Sixteen years on, Live Aid still has a powerful hold on views of the developing world. The VSO (2002) quantitative research indicated that 74 per cent of Britons believe developing countries depend on the money and knowledge of the west to progress. 40% of respondents agreed that 'third world countries often bring poverty, famine and crises on themselves.' This, despite the fact that, the rich nations, through the auspices of the IFIs, have continued to impose economic policies on the South which have track records of failure. Such perceptions of dependence on the west are sustained by disaster coverage restricting the roles of local people to passive victims, reliant on western NGOs. Part Three indicates that these dominant frameworks have a strong impact on audience perceptions. The role of local administrations and assistance from neighbouring countries is largely ignored in disaster coverage. Although some participants in the disaster

However, most people in the west lack firsthand experience of poor countries to put into broader context all the negative news they receive.

focus groups expressed doubts about aid arriving from the 'wonderful west'; they did not consider local involvement as being a component of the rescue and recovery process.

Having set out key limitations in coverage of the South, based on audience responses, I will now turn to how audiences also use personal experience and knowledge from other sources to interpret the information they get from television. In some circumstances this can contribute to a cynical view of television portrayals. However, as television is the primary information source for most of the British population, it clearly has a strong influence on perceptions of development. The VSO (2002) report *The Live Aid Legacy* indicates the extent to which media stereotyping has influenced British views of the South. Just as the wider discussion in this thesis involves reference to the effects of globalisation in richer countries of the North, the focus group discussions also refer to such issues as poverty in Britain, consumer culture and climate change.

To take poverty first, there was a clear trend across groups in the view that poverty in Britain is under-represented on television. As discussed in Part One, poverty and inequality in Britain dramatically increased during the 1980s and continue to increase under New Labour. While awareness of increased poverty was evident across groups, the class of the group had a bearing on how this was perceived. Some contributors living in impoverished areas had experience of their own areas being presented in the media with a slant which made them more sceptical about representation of poverty in the South. The existence of the welfare state was viewed by several commentators as being the critical factor that sets Western nations apart from poorer countries. In some cases, concern was expressed that welfare provision is less than secure in Britain. However, this was not linked with the global economy. On the second issue, of consumerism, three of the four low-income groups spontaneously discussed consumer pressure, and were critical of television's role in promoting goods that were unaffordable in their communities. Climate change was not raised spontaneously by any of the groups. Where it was raised with groups, some commentators were resistant to the subject, stating a preference for the view of climate change sceptics that it is a

natural and cyclical phenomenon. Others said they preferred not to think about it because they feel powerless to intervene.

Social class had a bearing on experience and perceptions of poverty in Scotland. In particular, consumer culture and its promotion on television were issues for groups who are effectively excluded from such consumption. While this made groups more critical of television, there were other senses in which group members had absorbed mass media interpretations. In two of the low-income groups, discussion took place about social housing provision. In parallel discussions in Craigmillar and Maryhill, young respondents viewed competition with refugees as the primary reason for their failure to obtain housing. Media scapegoating of asylum seekers in Britain has become increasingly prevalent as the impact of economic globalisation has intensified competition for resources. Mollard's (2001) research indicates how press coverage has contributed to a climate of fear and hostility towards asylum seekers, linking poverty among the host population with the resources used to support asylum seekers.

The desire to obtain more information and increase understanding was particularly evident in those groups which took place in 2002, following the events of September 11th and the war in Afghanistan. This subject initiated the most animated group discussions. These events had clearly elicited strong emotional responses - shock, fear and anger being evident in the many of the comments included above. In many respects, the events of September 11th raised questions about the more alarming consequences of globalisation. Comments in these focus groups demonstrated a lack of support for the action, with much concern expressed for victims of the bombing in Afghanistan.¹⁹ There were also several critical comments about reporting of numbers of victims, both in New York and Afghanistan, demonstrating an awareness of how statistics were manipulated to justify military strategy. Another aspect of complaints about the numbers involved, included reference to the concept of a 'double standard' operating, where more value is attached by government and media to the lives of white Westerners

¹⁹ According to Miller's (2002) account, a slim but consistent majority of public opinion in Britain was opposed to the bombing of Afghanistan following September 11th

than to black foreigners. This was also evident in the quote which compared the lack of attention paid by the media to the far larger numbers killed in floods in India as compared to the dead in New York. It is notable that in all groups, even those who were not clearly opposed to the bombing, there were criticisms of the television coverage. This also indicates that the audience position shifts with events. Many people turned to alternative sources of information and found most news programmes on television wanting. In another sense, there was an increase in documentary programming during the months after September 2001, and some of these programmes were appreciated and recalled in detail by viewers.

Other than the documentaries which followed September 11th, there were a number of programmes which were recalled as informative and/or engaging. There were also suggestions as to how programmes could be improved. Clearly, among the majority of viewers who are interested in coverage of the South, there are variations in the style of programme preferred. However, the key point is that most people would like more context and explanation to help them make sense of events. More specific preferences will be discussed further in the recommendations set out in the overall conclusion which follows next.

CONCLUSION

This thesis began from the starting point that while television is the key source of news information in Britain, there are limits to the quantity and quality of the bulk of the coverage of the South on British television. Given the central role of television in informing the public, this should be a key concern of sociological investigation.

While much discussion of the role of the media has focused on the construction of lifestyles through consumption, the core concern of this thesis has been to set events in the South against the context of capitalist globalisation. Much of the treatment of the global South on British television fails to question, or even acknowledge capitalist globalisation. The argument here is that development cannot be properly explained without reference to associated economic processes. Exceptions to this general trend in coverage are largely marginal. However, the exceptions enable consideration of media representations which are more critical, comprehensive, and capable of more effectively engaging audiences. This opens the possibility of consideration of alternatives to capitalist globalisation, increasing the democratic thrust of the medium.

The conclusions to be drawn from this empirical study of television content and audience reception can be summarised under four main headings. The first is television in the context of globalisation. The second analyses television content to reveal the dominant frameworks informing most of the coverage. A particular concern here is the extent to which television's consumer agenda impinges on its democratic role as an information provider in the context of a rapidly changing world. The third heading is audience responses, which identifies ways in which the content of television programmes mediates with existing knowledge and beliefs of audiences. The fourth concerns the democratic role of television, and particularly its role in political engagement. In each of these areas, conclusions will be drawn, before gathering these into a set of recommendations for improving television coverage in relation to engaging and informing audiences on the global South.

Television and globalisation

While acknowledging that globalisation is a contested concept, it is the global capitalist model that has characterised television reporting of the South. This model includes economic, political and cultural elements in its account of the role of TNCs, organised through the transnational capitalist class, and fuelled by the culture-ideology of consumerism, as determining life conditions for the majority of the world's population. The crises of capitalist globalisation - primarily class polarisation, ecological damage and the democratic deficit are at the heart of this analysis. Key to this discussion is the question of how far the increasingly consumerist focus of television influences its role as the primary information source on the South for most UK residents.

There is a curious contradiction in the relationship between television and globalisation. In a rapidly globalising world, television is offering less and less coverage of the South. Within the television industry, there is debate over the increasingly consumer led agenda of programming. There are many on the production side who maintain that the rapid commercialisation of British television is audience led. However, in recent research (DfID 2000; Barnett and Seymour, 1999) television workers expressed frustration with the over-reliance on ratings as a guide to what programmes should be made. As investment and scheduling priorities are increasingly shifted away from factual and documentary formats towards consumer programming, ratings inevitably decline. Hargreaves and Thomas (2002) show that those current affairs programmes that retain a regular broadcast time during peak viewing hours tend to retain their audiences. Critical of the increasingly commercial orientation of the BBC, Lindley (2002) argues that, in the case of *Panorama* the documentary has declined since it became less challenging in the 1980s, and further, since it was given a graveyard slot from 2001. At the level of analysis of programming range and audience ratings, there is clear evidence that the market, rather than audiences drive the consumer-oriented agenda. But this thesis moves beyond that, in analysing both the detail of television content and audience responses.

Reporting the South

Globalisation increases class polarisation, environmental degradation and the problems of democracy, and simultaneously makes it harder for television to explain these. In fact, the context of globalisation was barely acknowledged in most cases. Examined coverage of the banana war included little explanatory information about the WTO. Yet, as we have seen, the WTO is of critical significance in determining the rules of trade. The reporting of the Nigerian presidential elections also made little reference to the role of the global economy in dictating circumstances for the majority of Nigeria's population. Similar limitations were evident in the two BBC documentaries from South Africa, where neo-liberal policies have caused particular hardship, and opened a gulf between the government and voters (Bond 2001). Routine coverage of the South relies on traditional assumptions about global politics. Historically, attempts to justify colonial expansion referred to a need to civilise 'primitive' people. The concept of 'civilising' countries in the South still has some resonance, but the key justification for capitalist expansion is now 'democratisation.' Dominant conceptions of development are synonymous with Westernisation, with the relationship between North and South still defined around concepts of inferiority and superiority. Such representations do not question the 'Washington consensus', or the institutions that underpin it, though these are largely discredited (Bello 2002, p.66).

Particular limitations are evident in television portrayals of people in the South. In the absence of information about globalisation, events such as civil war, racial and religious tensions and corrupt regimes make little sense, encouraging a view of hopelessness. Particular limitations were evident in two of the subjects: consumer programming and disaster coverage. Such limited representations matter because public belief and opinion have an impact on public behaviour, policy decisions, culture and society (Kitzinger and Miller, 1998).

Throughout this thesis, discussion has continued regarding the reporting of disasters in the third world, and the role of NGOs in this. As Younge (1998) argues, following a disaster, each agency wants to be the one to deliver the goods. Aid agencies are charities but they are run like competing companies, with huge turnovers, marketing strategies and revenue targets. Iconographic reporting in the absence of context and political analysis can have drastic results. The Channel Four documentary *The Hunger Business* (11.11.00), demonstrated how the media and aid agencies have unwittingly exacerbated humanitarian disasters. Critically, as Moeller (1999) argues, simplistic reporting exaggerates the agency of western aid and minimises the involvement and efficacy of indigenous efforts. This matters all the more because, as discussed in Part One, sections of the aid industry increasingly operate in the interests of capitalist globalisation.

