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‘Pornography of Poverty’: An anthropological perspective into humanitarian fundraising campaigns

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Abstract:

This MA dissertation analyses the effectiveness of images and messages used in humanitarian fundraising campaigns, specifically focusing on the fundraising campaigns of Band-Aid and Live Aid which were created with the aim of relieving the Ethiopian famine of 1984. It will then explore Live 8, which took place twenty years later in order to contrast some of the differences that have taken place over this period. It provides a historical background to images used within fundraising campaigns as well as demonstrating the theoretical importance of the use of the images and messages present within campaigns. The representation of suffering forms the key theme to be addressed regarding the use of imagery. My main purpose is then to argue for a greater responsibility, both political and ethical, in the world of humanitarian fundraising campaigns with regard to the representation of suffering.

1. Introduction:

Every day of our lives we are bombarded with images of ‘the poor’ and ‘the suffering’. The hunger-stricken, diseased children of Africa appear on our television screens, in magazines and on posters spread out across the city walls. Most of these images are seen in news reports, documentaries or most importantly for this study in particular, humanitarian fundraising campaigns that have a desire to “do good” (Hilhorst, 2003, p.5) in one way or another. It seems we are in a world surrounded by ‘disaster pornography’ and the ‘pornography of poverty’ (Smilie, in Lamers, 2005, p.38); a world that depicts more and more gruesome and disastrous images of the suffering in order to provoke a reaction. Hence the phrase ‘pornography’ is used to describe this phenomenon; in time these images begin to take on a life and reality of their own. In the words of Sankore (2005): “While the poverty is real, the subliminal message development 'pornography' conveys is unreal.”

The justification for using images of suffering has been a topic of debate over the last few decades. New guidelines regarding the use of images for publicity and fundraising purposes are being adopted by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in order to portray a respectable and dignified depiction of the people that are used within campaigns. For instance, photographers are now required to be responsible when taking photos of people who are suffering with especial regard to respecting their social and political background, as well as asking their permission to publish their photograph in the first place (*Childhope* communication guidelines, 2008). This was generally not the practice up until a few decades ago. For the remainder of this dissertation I will use Childhope’s guidelines from 2008 because they provide an

excellent example of the ethics of responsibility regarding communication and use of imagery (See **Appendix 1**).

In addition, marketing experts have realised the psychological importance of image representation within advertising and media, which in effect allows people to part with money in their pockets, which creates a market of competition between organisations to provide the most horrific image (Sankore, 2005). The most important questions to be asked are: what are the purposes of using certain types of vivid imagery within fundraising campaigns for humanitarian purposes? What are the implications and consequences of the use of such imagery? And finally, how effectively are these fundraising campaigns raising awareness of the causes of humanitarian disasters? These questions are what this MA dissertation attempts to answer.

Selecting one from the myriad amount of fundraising campaigns to eradicate poverty is a difficult task due to the ever-increasing number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and social movements that strive to “Make Poverty History” (2005). Pinpointing the effects of a single fundraising campaign and analysing its effectiveness in context of all the other campaigns is equally as challenging. However, within the limitations of this dissertation, I seek to address the issues regarding the reproduction of images depicting suffering and the messages they convey which are used in ‘advertising’ and fundraising campaigns by NGOs and other organisations. In order to evoke pity and find empathy, these representations of suffering ultimately serve financial goals for a humanitarian cause, but only by using the depoliticised, victimised and ‘Other’ised images of the very people receiving aid.

If the purpose of these organisations is eradicating poverty and fighting injustice, then what is the benefit, as Manzo (2008) argues in his article “Imaging Humanitarianism: NGO Identity and the Iconography of Childhood”, in muting, dismembering and patronising those who are suffering through their representations in fundraising campaigns? While there are a wide range of humanitarian and development fundraising campaigns aware and conscious of the ethical implications and political responsibility of using images of suffering (especially today) there are still many who are not aware, ignore, or simply do not act upon their awareness; it is these campaigns that I criticise.