Many of the contradictions of globalisation are particularly apparent in the holiday industry. Post Sep 11th, there are critical implications for the safety of tourist industry staff and holidaymakers in many destinations. However, such considerations have barely impacted on the commodified representations of local people in holiday shows. One of the key aims of this research was to identify television coverage which gave a more informative and contextualised picture of the South. The positive examples did show that it is possible for mainstream television to give comparatively more adequate accounts of globalisation. Examples are discussed below in the recommendations, after discussion of audience responses to the coverage.

Audience responses

The audience research for this thesis indicated that although audience responses to programmes are in part mediated by personal experience, there is often inadequate information available to make sense of events. While audiences are generally aware of the existence of the IMF and WTO, they are less sure of their roles. They may remember Bono, Bob Geldof or the human chain in the debt case, but they don't know about the role of the IMF, or the associated conditionality which increases

hardship for third world populations while consolidating trade advantages for the North. Yet, the role of these organisations is familiar to many in the South. For a period after September 11th, more questioning documentaries were available on British television. Channel 4's *Unreported World* from Pakistan (2.11.01) demonstrated how IMF policies contribute to increasing resentment towards the west, and the US in particular. The contrast between the local knowledge base on economics as compared to western audiences was emphasised: 'The amazing thing is that anywhere else in the western world, the majority of the population would not even know what the IMF is. Yet in this part of the world, even the poorest farmer, the poor shopkeeper, the average person, all knew what the IMF was.'

Personal experience was evident in perceptions of poverty. Although perceptions of poverty in Britain relative to the South produced contrasting opinions, the fact of poverty in both locations was not disputed; as agreed evidence was available to support this. This was a source of concern for most group participants. However, there appeared to be limited awareness of either poverty or environmental degradation as consequences of globalisation. Some expressed concern about perceived deterioration in public services in Britain, but this was not discussed in terms of wider economic factors. It was in the lower income groups however, where the question of consumer pressure was felt most acutely, with three of these groups referring spontaneously to the difficulties this caused in their communities. While the media were directly blamed as the key source of this pressure, consumerism itself was not identified with capitalist globalisation.

While some scepticism was evident in perceptions of how poverty is portrayed, concern about representations of people in the South was most evident among groups that took place after September 11th. Participants were more critical, both about international relations and about television coverage of related events. Across groups, respondents questioned both the bombing of Afghanistan, and contradictions they perceived in coverage of the twin towers and Afghanistan. There were some indications that audience groups had absorbed the concept of Britain's *basic*

benevolence in international relations (Curtis 2003). However, there was also evidence that this is under question, with critical comments about the 'wonderful west' arriving with aid, and particularly on the military intervention strategy of the US and the UK.

Findings such as these do indicate that audience responses are a good deal more multifaceted than is envisaged in much work under the rubric of the 'active audience'. Philo and Miller (2001) have criticised two key theoretical assumptions in this approach, with respect to the media, and the concept of the active audience. First there is the assumption that texts can mean whatever audiences interpret them to mean, and second, that the producer of a text can describe the world in an indefinite number of ways and there is no recourse to an agreed reality to evaluate the description. From this viewpoint, because there can be no agreed evidence which can be shared between perspectives, there can be no assessment on the grounds of accuracy or truth. More recent research by Philo and Miller considers a more two-way relationship between media content and audience beliefs. This audience research indicates that experience, values and interest all affect how messages are received. From this perspective, content and processes of reception can be considered as parts of the circuit of communication (Philo and Miller, 2002). This type of research suggests the media remain central to the exercise of power in society. If there were no direct experience or alternative sources of knowledge, the power of the message could increase. As Kitzinger (2002) notes:

There is now a growing critical mass of 'new effects research' which shows that complex processes of reception and consumption *mediate*, but do not necessarily *undermine* media power. Acknowledging that audiences can be 'active' does not mean that the media are ineffectual. Recognising the role of interpretation does not invalidate the concept of influence.

It is certainly clear from the research presented here that questions of media influence remain a key part of the research agenda. Moving beyond the active audience allows

us to re-engage with older and more sophisticated traditions of work. For example, writing in the sixties, C Wright Mills (1963) was concerned with a lack of democracy in decision-making: 'Public relations displace reasoned argument, manipulation and undebated decisions of power replace democratic authority.' However, Mills highlighted the significance of exchange of information in the public sphere. He argued that no view of American public life could be realistic that assumed public opinion to be wholly controlled and entirely manipulated by the mass media. For Mills, in the society of media markets, competition goes on between the crowd of manipulators with their mass media on the one hand, and the people receiving their communications on the other. For Mills, it was in the sphere of informal and unofficial relationships of personas talking with persons, that public opinion is most effectively formed and changed. These circles with their opinion leaders can and do *reject* what the mass media contain; they can and do *refract* it, as well as *pass it on*. The research presented here indicates that rejection, refraction and 'passing it on' are useful ways of thinking about audiences and media power.

Television and Political Engagement.

Globalisation is impacting on people's lives in myriad ways. While there are benefits to be gained from exchange of culture and ideas, serious concerns arising from capitalist globalisation are changing people's life circumstances and leading to movements of resistance around the world. Most of these developments are largely ignored on television. Meanwhile much of the debate about the role of television is heavily contested. Hargreaves and Thomas (2002) categorise the various approaches to the media debate as to whether they are optimistic or pessimistic. Optimists include those within the field of cultural studies who regard consumerism as empowering in enabling the creation of identity. Pessimists are those who view the commercialisation of television as contributing to the democratic deficit and increasing public antipathy towards parliamentary politics. From such a perspective this thesis would be positioned in the latter category, as the argument here is that media that reflect primarily dominant interests undermine democracy. However, far

from being pessimistic, the trajectory here is that it is possible to engage audiences on a wide range of issues concerning the global South, including apparently complicated economic matters, given appropriate, well-researched and holistic programming.

The findings of this research have a bearing on contemporary discussions about political disengagement. This is a topic of intense interest for policy makers, media professionals and academics. There are two general explanations advanced to explain disengagement. The first locates the problem as changes in the general public. The second sees the media in particular or the communicative system more generally as the culprit. In the first category there are those who blame the public for their lack of interest. Political communication researcher Lance Bennett, argues that:

Public (citizen) identities change as global economies create new personal challenges for managing careers, social relationships, and family life.

Cosmopolitan citizens in global societies process their political choices increasingly in terms of how those choices affect their own lifestyles (Bennett, 2003).

This view is widespread in the television industry, especially amongst management and owners of media companies, as we saw in Chapter Four. There is a strong perception that people are neither interested nor intelligent enough to engage in complex topics. The findings of this research show that this view is not just condescending but false. An 'optimistic' version of this argument is also advanced by those who see commercialised media as positive. The problem for them is public disengagement and the solution is deregulation:

Over the long-term, repeated exposure to the news seems likely to improve our understanding of public affairs, to increase our capacity and motivation to become active in the political process, and thereby to strengthen civic engagement. Far from seeing a negative impact, the most convincing way to account for the persistent patterns emerging from this study is that attention to

the news media acts as a virtuous circle ... In post-industrial societies the news media have become diversified over the years, in terms of channels, availability, levels, and even the definition of news, this means that today information about public affairs (broadly defined) is reaching audiences over a wider range of societal levels and with more disparate interests. In this situation the effects of the virtuous circle should gradually ripple out to broader sectors of society (Norris, 2000: 317, 319).

This kind of argument is also associated with management in media corporations who suggest that the free market is responsive to consumer needs. This perspective is also contradicted by the research in this thesis, since mainstream television and particularly consumer programming, are among the most limited in terms of explanation or potential engagement of the audience. Repeated exposure to news coverage of development issues, without global context or examination of the role of the West, is more likely to result in people turning off, or believing limited accounts of the problems of the world,

Secondly there is the argument that the problem is the communicative system. The claim is that there is a 'crisis of public communication'. This view is widespread in writing on politics and communication and although there may be some complexity in some of the arguments it is not unusual for the media to be blamed, as in this comment from Steven Barnett:

Perhaps the time has come to point an accusing finger at the increasingly hostile and irresponsible tenor of political journalism and to ask whether it is contributing to a progressive loss of faith in the democratic system itself (Barnett 2002).

The positions outlined here focus on either the communicative system or the public, while consequently neglecting the wider context. The argument advanced in this

thesis is that such approaches are inadequate for understanding the relationship between globalisation, television and public knowledge.

In conclusion, it is not the communicative system that has created the problem of political disengagement by itself. Standing at the back of the problem is capitalist globalisation and the impact this has on both television and democracy, leading to disengagement. It is not the case that the problem should be located at the level of the global economy, rather it is in the interaction of the economic, political and cultural (communicative system) that the problem arises. So the media and communication are part of the problem. The answer to the problem is, therefore, not simply a structural one. The research here has demonstrated that people can be re-engaged by the production of more contextualised and relevant programming. The central focus of this research has been on how to improve both the content of television reporting in order to increase viewer interest, engagement and knowledge. It is not just knowledge and understanding which are important (the traditional concerns of media influence research) but also the active engagement which Mills highlighted. In a sense, while active audience theorists have been interested in how people interpret the world, the point here is also to change it. Accordingly, the concluding section is devoted to making practical recommendations for changing and improving television coverage of the developing world.

Based on the empirical analysis of this research, a number of recommendations can be made, with reference to previous research by DfID (2000), Dawe (2001) and VSO (2002).

Practical Recommendations

In the conclusion to Part Three, I outlined four key concerns with television coverage, as identified from the audience research. These related concerns were context, consumerism, the axis of superiority and inferiority, and negativity. The

recommendations are informed by these concerns, incorporating audience preferences and setting out further suggestions for improving programming from the South.

Context

Context is central to the argument of this thesis. In order to make sense of events, audiences need more context and explanation than is currently available. Where appropriate background information is absent, portrayals can contribute to a sense of unmanageable chaos. The VSO research indicated that people would like to see more television coverage of history. With regard to the history of development, Part One of this thesis emphasises the contradictions in post-war history. Competitive relations among the powerful capitalist economies have ensured that their interests, and particularly those of their corporations, are paramount. Particularly, credible alternatives proposed by the South to the international financial institutions have been consistently undermined. Routine news coverage is reported without reference to these factors (banana war). While the global economy is barely referenced on British television, there are indications that the subject is better understood in parts of the South.¹ The critical issue for programmes which engage with the global economy is to present the human impact in imaginative ways. The focus group exercise on education and debt in Tanzania indicated that although most people had no understanding of the role of the IMF in development, groups who watched this video successfully engaged with the story.

¹ This was evident in the edition of *Unreported World* referred to above, and in *Panorama: Ready, Steady, Trade* (BBC1, 9.3.03). The presenter commented on issues of globalisation and liberalisation: - 'Issues that scarcely make the news in Britain - here the stuff of street corner chat.' Monbiot (2003, p.178) notes that in some poor countries, IMF decisions feature almost daily in the newspapers, so that everyone knows what 'structural adjustment' is and understands what it does to their lives.

Connection

The second concern outlined in Part Three was the tendency of consumer oriented programming to exclude local people. Audience groups participating in the DfID (2000) research identified consumer programmes as a format offering positive imagery of developing countries.² However, as noted by focus group participants in the research reported here, local people are usually excluded from such programmes. This limits potential to positively influence perceptions and counteract more routine portrayals of helpless victims, corruption and 'ethnic' violence. The current research supports the DfID and VSO research, which indicated that people would like to see more television coverage of culture and everyday life in developing countries. Individuals indicate a preference for programmes that would help create 'emotional connection' between the majority and minority world. Representations of local people vary considerably across a range of television programmes, varying by channel, subject and format. Consumer-oriented programmes such as holiday shows could benefit greatly from varying their agenda from opportunities for consumption. Within other formats, such as documentaries, there have clearly been efforts to move away from primordial stereotypes, particularly associated with Africa, as with the documentaries from South Africa (*Snapshot* and *Panorama*).

However, the most positive audience responses within the current research was to the presentation of the experiences of one family in a range of local contexts - school/work/home - where the economic context was also central to the feature. The documentary on debt, education and the IMF in Tanzania was well received and certainly impacted on the attitudes and understanding of groups who watched this video. The video of trade in mange tout peas grown in Zimbabwe did engage some viewers, but was less successful. This seemed to be because there was insufficient context. While it did profile the unfair trade practices of one supermarket, there was no discussion of the wider setting of the global economy. The combination of context and connection appears particularly effective therefore.

Superiority/inferiority

The third point concerns traditional and stereotypical frameworks of reporting people in the South as inferior. One area of reporting where this is relevant is disaster reporting. The VSO research indicated that 74% of Britons believe that developing countries depend on western money and knowledge to progress. Chapter One indicates that in contrast to this, much western development policy has had limited, or counter-developmental impact on the South in the absence of consultation with local people. In order to redress this imbalance, television needs to report local initiatives. The South African documentaries in this sample do this to an extent. The retrospective news reports from Honduras, included references to the efforts of local people and the rescue plans of the government, following Hurricane Mitch. One of these reports also, critically, included reference to the context of international debt as a hindrance to recovery. More routine inclusion of local initiatives would help address this imbalance.

Countering negativity

The suggestion here is clearly not that there should be a wholesale switch to reporting good news from the South. Disasters and conflicts happen and should be reported. Poverty exists and is increasing. However, viewers consistently report a sense of being overwhelmed by bad news from the South, making them turn away. There are many ways to counteract this urge to switch off. With regard to disaster reporting, the concept of retrospective news reports which return to the scene of major disasters to report on progress were viewed positively in the focus groups. As it is clear that news programmes cannot report everything and there are limitations to the detail which time allows, it is imperative that a range of formats remain in place for coverage of the South. *The Mark Thomas Product* was the only example of investigative journalism in the sample. As it is no longer being made by Channel Four, it should be replaced as a rare forum for questioning the powerful. One of the

² The subject matter identified most frequently was international cookery.

most significant ways television could counteract the negativity of third world programming is through programmes presenting alternatives. The overemphasis on bad news belies the many alternatives proposed. Far from suggesting that globalisation should be stopped in its tracks, critics have advocated a range of alternatives. There are many campaigners in the South who have interesting stories to tell. Growing mass resistance to neo-liberalism in the South is barely reported. The development of a global anti-war movement in the build up to the US/UK campaign against Iraq was unprecedented, yet was marginalised on British TV

Further suggestions

Links that trigger the desire for greater knowledge are emerging from the impacts of capitalist globalisation. Focus groups conducted after Sep 11th referred to such connections. This research indicates that audiences switched on to aspects of globalisation after events in New York and Afghanistan, and were more animated and open in discussing their scepticism towards television and the professed aims of US/UK policy. After September 11th, there were informative and innovative examples of documentaries and discussion programmes. Participants in this research referred to specific programmes they had found helpful in making sense of events. One of the key themes in this research has been to assess how experience mediates media representations. In fact, this theme itself has the potential for very engaging television. One of the programmes referred to in the groups was a documentary about the impact of American policy on Iran. The commentator was particularly impressed by the inclusion of interviews with American students who visited the country and reported on how the reality of the situation in the country contradicted their expectations as shaped by US television news. A further suggestion from one group was a programme showing news coverage of Britain from the South. Another alternative could be a programme that assessed the reactions of people in the South to British television coverage of their locale.

As well as creating emotional connections in programmes covering the South, it would be helpful to examine specific aspects of globalisation and assess how they impact on both North and South. Audiences are clearly concerned about increasing poverty in their own localities. Some viewers expressed the view that domestic poverty was at least equally ignored by television as poverty in the South. There are many possibilities for television providing interesting and informative comparisons. There are examples of documentary formats which centre on the perspective of local people, with reference to the context of the global economy (Mange Tout programme). There have been numerous TNCs which have partially relocated to developing countries for financial gain. In a similar vein, documentaries could compare how the operations of a specific TNC impact on employees according to location. With regard to climate change, themes could include comparisons of flood survivors in England and Bangladesh, with individual and community perspectives on local flood management and views on control of carbon emissions. While British citizens clearly have very different life chances from those in the poorest countries, there are parallels in how globalisation impacts. As GATS threatens public provision of services globally, it would be interesting to compare how privatisation of water provision, for example, impacts North and South.

The role of NGOs in development programmes, and their sometimes-contradictory role in informing the public and engaging the mass media, has been discussed throughout this thesis. There are specific considerations in recommendations for television and NGOs. A variety of NGOs were sources for the better programmes in the television sample. Where such agencies have engaged in highlighting debt and international trade as factors inhibiting development, they have contributed to media debates. However, NGOs can be constrained by their dependence on governmental support and media exposure for funding (Curtis 2003, p.248). Further to this, over-reliance on individual NGOs should be avoided, as their campaigns do not always reflect wider debates taking place within the NGO sector or with activists in the South. Examples of divergence on such campaigns include international trade. Commentators in the South have been critical of the free trade model advocated by

organisations like Oxfam. As Shiva (2002a) has commented, the context of trade is critical. While the Trade Justice campaign rightly highlighted unfair prices paid for primary commodities and protectionist subsidised agriculture in the US and Europe, this should not automatically lead to the assumption that further liberalisation will benefit commodity producers in the South (Chapter One). The UNCTAD (2002) report concluded that many lower income countries had increased their share of world trade without seeing a corresponding rise in income. These wider debates are not unmanageable and should be reflected on television.³

As the VSO (2002) research concluded, there is an urgent need to rebalance the picture of developing countries on television and both the media and NGOs need courage and imagination to do this. The significance of the input of NGOs has been referred to throughout this thesis, and there is certainly scope for further research on the mediation between television and NGOs in addressing the current imbalance in picture of the South. It is in the interests of such agencies to address the imbalance, as the public become wary of their aims. The VSO research found that, when people are presented with a fuller picture, they find it difficult to assimilate the more equitable view of events in the South, and express anger at the media in most cases, and charities that work in the global South in some cases. With regard to the exercise on Mozambique, some participants were sceptical about the routine representations of western aid arriving on the scene of a disaster, particularly about the efficacy and intention of western aid. Some agencies already recognise this requirement:

For too long, development agencies and the media have been complicit in promoting an unbalanced picture of third world doom and disaster. We have taken part in an intricate dance that sacrifices the long-term building of a balanced view for the short-term gain of raising funds for or awareness of our work (VSO 2002: p.2).

³ Although the *Panorama* programme on trade, referred to both the corporations and rich countries as rigging the rules of trade, there was no question in the programme about whether increased trade in itself is a solution to poverty.

The aim of this thesis has been to investigate the role of television in informing and engaging the viewing public on the subject of the global South. This investigation has been conducted empirically by assessing television content and audience reception. The core concern in this is the extent to which television increasingly reflects the values of capitalist globalisation, by simultaneously promoting consumer culture, while neglecting to set world events in context. To contribute to a democratic society, television must present a range of views, including the growing global movement for democracy. The role of the sociologist here is usefully outlined by Mills (1963), whose work was motivated by a desire to understand how a democratic society of publics could be supported. Sociologists had to relate to those publics, engaging with contemporary issues in an attempt to influence understanding:

His politics, in the first instance, are the politics of truth, for this job is the maintenance of an adequate definition of reality. In so far as he is politically adroit, the main tenet of his politics is to find out as much of the truth as he can, and to tell it to the right people, at the right time, and in the right way. Or stated negatively: to deny publicly what he knows to be false, whenever it appears in the assertions of no matter whom; and whether it be a direct lie or a lie by omission, whether it be by virtue of official secret or an honest error.... And he ought also to be a man absorbed in the attempt to know what is real and what is unreal (Mills, 1963, p.611).

Overall then, television coverage of the developing world is limited, but has the potential to provide engaging and informative programming. The recommendations from this research could make a significant difference to viewer interest, engagement and knowledge. Obviously such changes would be much more likely to occur in the context of a wholesale restructuring of television and a significant rebirth of public service broadcasting. However, changes outlined here could contribute to a more representative medium. The model on which this analysis has been based is a critique of capitalist globalisation, which acknowledges the concerns of the 'anti'-

globalisation movement, advocating a transition to socialist globalisation. As the contradictions contained within capitalist globalisation are increasingly throwing up crises of inequality, environmental degradation and diminishing democracy, television fails in its democratic role while its agenda remains consumerist led.