One of the most influential fundraising campaigns of the 20th century was Band-Aid. Band-Aid was founded in 1984 by the Boomtown Rats front man Bob Geldof and Ultravox singer Midge Ure; it was fundamentally a charity super group that released the song “Do They Know It’s Christmas?” in order to raise money for the famine in Ethiopia at the time. Band-Aid led to the organisation of the Live Aid concert, which took place in 1985. Live Aid still remains one of the most successful, and at the same time controversial global fundraising campaigns to have existed; this is due to the nature of the images and messages used in the campaign, the promotion and organisation of the campaign, which was carried out specifically by celebrities, and the ongoing debate regarding whether the money raised actually reached the people who needed it. Live 8, which took place in 2005 to mark the 20th year anniversary of Live Aid, was part of the “Make Poverty History” campaign, which was backed by OXFAM, Save The Children and many other prominent NGOs.

This dissertation is not a criticism of the organisations that seek to fundraise for humanitarian aid, but rather an analysis of the implications and effectiveness of the use of images and messages of suffering within humanitarian fundraising campaigns, and thus, a plea for responsibility in the arena of development involved in fundraising campaigns or in the media. A more responsible portrayal of suffering will not only provide people with the dignity they deserve, but it will also allow for a more realistic perspective into humanitarian disasters as opposed to that which is presented through ‘disaster pornography’.

My argument is that the representations of suffering used within humanitarian fundraising campaigns, such as Band-Aid and Live Aid, convey a one-sided portrayal of the ‘Other’ - the suffering black African. These confuse the public with a unrealistic picture of Africa and inhibits true understanding of the underlying social and political reasons for suffering such as the famine in Ethiopia in 1984.

I will take an anthropological perspective, primarily focusing on the fundraising campaigns mainly organised by Bob Geldof : Band-Aid, Live Aid and Live 8 in the light of media representations of the Ethiopian famine of 1984. I also provide a brief historical overview of the changing nature of fundraising campaigns from the 1960s to 2010, to understand what has changed since the days of Band-Aid.

This library-based dissertation relies heavily on past literature, online articles as well as other audio and video materials. Interviews with Laura Hinks from the British Red Cross and Stephen Lloyd from CAFOD have been included in order to present a perspective of those who work within NGOs. Chapter one explores the responsibility

of representation by looking at the role of the NGO and development organisations as responsible entities present within the aid chain, the importance of media representation in humanitarian disaster situations as well as specific images used in individual fundraising campaigns. In light of chapter one, the second chapter explores Band-Aid and Live Aid by analysing the media representations of the Ethiopian famine, the historical and social background for the two campaigns, as well as the images and messages depicted in each campaign. Chapter three then analyses Live 8, and discusses the differences that have taken place in the last twenty years with regard to the representation of suffering. It is important to make clear that due to space constraints the arguments within this dissertation may not apply to all campaigns, as they mainly focus on the African continent, but nevertheless the analysis may have wider implications for those who seek to represent suffering in the future in other geographical areas.

1.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

While there has not been a substantial amount of anthropological research into the representation of suffering within fundraising campaigns, since the 1960s there has been a considerable amount of ethnographic and academic research into the politics of NGOs and aid organisations. This is important with regard to media representation and imagery used for publicity and fundraising by organisations, as it implies a sense of political and ethical responsibility aid organisations have to recipients of aid.

The literature present on the politics of NGOs mainly focuses on their responsibility as organisations within the aid chain to become more self-reflexive. In doing so, it is

hoped they will regard their actions as indeed political, having sometimes unforeseen consequences. Bebbington (2005, 2008), Jennings (2008), Fischer (1997), Crewe and Harrison (1998) have all discussed problems that arise within NGOs concerning accountability to recipients given their policies and practices. The mentioned authors have done this not only by carrying out ethnographic research but by analysing development discourse and how it has unfolded in the last few decades with special consideration for Escobar (1990) and Ferguson (1991). The latter have famously talked about development as an extension of colonial rule, a way for the ‘North’ to dominate the ‘South’. This is important to keep in mind as many of the images used in fundraising campaigns reflect the dichotomies that have existed within the development discourse. Humanitarian fundraising campaigns constantly represent ‘The Other’, that which we are not familiar to, in one way or another; in this case ‘The Other’ are those suffering from humanitarian disasters. And though many authors such as Agrawal (1996) have disagreed with Escobar and Ferguson’s extreme views and do not see development as simply an “anti-politics machine” (Ferguson, 1991), they do acknowledge that unrealistic dichotomies still prevail throughout development discourse.