Appendix 1: The concept and measurement of development

Development is a post Second World War concept meant to describe the process by which poor countries could 'catch up' with the industrialised world, and mainly associated with financial assistance in the form of international investment and aid. During the 1960s, W.W. Rostow produced *Stages of Economic Growth*, otherwise known as the non-communist manifesto. A precursor of the neo-liberalism which was to follow, Rostow argued for development in Russia and Eastern Europe of sectors associated with high mass consumption and emphasised foreign direct investment as a first requirement (cited by Sklair 2001, p.227). The view was that industrialisation was applicable everywhere, linking concepts of development with modernisation. Black (2002) argues that the underlying purpose, as with the Marshall Plan, was the consolidation of US influence in places that might otherwise be infected with the communist virus. During the 1980s, the growing stand-off between Western allies and the Eastern bloc, and the accelerating departure of the imperial powers from colonies in Africa and Asia, reinforced the strategic urge to lock 'emerging' nations all over the world into the US sphere of influence.

In the early years, development was measured by economic criteria. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) - a trade based measure - is the unit commonly used to compare economies. As Sklair (2002) argues, all development measures are theory laden since they all assume a particular theory of economic growth and/or development. During the 1990s development accumulated certain qualifiers. One of these was 'human' development, a definition formally combining criteria of both social and economic advance. In 1990, the UN produced a new measure, the Human Development Index (HDI), which takes account of adult literacy, life expectancy, income levels and the average number of years a child spends in school. Another qualifier was 'sustainable' development, embracing the need to conserve natural resources. A third qualifier was 'participatory' development, echoing the post Cold War concern with human rights and democratisation. These concepts of development are discussed in Part One.

Appendix 2: New Regional trade agreements - NAFTA and the FTAA

Regional trade agreements are barely referenced in the mass media, despite their considerable influence on capitalist globalisation. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was originally proposed in June 1991, by the USA, Canada and Mexico. It came into effect in 1st January 1994. The agreement provides for comprehensive trade liberalisation, with rules to remove 'distortions' of free trade and resolve trade disputes between the three countries. NAFTA promised to deliver greater prosperity for Mexico, the only Southern country that borders the US. Duncan Green, (2003) policy analyst with CAFOD, argues that while NAFTA has benefited big export companies within Mexico, it has hurt many more, as real industrial wages have fallen. The case of corn subsidies demonstrates how such agreements can impact on class polarisation. Before NAFTA, small farmers in Mexico mostly grew corn, which was consumed by Mexicans as tortillas. The Mexican government, under NAFTA, reduced tariffs on corn, price supports for growers, and subsidies on tortillas. Price support elimination lowered farmers' incomes. Lower tariffs caused US corn, which is subsidised, to push Mexican prices down even further, forcing small farmers out of business and off their land. One million small farmers have been pushed out of business since 1994 (Sullivan, 2001). Lower corn prices did not benefit consumers however, because at the same time, tortilla subsidies were eliminated. The price of tortillas, a staple of the Mexican diet, has quadrupled in some places.

The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) has been negotiated in private since the 1994 Summit of the Americas. The FTAA would be the largest free trade zone in the world, aiming to create one huge open market of the Western Hemisphere (except Cuba). as well as the furthest-reaching trade and investment agreement ever signed. Like NAFTA, it aims to eliminate remaining barriers to the free flow of money, goods and services across borders. The idea is targeted to take effect by January 2005. As with all neo-liberal initiatives, business interests are central. The American Business Forum holds parallel meetings when the FTAA negotiators meet. By contrast, the limited forum for expression of the interests of civil society, was relegated to 'making recommendations' to the

FTAA's 'Joint Committee on Civil Society Participation' (Sullivan 2001). One concern expressed by critics of the FTAA surrounds 'national treatment' which is also an element of NAFTA, the defeated multilateral agreement on investment (MAI), and the general agreement on trade in services (GATS). National treatment is the requirement that corporations and foreign investors be treated at least as well as domestic investors. Favouring local business would be outlawed, giving wealthy multinationals an unprecedented advantage in establishing monopolies in poorer countries. The Trade Negotiations Committee of the FTAA is also proposing to retain, and perhaps expand, the 'investor-state' provisions of NAFTA (Chapter 11). This essentially allows corporations to challenge democratically enacted laws, forcing governments to pay compensation, and privileging profits over government sovereignty (Barlow, 2001 and Sullivan, 2001). The events of 11 September revitalised the FTAA when the US Congress altered its formerly cautious position and voted 'yes' to a fast-track trade authority, which would greatly assist the achievement of free trade legislation (Grant and Farmer, 2001). Green (2003) argues that the hopes of FTAA opponents rest with Brazil. A plebiscite there in 2002 recorded an extraordinary 10 million votes against the FTAA, with only 113,000 in favour.

Appendix 3: Globalisation, poverty and human rights

The new slavery, HIV and migration

With globalisation of markets, there has come a rapid increase in high-profit exploitation of poor people. As global competition for business demands low prices for goods, there is a growing pool of enslaved labour. The key issue in defining slavery is the issue of choice - is the person free to leave? (Godrej, 2001b). According to Bales (2001) slavery has seen a rapid escalation since 1945 and a dramatic change in character. While the slave of the past was an expensive investment and was protected, today's slaves are cheap. Of particular concern has been the rapid increase in the exploitation of child workers. In 1973, the ILO introduced a convention - ILO 138 - which banned employers using children under 15 for work. However, when in the early 90s, Bangladesh proposed abolishing child labour at a stroke, thousands of children were forced out of work and, with no alternative, took even worse jobs, including prostitution. In 1999, the ILO adopted a less stringent convention, ILO 182, which calls for an end to the 'worst' forms of child labour, including prostitution, forced labour, bonded labour and slavery (Henderson, 2000b). Despite ILO 182, the child sex industry is booming. Hill (2000) documents how the trafficking of children into Britain for the purposes of sexual slavery had increased at an alarming rate over the previous four years. A 2002 ILO report indicates that of 241 million children working to survive in the South, nearly 180 million were engaged in work hazardous to their mental or physical safety, such as mining, farming, prostitution and enforced military service (Denny 2002).

With regard to the impact of globalisation on development, some concerns are addressed in chapter one, such as the impact of structural adjustment on public services. Here, discussion of health services will refer particularly to associations between globalisation, social conditions associated with poverty, and rates of HIV infection. A World Health Organisation report referred to by Boseley (2001), indicated that at least 8 million lives could be saved every year and the life expectancy and prosperity of the poorest nations transformed if the world agreed significant investment to fight disease. At the launch of the WHO report, the

chairperson of the responsible committee, Jeffrey Sachs, conceded that the biggest obstacle to real international commitment was the lack of interest from the US. As Boseley (2001) argues, this must be due at least in part, to the fact that there is no central role for the private sector. The report urged a focus on the biggest killers, including HIV and Aids. Twenty two million have died from AIDS-related illness since the disease was discovered 20 years ago - three million died in 2001 alone. Commercial sex work, urbanisation and poverty-driven economic migration, which contribute to increased rates of infection, are exacerbated by imposed economic adjustment policies and debt. The role of globalisation in furthering HIV is highlighted by an exceptional case. Brazil is a success story in the general catastrophe of AIDS. Nearly a decade ago the World Bank warned that Brazil would have over a million AIDS cases by the turn of the century if action were not taken. Today, infection rates remain as low as 0.6 per cent and the predicted epidemic has been avoided. Against the advice of aid agencies, Brazil began investing in drug therapies in the early 90s, producing generic forms before the country signed the WTO TRIPs in 1996, so that prices dropped 80 per cent. The US, pressured by Big Pharma, threatened a WTO investigation of Brazil's breach of TRIPs. The UNHCR and the WHO approved Brazilian-sponsored motions supporting access to life saving drugs as a human right. While Brazil remains highly socially stratified and its public health system underfunded, this victory represents progress, with Brazil now exporting HIV knowledge (Flynn 2002).

The counter-developmental aspects of globalisation have resulted in increased movements of migrants from the South. The pressure to be competitive and IMF conditionality make governments in poor countries cut their health, education and social budgets, further delaying development and stimulating emigration. The accompanying unemployment and poverty in the South has fed the illegal trade in people. As governments become poorer, they depend more on the remittances of immigrants in the north and have little interest in managing emigration and illegal trafficking. Meanwhile in Western Europe the distinction between asylum seekers and other migrants has blurred – they are all, as Harding (2000) says, “beggars at

the gate, or even thieves.” Saskia Sassen (2001) highlights the seriousness of this link:

The debt trap will eventually ensnare the rich countries through the increase in illegal trafficking in people, in drugs, in arms, through the re-emergence of diseases we had thought were under control and through the further devastation of our fragile eco-system. The debt trap is now entangling more countries and it has reached middle income countries. There are now about 50 countries that are hyper-indebted and unable to redress the situation.

The international instrument designed to protect refugees is the 1951 Convention. Under Chapter 1, Article 1, refugees are distinguished from other migrants by their ability to demonstrate ‘a well-founded fear of being persecuted.’ Interpretation varies from country to country. As Harding (2000, p44) argues: ‘Interpretations of the Convention reflect the political priorities of signatory states.’ In Europe, governments have increasingly awarded other kinds of status to those it feels are endangered but do not qualify as Convention refugees. In Britain, ‘exceptional leave to remain’ is granted at the discretion of the Home Office. From the 1980s Europe embarked with new zeal on its project of seclusion. Airlines must pay high fines for carrying anyone whose papers are not in order, as well as the cost of returning them to their point of departure. The risk of incurring high penalties had forced carriers to act as a screening agency on behalf of governments. One criminal activity targeted by the EU is ‘human trafficking.’ As Harding (2000, p68) comments: ‘It must be obvious, after nearly two decades of Fortress Europe, that a war on traffickers involves heavy collateral damage to refugees.’ McWhirter (2002) reports that the number of asylum seekers in Europe has halved over the past ten years. Given the declining and ageing populations of Western European countries, more migrants will be needed to keep the EU economy viable. However, as McWhirter comments, in the current fervour to sound tough on asylum-seekers, and tough on the countries of asylum-seekers, this reality is ignored. Pilger (1992) recorded how British government briefings and tip-offs to journalists produce a harvest of scare stories, with

frequent references to 'floods of refugees' and 'bogus asylum seekers.' Such reporting belies the fact that nearly all refugee crises are borne by the Third World. While New Labour Home Secretary Blunkett has issued inflammatory statements about asylum seekers to the media, he has also planned a new US-style 'green card' immigration scheme, including quotas in areas of severe labour shortages (Travis, 2001).

Appendix 4: Television coverage of the Rwandan crises

Television coverage of the Rwandan crises of 1994 and 1996-7 illustrate many of the concerns highlighted here, particularly regarding primordialism. Further to this, the role of the media both within Rwanda, and internationally, contributed to events in the country. As with much reporting of African wars, critical political and economic factors were obscured by a tendency to concentrate on ethnic identity as a cause of war. This contributed to misconceptions of the conflict as being ignited by primitive causes beyond the influence or understanding of the West. The story, involving violence on a massive scale within Rwanda, fitted neatly into the stereotyped "Heart of Darkness" portrayal of Africa. The impact of the media within such a context cannot be overestimated. McNulty (1999) argues that, by swallowing disinformation that the Rwandan war was ethnically driven, Western media became accomplices in the power politics of external actors with interests in the region. The earlier study by Glasgow Media Group - of the events of 1994 - showed how key themes of the coverage were the large numbers of refugees and the cholera epidemic. However, as Philo et al (1999) documented, between 500,000 and 800,000 were killed in the genocide - which was more than five times the number who died of disease and violence in the camps. There was little explanation of the origins of these events, or their relationship to the genocide committed by the Hutu militias who fled in the refugee exodus. There was little discussion of the political relationships or history of Rwanda. This matters because consideration was not given to the consequences of allowing huge refugee camps to develop close to Rwanda. Yet the coverage gave the impression that the latter was the ultimate tragedy. Governments were happy to respond to demands for aid, when pressurised by the media, but media pressure to act during the genocide was absent: 'Through this distortion, the media unwittingly helped western governments hide their lack of policy on genocide behind a mask of humanitarian aid' (p226).

The news coverage at the height of the crisis was dominated by calls for aid, with little consideration of the long-term solution of rebuilding the infrastructure of the

country. Governments and NGOs also felt pressure to be 'seen' to be doing something in this media spotlight. Officials of UNHCR, which co-ordinated the relief effort in Goma, noted that a plethora of NGOs wanted to help orphaned and abandoned children, an area of media focus, while few were interested in digging latrines. The second Media Group study (Beattie et al, 1999) took up the story from November 1996, following border clashes between Hutu militias and Tutsi rebels supported by the Rwanda army. This resulted in the refugee camps being destroyed and a large number of Hutu refugees returning to Rwanda. Others fled into Zaire, where many were apparently killed by the pursuing Rwanda army. The sample was based on news coverage from November 1996 and April 1997. While this second study showed that there were more references to the genocide in Rwanda and its links to the refugee exodus, explanation was still limited. To state that Hutus massacred Tutsis does not move beyond assumptions about 'primitive' people in Africa. In fact, Rwanda was a highly organised and disciplined society. The genocide could not be understood without reference to its history. While we acknowledged in our findings that a detailed explanation could not be included in every news bulletin, there were in fact few attempts at coherent explanations at all. Instead, superficial analysis lent itself to post colonial concepts of primitive conflicts.

Even the most violent and cruel conflicts in Europe are nonetheless shown as emerging from organised political interests and strategies. This is important because political conflicts can in the end have political solutions (p265).

Afterwards, a multinational evaluation of the response to Rwanda, including the role of the media, (Adelman and Suhrke, 1996) found that US coverage of the genocide trailed far behind their coverage of OJ trial, Bosnia, South Africa and Haiti. The authors charged that since the Western media failed to report adequately on the genocide in Rwanda, this 'possibly contributed to international indifference and inaction, and hence the crime itself.' McNulty (1999) also commented that the failure to report the complicity of prominent members of the international community (notably France, Egypt and South Africa) in arming and assisting the Habyarimana

regime, contributed to an inappropriate international response that exacerbated the crisis. Rwanda demonstrates the need for alternative analyses to challenge the Western media's mechanistic over-simplified interpretations of conflict in Africa. McNulty (1999) rightly suggests that it is necessary first to break out of the 'Eurocentric straitjacket' which distorts African coverage. He takes issue with the expressed Western concerns for perceived human rights violations which met the destruction of the Zairean camps in December 1996 and the public executions within Rwanda of *genocidaires* in April 1998. The regional imperatives were peace, stability, prosperity and security. The institutions which expressed concern - the UN, the Catholic Church and Western governments - were those who had failed to intervene in the genocide.

The war crimes tribunal in Arusha continues, attracting little media coverage. This is the first time the Genocide convention has been used to test the truth of the adage; the pen is mightier than the sword. And the first time since the end of the Second World War that propaganda in the service of the state, or an extremist cause, was on international trial. Two defendants, Nahimana and Barayagize, were instrumental in setting up a private radio station, Radio Tele Libre Mille Collines (RTLM). A third, Hassan Ngeze, edited a newspaper called Kangura (Awakening) which was likened to the Nazi hate sheet, Der Sturmer. The prosecution alleged that RTLM was not only a vehicle for virulent anti-Tutsi propaganda but that it directed the Hutu militia to places where Tutsis were hiding and therefore participated in their extermination. The defence argued that RTLM's role was no more strident than that played by some of the Belgrade stations during Nato's bombing of Kosovo - and the language no more intemperate than that directed against Muslims by some US radio and TV commentators after September 11. Indeed, Ngeze's American counsel, John Floyd, says the prosecutions would not have been brought in the US - and should not have been brought in Arusha 'What's on trial here is free speech and the freedom of the press. In the United States, the First Amendment guarantees these rights, but this case is a dangerous encroachment on these hard-won liberties. We're talking about a judgement which, potentially, will be used to justify censorship' (Silverman, 2002).

Appendix 5: Television coverage of the floods in Mozambique

During extensive flooding in Mozambique in 2000, dramatic images were available of local people forced to shelter in trees as the only means of avoiding drowning in the floods. As stated in Chapter Ten, the woman who gave birth to her baby in a tree became central to coverage of the crisis. The short supply of helicopters in the 2000 Mozambique flood crisis was also emphasised in the coverage. The fact that news crews were taking up valuable spaces in helicopter rescue missions was the subject of a complaint to the Channel 4 audience access programme (no longer broadcast) *Right to Reply* on 10.3.00. One viewer had complained that journalists were taking up valuable places in the helicopters, arguing that crews tread a fine line between humanitarian need and the demand for good pictures. *Right to Reply* interviewed an aid agency spokesperson, who commented on the frustration of agencies as the media hired small helicopters, creating a shortage of helicopters for the humanitarian workers. Local people were said to be very angry as the media came, took pictures and flew away while the subjects of their pictures were desperate for drinkable water and food.

What is not apparent in most disaster coverage is the role of national and local governments, and internal agencies in managing disasters and saving lives. The Red Cross (IFRC) World Disaster Report (2002) devoted a chapter to the response to the floods in Mozambique – the worst for over a century – describing the local response as a great success. The report highlighted that while media headlines celebrated the helicopter rescue of the mother and newborn baby from a tree, less reported were the 45,000 lives saved, mostly by regional rather than international rescuers. A year later, when more floods hit Mozambique, local boat teams rescued thousands. Both years, for every person who died, over 60 were saved. Despite being one of the world's poorest countries, Mozambique was well prepared. A Channel 4 special news report on 5.3.00 was exceptional in highlighting the role of neighbouring countries in the rescue efforts, primarily South Africa, which had helicopters in Mozambique before any Western involvement. The report also referred to food and fuel aid and other forms of

assistance from Botswana, Tunisia and Malawi. Also highlighted, by contrast, was the fact that the Western intervention was facing criticism for tardiness.

Abbreviations

ACP:	Afro-Caribbean and Pacific
AoA:	Agreement on Agriculture
CEO:	Corporate Europe Observatory
DEC:	Disasters Emergency Committee
DfID:	Department for International Development
DTI:	Department of Trade and Industry
EU:	European Union
FTAA:	Free trade area of the Americas
GATS:	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GATT:	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GUMG:	Glasgow University Media Group
HIPC:	Heavily indebted poor countries
IFIs:	International Financial Institutions
IFRC:	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
ILO:	International Labour Organisation
IMF:	International Monetary Fund

IPCC:	International Panel on Climate Change
MAI:	Multilateral agreement on investment
NAFTA:	North American Free Trade Agreement
NIEO:	New international economic order
OECD:	Organisation for economic co-operation and development
OPEC:	Organisation of petroleum exporting countries
PRSP:	Poverty reduction strategy papers
SAP:	Structural adjustment policy
TNC:	Transnational corporation
UN:	United Nations
UNCTAD:	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WBCSD:	World Business Council for Sustainable Development
WDM:	World Development Movement
WHO:	World Health Organisation

**PAGE
NUMBERING
AS ORIGINAL**

WTO: World Trade Organisation

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adelman, H. and Suhrke, A. (1999) *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*, New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction.

Ainger, K. (2001) 'To open a crack in history', *New Internationalist*, ((September 2000, No.338, p.11).

Alridge J and Collins, M. (1999) 'TV accuracy and ethics 'at all-time low', *The Observer*, (23.5.99, p.5).

Allen, T. and Seaton, J. (1999) Introduction, *The Media of Conflict*, London: Zed Books.

Amnesty International (2003) 'Colombia: Trade unionists in danger', *Amnesty* (May/June 2003, Issue 119, p.22).

Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Aslam, I. (2000) 'World Bank Dissident Invokes Asian Workers' Woes', *Interpress Service*, (10.1.00): <http://www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/bwi-wto/wbank/stieg1.htm>

Bales, K. (2001) 'Going Cheap,' *New Internationalist*, (No. 337, August 2001, pp.14-15).

Barlow, M. (2001) *The Free Trade Area of the Americas*, A special report by The International Forum on Globalisation (IFG), San Francisco: IFG.