The political and ethical aspects of media representation and advertising have been explored by Keenan (2002, 2004) and Boltanski (2000) who analyse the politics of pity, and the representation of suffering; in essence they claim that the representation of humanitarian action is just as important as humanitarian action itself. The specifics of the media coverage of the Ethiopian famine have been touched upon by Franks (2006) and Philo (2003), who further the discussion on the topic of the politics of representation. This is somewhat reminiscent of Ferrarotti who explores the

sociological aspects of photography regarding the capturing of truth and reality (1993). Case study research into the advertising arena of fundraising campaigns has been discussed by Lamers (2005), Rajaram (2002) and Manzo (2008), who explore specific campaigns, and the imagery and messages used within the campaigns. They do not criticise NGO organisations for the use of ‘victimising’ imagery but strive to show the theoretical and practical implications and consequences of using such imagery; which they find do not present a realistic and truthful account of problems that have arisen in Africa. This has been useful for understanding the underlying consequences of the representation of suffering.

Literature specifically focused on the campaigns of Band-Aid and Live-Aid have been written by Neal Ullestad (1987), David Howes (1990) and by the members of Band-Aid, Bono (2006) and Bob Geldof (1986, 2005). Ullestad examines the importance of the rock community coming together for a common cause, whilst Howes explores the meanings and backgrounds behind the songs that came about due to the Band-Aid campaign. These authors help us realise the power of celebrities in gaining public support for a cause.

Within this assessment of the literature above, it becomes evident that there is a gap in the actual analysis of an anthropological approach to the representation of suffering. The above mentioned literature will be used to analyse the theoretical and practical aspects of imagery and messages used within fundraising campaigns especially focusing on Band-Aid and Live Aid. This will provide a starting point to see how communication guidelines have changed over twenty years leading up to Live 8 as well as proposing what then needs to be done with regard to ‘disaster pornography’.

2. Chapter I - ‘The Eyes of the World’: Responsibility of Representation

“...To photograph means literally ‘writing with light’. To write: that is, to sign, signify, distribute light over reality...” (Ferrarotti, 1993, p.92)

2.1 THE ‘NGO’

Humanitarian fundraising campaigns have been associated with NGOs since the 1960s; it is therefore important to provide a historical background into how perspectives on NGOs have changed as well as how NGOs have represented themselves over the years. This in turn leads to the analysis of the responsibility of NGOs or other organisations when it comes to the use of imagery and messages in humanitarian fundraising campaigns, which represent a certain ethos of an organisation or society as they are set in a particular historical and social context. There is a varying typology of NGOs and each fundraising campaign is set within a specific hegemonic and historical way of thinking; such as Band-Aid and Live-Aid in the 1980s, these campaigns reflect the society’s values at the time.

Defining the meaning of NGO is itself problematic. Bebbington (2008) and Jennings (2008) go into depth regarding the difficulty of defining what an NGO is considering the fact that the number of internationally registered NGOs is around 37,000; (Jennings, 2008, p.8) each of which have their own missions, aims and means of achieving their goals. It is then incredibly difficult to use the umbrella term ‘NGO’ to incorporate the variety of organisations that exist. Moreover, the term NGO itself can be misleading as a lot of these organisations receive donations from governments and determine their policies in line with multi-lateral donors; in this sense they are not completely ‘non-governmental’ and not as politically neutral as they claim to be.

The danger has been however, that NGOs have since the 1960s represented themselves as saviours; “they clearly distinguished themselves from these bad forms of power and presented themselves as the trade union of the poor and the suppressed” (Smillie in Lamers, 2005, p.63). NGOs have also claimed to be neutral and impartial in order to disassociate themselves from particular government policies, to provide an ‘alternative’ to aid for the public and gain accessibility into hot zones. Jennings (2008) argues that the “myth of the NGO” as saviours of the poor and neutral independent bodies has lost its resonance since the 1980s. People have become aware of the NGOs diminishing power as ‘alternatives’ to development. NGOs have begun to be regarded as bureaucratic agencies, donor puppets, perhaps even contracted agents being largely accountable to donors as opposed to recipients of aid. Nevertheless what becomes important is to realise, as Hilhorst argues, that most NGOs have a “desire to do good” (Hilhorst, 2003, p.5). In the case of humanitarian aid, this “doing good” comes from a desire to help a group of people that have been sorely affected by a life threatening disaster (famine, war, floods or drought etc.). Realising this, we must also be aware that “The power to do good is also the power to do harm” (Friedman in Fischer, 1997, p.440). This assertion will be made clearer throughout this paper.