Barnett, S. and Seymour, E. (1999) *A shrinking iceberg travelling South*, London: Campaign for Quality Television.

Barnett, Steven (2002) 'The age of contempt: The hounding of politicians by a cynical and corrosive media is a disaster for democracy' *The Guardian*, (Monday October 28, 2002): <http://politics.guardian.co.uk/media/comment/0,12123,820577,00.html>

BBC news online (1999) 'EU and US end banana war':
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/business/new.../1271969.stm>

BBC news online (2002) 'Fair trade sales boom':
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/low/business/2335491.stm>

Beattie, L., Miller, D., Miller, E. and Philo, G. (1999) 'The media and Africa: Images of disaster and rebellion', In Philo, G. (Ed) *Message Received*, London: Longman.

Beck, U. (2000) *What is Globalisation?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beck, U., Giddens, A. and Lash, S. (1994) *Reflexive Modernisation* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bello, W. (2002) *Deglobalization*, London: Zed Books.

Bennett, L. (2003) 'Branded Political communication: Lifestyle politics, logo campaigns, and the rise of global citizenship', in Micheletti, M., Follesdal A. and Stolle, D. (Eds) *Politics, Products, and Markets*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Bingley, R. (2002) 'Dr. Strangelove seizes power', *CAAT News*, (April-May 2002, Issue 171, p.8).

Black, M. (2002) *The No-Nonsense Guide to International Development*, Oxford: New Internationalist Publications Ltd.

Bocock, R. (1993) *Consumption*. London: Routledge.

Bond, P. (2000) 'A Political Economy of South African AIDS' (16.7.00) *Znet Commentary*

http://www.spiraldynamics.com/documents/hotspots/Africa/SA_AIDS_Bond.htm

Bond, P. (2001) *Against Global Apartheid: South Africa Meets the World Bank, IMF and International Finance*, South Africa: University of Cape Town Press.

Borger, J. (2000) 'How Florida played the race card', *The Guardian*, (4.12.00, p.3).

Borger, J. (2002a) 'Florida counties to be sued for purging black voters from rolls', *The Guardian* (23.5.02, p.14).

Borger, J. (2002b) 'US weapons secrets exposed', *The Guardian* (29.10.02, p.1).

Boseley, S. (2001) 'World 'must spend more' to fight disease', *The Guardian* (21.12.01).

Bourdieu, P. (1999) 'The Myth of 'Globalization and the European Welfare State', In *Acts of Resistance*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

British Film Institute (1999) *Television Industry Tracking Study*, London, BFI.

Bruno, K. (2002) *Greenwash + 10*, (January 2000) San Francisco: CorpWatch/Tides Centre.

Burke, T. (1999) 'Bananas are only the warm up act', *New Statesman* (12.3.99, p.30).

Burkeman, O. and Paton Walsh, N. (2002) 'Bush vows to snuff out potential enemies', *The Guardian* (21.9.02, p.22).

Burrows, G. (2002) *The No-Nonsense Guide to the Arms Trade*, Oxford: New Internationalist publications.

Callinicos, A. (2003) *An Anti-Capitalist Manifesto*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cammack, P. (2002) 'Giddens' Way with Words', in Leggett, W., Hale, S. and Martell, L. (Eds), *The Third Way and Beyond: Criticisms, futures and alternatives*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Castells, M. (1996) *The Rise of the Network Society*, Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Castells, M. (1997) *The Power of Identity*, Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Castells, M. (1998) *End of Millennium*, Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Central Intelligence Agency (2000) *Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue about the Future with Nongovernment Experts*, United States Government:
http://www.cia.gov/nic/pubs/2015_files/2015.htm

Chomsky, N. (1995) *Secrets, Lies and Democracy*, Tucson, Arizona: Odonian Press.

Chomsky, N. (1999) 'The hypocrisy of it all', (January 1999) *Mid-East Realities*:
<http://www.middleeast.org/archives/january99.htm>

Christie, I. and Warburton, D. (2001) *From Here to Sustainability*, London and Sterling, VA: Earthscan.

Cohen, S. (2002) *States of Denial* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connor, S. (2002) 'Economists expose myth of costly conservation', *The Independent* (9.8.02, p.7).

Co-operative Bank (2001) *Ethical Purchase Index 2001*, London: The Co-operative Bank.

Corporate Europe Observatory (2002) 'The Naked Lobbyist', *New Internationalist* (No. 347, July 2002, p.14 -15).

Cowe, R. (1999) 'A question of responsibility', *The Guardian* (12.5.99):
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/story/0,3604,294624,00.html>

Cran, W. (2002) 'Decline and fall' *The Observer* (22.9.02, p.16).

Curtis, M. (2003) *Web of Deceit*, London: Vintage.

Danaher, K. (Ed) (1996) *Corporations are gonna get your mama*, Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press.

D'Arista, J. (2001) 'Establish a global financial authority' In Ellwood, W. *The No-Nonsense Guide to Globalisation*, Oxford: New Internationalist Publications.

Davies, H. (2001) 'A breathless piece of globalony', *Guardian Weekly* (31.5.01, p.18).

Davison, P. (1999) 'Crack trade grips Caribbean', *Independent on Sunday* (14.3.99, p.21).

Dawe, F. (2001) *Public Attitudes on Development; Based on data from the National Statistics Omnibus Survey for DfID*, July 2001, London: DfID:
www.dfid.gov.uk/Pubs/files/omnibus2001.pdf

Denny, C (2000a) 'IMF Chief says: We are best friends of the poor.' *The Guardian* (14.2.00, p21)

Denny, C. (2000b) 'Gazing in awe at executive salaries, US-style', *The Guardian* (23.8.00): <http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/story/0,3604,357367,00.html>

Denny, C. (2000c) 'Brown defends besieged monetary giants', *The Guardian* (21.9.00, p.20).

Denny, C. (2001) 'Downs and ups', *The Guardian* (31.8.01, p.15).

Denny, C. (2002) '241m children work to live', *The Guardian* (7.5.02, p.12).

Denny, C. and Elliott, L. (2000) 'Hand to mouth in the clinics the west forgot', *The Guardian* (18.4.00, p.29).

Department for International Development (2000) *Viewing the World: A study of British television coverage of developing countries*, London and East Kilbride: DFID.

Department for International Development (2001) *The UK Government's White Paper on International Development*, London: DFID.

Drewry, M., Macmullan, J. & Bentall, J. (2002) *Trade Justice*. London: Trade Justice Movement.

Drop the Debt (2001) *Reality Check: the need for greater debt cancellation and the fight against HIV/AIDS* (April 2001):
<http://www.dropthedebt.org/reports/realitysummary.shtml>

Duval Smith, A. (1999) 'Nigerians fear new MPs will fail democracy', *Independent on Sunday*, (14.2.99, p.17).

Dwivedi, R. (2001) 'Environmental Movements in the Global South: Livelihood and Beyond', *International Sociology*, (Volume 16/1, pp.11-31).

Elliott, L. (2000a) 'IMF overcomes siege mentality', *The Guardian* (13.4.00, p.28).

Elliott, L. (2000b) 'Pygmies assume the Marshall mantle', *The Guardian* (24.7.00, p.21).

Elliott, L. (2001) 'Martial plan knocks aid off course', *The Guardian* (24.12.01, p.15).

Ellwood, W. (2001) *The No-Nonsense Guide to Globalization*, Oxford: New Internationalist Publications Ltd.

Elissalde, R (2003) 'Under the umbrella', *New Internationalist* (No 356, May 2003, p.26).

European Commission (1999) 'Where Next? The GATS 2000 Negotiations', *European Commission 'Info-Point' on World Trade in Services*: <http://gats-info.eu.int>.

Farrelly, P (2000) 'Does Auntie mean business', *The Observer* (12.11.00, p.11).

Faux, J. and Mishel, L. (2001) 'Inequality and the global economy' in Hutton, W. and Giddens, A. (Eds) *On the Edge: Living with Global Capital*, London: Vintage.

Fiske, J. (1996) 'Post-modernism and Television' in Curran, J. and Gurevitch, M. (Eds) *Mass Media and Society*, 2nd Edition. London: Arnold.

Flynn, M. (2002) 'Cocktails and Carnival', *New Internationalist* (No. 346, June 2002, p.16-17)

George, S. (1992) *The Debt Boomerang*, London: Pluto Press.

George, S. (1999) 'A Short History of Neo-liberalism', paper presented to the *Conference on Economic Sovereignty in a Globalising World*, Bangkok, 24-26th March. <http://www.globalexchange.org/economy/econ101/neoliberalism>.

Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1998) *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (2000) *The Third Way and its critics*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. and Hutton, W. (2001) 'In Conversation' in Hutton, W. and Giddens, A. (Eds) *On the Edge: Living with Global Capital*, London: Vintage.

Gillespie, M. and Cheesman, T. (2002) 'After September 11: TV News and Multi-ethnic audiences', in Gillespie and others(Eds) *After September 11: TV News and Transnational Audiences*, Research paper funded by the Broadcasting Standards Commission, the ITC, the BFI, the OU National Everyday Cultures Programme, and the Transnational Communities Research Programme of the ESRC.

Glasgow University Media Group (1985) *War And Peace News*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Godrej, D. (2001a) *The No-Nonsense Guide to Climate Change*, Oxford: New Internationalist Publications Ltd.

Godrej, D. (2001b) 'Of Human Bondage', *New Internationalist* (No 337, August 2001, pp.9-12)

Goldsmith, Z. (2001) 'Warning: Terrorist Material', in Roddick, A. *Taking It Personally*, London: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd.

Goudge, P. (1999) 'Own goals', *The Guardian Society* (17.3.99, p.5).

Grant, W. and Farmer, J. (2001) 'Never the same', *New Statesman* (29.10.01, p.20).

Green, D. (2000) 'Allow more tigers out of their cages', *The Guardian* (11.9.00, p.25).

Green, D. (2003) 'Enough already', *New Internationalist* (May 2003, No. 356, p.23).

Guardian online (2002) Report reveals Britain's 10 most poor areas 18.2.02
<http://society.guardian.co.uk/socialexclusion/story/0,11499,652296,00.html>

Gunson, P. (1999) 'Honduran peasants caught in vicious cycle', *The Guardian* (23.2.99, p.15).

Haffajee, F. (2001) 'From Seattle to Soweto', *New Internationalist*, (No. 338, September, 2001, pp.21-23).

Hall, S. (1996) 'Introduction: Who needs 'identity'', in Hall, S. and du Gay, P. (Eds) *Questions of cultural identity*, London: Sage.

Harding, J. (2000) *The Uninvited: Refugees at the Rich Man's Gate*, London: Profile Books and The London Review of Books.

Hardt, M. and Negri, A. (2001) *Empire*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hargreaves, I. and Thomas, J. (2002) *New news, old news*, An ITC and BSC Research Publication, London: ITC.

Hart, M. (2001) 'Agriculture: Small is Sustainable, Big is Subsidised', *Sand in the Wheels* (No.104).

Hencke, D. (2000) 'Arms, human rights and the question of values', *The Guardian* (26.1.00, p.8).

Hencke, D. (2002) 'Tanzania wants new deal on air system', *The Guardian* (15.6.02, p.7).

Henderson, D. (2000a) 'More cream for the fat cats', *The Big Issue in Scotland* (7-13.9.00, p.8).

Henderson, D. (2000b) 'Chained to the loom', *The Big Issue in Scotland* (9-15.11.00, p.12).

Herbert, B (2003) 'Casualties at Home', *New York Times* (27.3.03):
<http://www.globalpolicy.org/soecon/inequal/2003/0327casualties.htm>

Herman, E. S. and Chomsky, N. (1988) *Manufacturing Consent*, New York: Pantheon Books.

Hertz, N. (2001) *The Silent Takeover: Global Capitalism and the Death of Democracy*, London: Heinemann.

Hilary, J. (2001) *The Wrong Model: GATS, trade liberalisation and children's right to health*, London: Save the Children.

Hill, A. (2000) 'They were smart and they wore suits. They hurt me', *The Observer* (17.12. 00, p.8).

Hirst, P. and Thompson, G. (1996) *Globalization in Question: The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Houghton, J. (2003) 'Global warming is now a weapon of mass destruction' *The Guardian* (28.7.02, p.14).

Hutton, W. (2000) 'Right-wing coup that shames America', *The Observer* (24.12.00, p.24).

International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) (2002) *World Disasters Report*: <http://www.ifrc.org/PUBLICAT/wdr2002/index.asp>

IFRC (2003) *World Disasters Report* <http://www.ifrc.org/publicat/wdr2003/index.asp>

James, O. (2000) *Britain on the couch*, London: Arrow Books Limited.

Jones, T. (2002) 'If you want a free vote, ask nicely', *Observer* (21.4.02, p.27).

Jubilee 2000 (1998) 'Paris Club freezes, but does not cancel, debts for hurricane-devastated Central America' *Jubilee 2000 News*:
<http://www.jubilee2000uk.org/news/paris1112.html>.

Jubilee 2000 (1999) 'Washington creditors continue to squeeze debt repayments out of victims of Hurricane Mitch' *Jubilee 2000 News*:
<http://www.jubilee2000uk.org/news/hurricane2910.html>.

Jubilee 2000 (2000) *The world will never be the same again: Final report*, (December 2000): <http://www.jubilee2000uk.org/final/contents.html>.

Juniper, T. (1999) 'Unfair trade sparks new world war', *The Guardian* (17.8.99, p.14).

Kettle, M. (2000) 'Ballot blunder that caused a crisis', *The Guardian* (10.11.00, p.3).

Khan, I. (2002) 'Statement on human rights', *Amnesty* (Sep/Oct 2002, p.4).

Khor, M and Oh, C. (2001) 'Plans to patent life keep growing', *Red Pepper* (February 2001, p.9).

Kirby, A. (2000) 'UN's green corps tries hard', BBC News Online, (4.9.2000):
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/world/newsid_906000/906660.stm

Kitzinger, J. (2002) 'Impacts and influences', In Briggs and Cobley (Eds), *The Media: An Introduction*, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Kitzinger, J. and Miller, D. (1998) 'Conclusion', in 'The Circuit of Mass Communication', Glasgow University Media Group: London, Sage.

Klein, N. (2000) *No Logo* London: Flamingo.

Korten, D. (1996) 'When Corporations Rule the World' in Danaher, K. (Ed) (1996) 'Corporations are Gonna Get Your Mama.' Common Courage Press: Monroe, Maine.

Labour Party (2002) *Democracy, Citizenship and Political Engagement* London: Millbank Tower.

Lang, T. and Hines, C. (1993) *The New Protectionism*, London: Earthscan Publications.

Laughland, J. (2002) 'Who observes the observers?', *The Guardian* (18.3.02, p.18).

Laurance, B. (1999) 'The Big Banana' *The Observer*, (7.3.99, p.16).

Laurent, E. (1999) 'Caribbean Bananas: setting the record straight.' Interview for *Brixton online*: <http://brixton.co.uk/life/blife/politics/bananas.htm>

Lean, G. (1999) 'The hidden tentacles of the world's most secret body', *The Independent on Sunday* (18.7.99, p.13).

Lindley, R. (2002) *Panorama: 50 years of pride and paranoia*, London: Politico's.

Lucas, C. (2001) 'The ill wind of trade', *The Guardian Society* (21.11.01, p.8).

Lury, C. (1996) 'Consumer Culture' Cambridge: Polity Press.

Mackay, N. (2003) 'Revealed: 17 British firms armed Saddam with his weapons', *The Sunday Herald* (23.2.03, p.1).

Marcuse, H. (1968) *One-Dimensional Man* Boston: Beacon Press.

Markey, P. (2001) 'A tangled web of hatred and fear', *The Big Issue in Scotland*, (18-24.1.01).

Martin, B (2000) *New Leaf or Fig Leaf? The Challenge of the New Washington Consensus*, Washington: Bretton Woods Project.

McBeth, J. (2002) 'VSO goes out of Africa and into Inverclyde', *The Scotsman* (18.7.02, p.3).

McChesney, R.W. (1998) 'The Political Economy of Global Communication' In McChesney, R., Wood, E. and Foster, J. (Eds) *Capitalism and the Information Age*, New York: Monthly Review Press.

McChesney, R.W. (2000) *Rich Media, Poor Democracy*, New York: The New Press.

McDougall, L. (2000) 'A tax on economic pollution', *The Big Issue in Scotland* (20-26.4.00, p.22).

McLuhan, M. (1987) *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, London: ARK.

McNulty, M. (1999) 'Media Ethnicization and the International Response to War and Genocide in Rwanda', In Allen and Seaton (Eds) *The Media of Conflict* New York: Zed Books.

McWhirter, I. (2002) 'Tyranny is their softest option', *The Sunday Herald* (23.6.02, p.11).

Melvorn, L (2000) *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide* London: Zed Books.

Menotti, V. (2002) 'Globalization and the United Nations', The International Forum on Globalisation (IFG), San Francisco: IFG.

Mills, C. W., (1963) *Power, Politics and People*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Mills, C. W., (1971) *White Collar*, New York, Oxford University Press.

Millar, S. (2003) 'Pledge to share out bulk of Iraq 'pie'', *The Guardian* (24.5.03, p.7).

Miller, D. (1995) 'Consumption as the Vanguard of History', in Miller D. (Ed) *Acknowledging Consumption* London: Routledge.

Miller, D. (2002) 'Opinion polls and the misrepresentation of public opinion on the war with Afghanistan', *Television and New Media* (Volume 3, Issue 2, May 2002, pp.153-163).

Miller, E. (2003) 'Representing the South', in Opel, A. and Pomper, D.(Eds) *Representing Resistance* Westport, CA: Greenwood.

Moeller, S. (1999) *Compassion Fatigue*, New York and London: Routledge.

Mollard, C. (2001) *Asylum: The truth behind the headlines*, Commissioned by Oxfam's UK Poverty Programme in Scotland:

<http://www.oxfam.org.uk/policy/papers/asylumscot01/asylum.htm>

Monbiot, G (2000a) *Captive State: The Corporate Takeover of Britain*, London: Macmillan.

Monbiot, G. (2000b) 'The corporate great blob coalesces', *The Guardian* (20.1.00, p.22).

Monbiot, G. (2000c) 'The mobile economy', *The Guardian* (23.3.00, p.21).

Monbiot, G. (2000d) 'Dying of consumption', *The Guardian* (28.12.00, p.18).

Monbiot, G. (2002a) Business of betrayal', *The Guardian* (15.1.02, p.15).

Monbiot, G (2002b) 'Global Democracy', *New Internationalist* (Jan/Feb 2002 No 342, p.13).

Monbiot, G. (2002c) 'Public fraud initiative', *The Guardian* (18.6.02, p.17).

Monbiot, G. (2002d) 'Corporate capture' *The Guardian* (20.8.02, p.15).

Monbiot, G. (2002e) 'What do we really want', *The Guardian* (27.8.02, p.15).

Monbiot, G. (2003a) 'The Age of Consent: a Manifesto for a New World Order', London: Harper Collins.

Monbiot, G. (2003b) 'With Eyes Wide Shut' *The Guardian* (12.8.03, p.19).

Morley, D. (1992) *Television, audiences and cultural studies*, London: Routledge.

Morley, D. (1999) 'To boldly go... :the "third generation" of reception studies', In Alasuutari, P. (Ed) *Rethinking the media audience* London:Sage.

Nader, R. (1999) 'Introduction' In Wallach and Sforza. *The WTO Open Media Pamphlet Series*, New York: Seven Stories Press.

Nahdi, F. (2002) 'A cocktail of grievances in paradise' *The Guardian* (29.11.02): <http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,850273,00.html>

Nason, S. and Redding, D. (2002) *Losing Reality*, London: Third World and Environment Broadcasting Project.

Ngwane, T. (2002) 'A new partnership for Africa's development or just more Washington-friendly economics?' *WDM in action* (Summer 2002, p.8-9).

Norris, P. (2000) *A Virtuous Circle: Political communications in postindustrial societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oborne, P. (1999) Alastair Campbell: New Labour and the rise of the Media Class. Aurum Press. London.