During the 1980s, NGOs began representing themselves as ‘fighters against the unjust governments and leaders’ as opposed to simply ‘saviours of the poor’ (Lamers, 2005). The ‘Other’ became the ‘corrupt leaders’ as opposed to the ‘helpless victims’ (Lamers, 2005). NGOs today however, focus on participation unity and empowerment. This involves letting recipients speak for themselves and express their

own concerns (Chambers, 2007). Yet even such buzzwords that express a desire to work closer with those who are suffering do not lead to the complete involvement of recipients of aid. The lack of participation and involvement of the recipients of aid is reflected constantly within the realm of the media as well as among the imagery and messages used in humanitarian fundraising campaigns; those that should be listened to are not; thus their representation is being decided upon by others, not themselves (Rajaram, 2002).

2.2 MEDIA REPRESENTATION

Fundraising campaigns are closely connected with media representation and advertising. Keenan (2002, 2004) and Boltanski (2000) discuss the importance of media representation of humanitarian disasters when it comes to creating a public reaction – whether of anger, shock or indifference as well as raising awareness about a particular concern. This in turn not only leads to a desire for humanitarian intervention but also gives the public a chance to collectively voice their opinions and raise funds for a specific cause.

Boltanski specifically talks about the politics of pity and the representation of suffering. He argues that criticism of humanitarian field workers did not really exist prior to the major crises which took place in 1989; Bosnia, Somalia and perhaps even before the Rwandan genocide of 1994 (Boltanski, 2000, p.3). What the humanitarian workers were doing was in the name of universal morality and politics did not concern them or was seen as unimportant. Recent criticism focuses on the fact that these workers are connected to international politics and are “manipulated by forces

that transcend them” (Boltanski, 2000, p.3). This sort of manipulation can be present with states ‘manipulating’ humanitarian aid; for instance, the Ethiopian government during the famine of 1984, where it has been suspected that aid was used for purposes outside of humanitarian relief (Boltanski, 2000, p.4). The main type of criticism has focused however on Western governments; who arguably use the term humanitarian action to cover up their own political and military inaction or even use humanitarian action as an excuse to carry out their own political and military missions (Boltanski, 2000, p.4). Boltanski’s analysis of the politics of humanitarian action raises the imperative question of how does the public react to such situations which is largely determined by media representations. Boltanski claims that “the criticisms directed against the mediatisation of humanitarian action are mainly concerned with the question of the representation of human suffering that necessarily accompanies the representation of humanitarian action” (Boltanski, 2000, p.5). The representation of suffering is a concern of the politics of pity; the public become voyeurs and spectators of suffering; feeling either shame or pleasure in reaction to what they see. With regard to the politics of pity, Boltanski divides people’s reaction into *denunciation*, *sentiment* and *aesthetic* order (Boltanski, 2000, p.7).

Keenan discusses the issue of sentiment when it comes to the “mobilization of shame” (Keenan, 2004) and the use of sensationalism in order to get an emotional reaction from the spectators of the “pornography of poverty” (Smilie in Lamers, 2005, p.38). He realises the importance of the force of public opinion in today’s world when it comes to humanitarian action and human rights, which leads him to claim that public opinion is “structured like individuals in a strong social or cultural context that renders them vulnerable to feelings of dishonour, embarrassment, disgrace or

ignominy” (Keenan, 2004, p. 436). It is through this vulnerability to emotion that the “mobilization of shame” is possible. Amnesty International USA President William Shultz stated “our power is primarily the power of mobilizing grass-roots people to speak out... ‘The mobilization of shame’ is one way to put it” (Keenan, 2004, p.438). This strategy is based on mass—and image—based media; powerful metaphors are used such as “the eyes of the world, the light of public scrutiny, the exposure of hypocrisy” (Keenan, 2004, p.438) It is through this exposure, that I argue, people seek to *react* and *act*.

What happens, then, when there is an overexposure of the images of suffering? Some people “call it voyeurism, sometimes compassion fatigue, sometimes the obscenity of images or ‘disaster pornography’” (Keenan, 2004, p. 348). In a “dark side of revelation,” overexposure can cause people to be shameless and desensitised. Constant repetition of these painful images can lead to indifference, a topic discussed by Keenan in “Publicity and Indifference” where he explores the public indifference to the brutalities that occurred in Sarajevo (Keenan, 2004). Certainly a shameless, desensitised and indifferent public is not beneficial when it comes to raising awareness on aid and humanitarian disasters.