Owusu, K. and Ng'ambi, F. (2002) *Structural Damage: the causes and consequences of Malawi's food crisis* London: World Development Movement.

Oxfam (2002) *Rigged Rules and Double Standards*, Oxford: Oxfam International.

Packard, V. (1981) *The Hidden Persuaders*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Palast, G. (2000b) 'Failures of the 20th century: see under IMF', *The Observer* (8.10.00, p.7).

Palast, G. (2000c) 'A blacklist burning for Bush', *The Observer* (10.12.00, p9).

Palast, G. (2002a) 'Eyes only memo show who done it', *Americas.org*:
http://www.americas.org/News/Features/200202_Argentina/200202EyesOnlyMemos.htm

Palast, G. (2002b) *The Best Democracy Money can buy*, London: Pluto Press.

Palast, G. (2002c) 'Opec chief warned Chavez about coup', *The Guardian* (13.5.02, p.13).

Pallister D. (2001) 'The business of backhanders', *The Guardian* (19.12.01, p.19).

Pew Centre (2000) 'Internet Sapping Broadcast News Audience', June 2000, Pew Research Centre for the People and the Press: <http://people-press.org/reports>

Philips, B. (2000) 'Biafra: Thirty years on', *BBC news online* (13.1.00):
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/596712.stm>

Philo, G. (1990) *Seeing and Believing: The Influence of Television*, London: Routledge.

Philo, G. (1993) 'From Buerk to Bank Aid: the media and the 1984 Ethiopian famine', In Eldridge, J (Ed) *Getting the Message, News, Truth and Power*, London and New York: Routledge.

Philo, G., Hilsum, L., Beattie, L. and Holliman, R. (1999) 'The media and the Rwanda crisis', in Philo, G. (Ed) *Message Received* London: Longman.

Philo, G. and Miller, D. (2001) *Market Killing* Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Philo, G. and Miller, D. (2002) 'Circuits of communication and power: Recent developments in media sociology', *Developments in Sociology: Annual Review* (Volume 18) Lancashire: Causeway Press Ltd.

Pilger, J. (1992) *Distant Voices*, London: Vintage.

Pilger, J. (1998) *Hidden Agendas*, London: Vintage.

Raghaven, C. (1995) 'United Nations: Reforms Must Correct Imbalances of Power', *Third World Network Features* (17.4.95): <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/27/002.html>

Ramsay, R. (1993) 'The covert origins of the Biafran war' *Lobster* (No. 25, p.2).

Randall, S. (2000) *Material World: A VSO report on our have-it-all culture* London: VSO.

Ransom, D. (2000) 'Fair trade - small change, big difference', *New Internationalist* (No 322, April 2000, p.9).

Ransom, D (2001) *The No-Nonsense Guide to Fair Trade*, Oxford: New Internationalist Publications Ltd.

Ransom, D. (2003) 'The Liberation of Latin America', *New Internationalist* (No. 356, May 2003, pp.9-10).

Rifkin, J. (2000) 'Another wolf at our door', *The Guardian* (24.10.00, p.19).

Ritzer, G. (2002) *McDonaldization: The Reader* California: Pine Forge Press.

Rowell, A. (1996) *Green Backlash* London: Routledge.

Rowbotham, M. (2000) *Goodbye America: Globalisation, debt and the dollar empire*, Oxfordshire: Jon Carpenter.

Rowling, N. (1987) *Commodities: How the world was taken to market*, London: Free Association Books.

Royle, T. (1999) 'Help may have been at hand, but the media pack was not', *The Sunday Herald* (14.11.99, p.14).

Sassen, S. (2001) 'A message from the global south', *The Guardian* (12.9.01, p.23).

Save The Children (2001) *Right Angle* (34, Autumn 2001). London: Save the Children.

Schiller, D (2000) *Digital Capitalism*, Cambridge, MA: MIT press.

Schumaker, J.F. (2001) 'Dead Zone' *New Internationalist*, (No 336, July 2001, p.34).

Scottish Asylum Seekers' Consortium (2001) 'Facts of the Matter', *Asylum Briefing*, (Issue 1/Volume 1/June 2001, p.7).

Selznick, P. (1957) *Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation*, New York, Harper and Row.

Sen, A. (2000) 'Freedom's market', *The Observer* (25.6.00, p.29).

Shiva, V. (2002a) 'Export at any cost: Oxfam's Free Trade Recipe for the Third World', (14.5.02): <http://www.dev-zone.org/links/Docs/3120VandanaOxfam.html>

Shiva, V. (2002b) 'The Real Reasons for hunger' *The Observer* (23.6.02): <http://www.observer.co.uk/worldview/story/0,11581,742148,00.html>

Shultz, J. (2002) 'Riley Bechtel', *New Internationalist* (No. 344, April 2002 p.29).

Shultz, J. (2003) 'Sound of the soul', *New Internationalist* (No. 356, May 2003 p.22).

Silverman, J. (2002) 'Poison Pens', *Media Guardian* (24.6.02): <http://media.guardian.co.uk/medialaw/story/0,11614,742872,00.html>

Simms, A. (2002) 'Going down in history', *New Internationalist* (No 342, Jan/Feb 2002, pp.20-21).

Sklair, L. (2001) *The Transnational Capitalist Class*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Sklair, L. (2002) *Globalization: Capitalism and its Alternatives*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Snow, J. (2000) 'Journalism, the Techno Revolution, and the Art of Disinformation', The Hetherington Lecture at Stirling University (1.12.00):
<http://www-fms.stir.ac.uk/Hetherington/2000/index.html>

Sogge, D. (2002) *Give and Take*, London: Zed Books

Soros, G. (1998) *The Crisis of Global Capitalism*, New York: Little, Brown and Company.

Stone, C. J. (2000) 'Joined up protest. Interview with Chomsky', *Red Pepper* (November 2000, p.22).

Stone, J. (2000) *Losing Perspective: Global Affairs on British Terrestrial Television 1989-1999*, London: 3WE.

Storey, J. (1999) *Cultural consumption and everyday life*, London: Arnold.

Sullivan, C. (2001) *Free Trade Area of the Americas: Demystifying the Corporate Jargon*, Washington, DC: The Alliance for Global Justice.

Swift, R. (2002) *The no nonsense guide to democracy*, Oxford: New internationalist Publications.

Tomlinson, J. (1999) *Globalization and Culture* Polity Press: Cambridge.

Travis, A. (2000) 'How gap between rich and poor has grown', *The Guardian* (11.5.00, p.8).

Travis, A. (2001) 'Green card work permits for useful migrants'. *The Guardian* (3.10.01, p.15).

UNCTAD (2002) *Trade and Development Report 2002*, Geneva, UNCTAD.

UNESCO (1980) *Many voices, one world*, Paris, UNESCO.

UNICEF (2000) 'A league table of child poverty in rich nations' *Innocenti Report Card* (No. 1, June 2000): Florence, Italy: Innocenti Research Centre:

Vaux, T. (2001) *The Selfish altruist: Relief work in famine and war*, London: Earthscan.

Vidal, J. (1999) 'Shell fights fires as strife flares in delta', *The Guardian* (15.9.99): <http://www.guardian.co.uk/international/story/0,3604,271492,00.html>

Vidal, J. (2002) 'Antarctica sends 500 million billion tonne warning of the effects of global warming', *The Guardian* (20.3.02, p.3).

VSO (2002) *The Live Aid Legacy: The developing world through British eyes - A research report* London: VSO.

Wallach, L. and Sforza, M. (1999) *The WTO*, New York: Seven Stories Press.

Wallerstein, I. (1974, 1980 and 1988) *The Modern World-System*, 3 vols, New York and San Diego: Academic Press.

Waters, T. (2000) 'The Persistence of Subsistence and the Limits to Development Studies: The Challenge of Tanzania'. *Africa*, 70/4: 614-52.

Webster, C. (2002) *The National Health Service - A Political History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Weisbrot, M. and others (2001) *The Scorecard on Globalisation 1980-2000: Twenty Years of Diminished Progress*, Report published by ATTAC in collaboration with CEPR - Centre for Economic and Policy Research: <http://www.attac.org/fra/toil/doc/cepr05.htm>

- Wells, M. (2002a) 'Radio steams ahead as TV falters', *The Guardian* (1.2.02, p.3).
- Wells, M. (2002b) 'BBC Zimbabwe line colonial, say staff', *The Guardian* (13.3.02, p.6).
- Wells, M. (2003a) 'Play it Safe' TV narrows choice', *The Guardian* (17.1.03, p.13).
- Wells, M. (2003b) 'Trust in TV at 30-year low, survey reveals', *The Guardian* (12.3.03, p.8).
- Werner, D. (2000) 'Healthwrights: Workgroup for People's Health and Rights: Keynote address to the NGO Forum for Health's Conference on "Breaking the grip of Poverty on Health" Palais des Nations, Geneva, May 15, 2000:
<http://www.healthwrights.org/geneva2.htm>.
- Wheat, S. (2002) *The Big Clear Out*, Tourism in Focus, (Spring 2002, pp.6-7).
- Whitfield, D. and Escott, K. 'Best Value', *Red Pepper* (August 2000, pp.20-22).
- Williams, R. (1985) *Towards 2000*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Pelican Books.
- World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) *Our Common Future*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- World Development Movement (2000a) *States of Unrest: report on resistance to IMF policies on poor countries*, (September 2000), London: WDM.
- World Development Movement (2001) *The GATS Debate: A response to common arguments used against the critics of the General Agreement on Trade in Services*, (May 2001), London: WDM.
- World Development Movement (2002) *States of Unrest II* (April 2002), London: WDM.

World Development Movement (2003) *States of Unrest III* (April 2003), London: WDM.

World Parliamentary Forum (WPF) (2002) 'A sustainable world is possible, necessary and urgent', *Sand in the Wheels* (n°145, 18.09.02):
<http://attac.org/attacinfoen/attacnews145.zip>

World Prison Brief Online

http://www.kcl.ac.uk/depsta/rel/icps/worldbrief/world_brief.html

Young, H. (2000) 'The end of the affair?' *The Guardian Review* (29.4.00, p.3).

Younge, G. (1998) 'Market competition oils the aid machine', *The Guardian* (28.5.98, p.7).