The issue does not only address *action* and *inaction* with regard to humanitarian disasters but also of how people feel and think about images, consciously and subconsciously. Images which are constantly presented in the media and fundraising campaigns regarding humanitarian aid can become ingrained in our minds and the repetition of images of suffering only reinforces the hegemonic view of the ‘Other’.

One of the most shocking images of the 1990s is that of Kevin Carter's Pulitzer Prize winning photo of 1994. In this image a starving child from Sudan is seen slowly crawling away from a vulture that is waiting behind her for her to die (**See Appendix 2**). Arguably, this image is the pinnacle of 'disaster pornography' where we are presented with a photojournalist who waits to capture the perfect photo without helping the suffering child. Carter was perhaps completely overwhelmed by what he was seeing, or may have just been waiting for the opportune moment. This photo brought Carter under much criticism, The St. Petersburg Times of Florida stated that: "The man adjusting his lens to take just the right frame of her suffering, might just as well be a predator, another vulture on the scene" (McLeod, 1994). A few months later Carter committed suicide; nothing was ever known of the photographer's motivations or the child's fate either. The fate of many similar photographic subjects is most probably unknown. Many of the images that were being circulated throughout the media during the 1984 Ethiopian famine had no respect for the dignity of those suffering. The fate of one of these children, Birhan Woldu, will be discussed in more detail in chapter three with regard to Live 8.

2.3 THE ESSENCE OF FUNDRAISING

Manzo (2008), Lamers (2005) and Rajaram (2002) speak of the representations used within fundraising campaigns. All three writers bring to light the manner in which advertising campaigns come about and what they fundamentally stand for. Manzo, in her analysis of the iconography of childhood, argues that "images and shared codes of conduct...are the means by which NGOs produce themselves as humanitarian" (Manzo, 2008, p.634), a sort of brand logo for the NGO. The principle of humanity is discussed by Slim (Manzo, 2008, p.636) as alleviation of human suffering, protection

of life, and respect for human beings. The use of imagery within fundraising campaigns is, or at least should be, concerned with the latter: respect. Rajaram (2002) analyses this in her article “Humanitarianism and representations of the refugee” where she explores representations of refugees in OXFAM GB’s project ‘Listening to the Displaced’. Rajaram argues that although the project is for refugees to speak out for themselves this is not really the case as recycled images of ‘de-politicized and de-historicized’ people are being used; they become a “mute and faceless physical mass”, constantly being represented with helplessness and loss (Rajaram, 2002, p.247). The same is the case with representations of children who are often presented as close-up images, separate and outside of a social and political context: portraying a “universal icon of human suffering” (Cohen, 2001). This universal icon of human suffering is relevant as it is presented throughout the campaigns of Band-Aid and Live Aid.

Manzo (2008) claims that the use of such photographs is somewhat paradoxical. As some photographs violate shared codes of conduct or guidelines, they do not endorse the true humanitarian principles that NGOs advertise. This is a case for responsibility for all agents that are involved within humanitarian fundraising campaigns when it comes to accountability and representing the truth.

Lamers, for instance, focuses on a Belgian NGO called the National Centre for Development Cooperation (NCOS) and its yearly fundraising poster campaign collection of 11.11.11 that took part through the years of 1966 to 2001 (Lamers, 2005, p.40). He discusses the “poetics...and politics of imagery” regarding the “issues of power that are associated with the institutionalised production of images and information on both the ‘other’ and the ‘self’” (Lamers, 2005, p.40) Through his

research, his findings show that images that have been used since the 1960s have mainly included women and children often portrayed as close up as possible in a helpless manner. This focus on the more ‘vulnerable’ members of a society in a manner which de-contextualises them asks the viewer to focus purely on the ‘universal icon of suffering’, as previously mentioned. However, this imagery later shifted focus from these kinds of photographs to more politically specific images.

There was a change in tone and perspective in the 1980s as fundraising posters started focusing on governments and leaders as perpetrators of injustice and poverty, but at the same time not regarding their position in the aid chain. In the beginning of the 21st century posters began focusing on unity and multi-diversity using images of people from different backgrounds holding hands and metaphorically ‘coming together’ for the bettering of the world. Lamers not only produces a historical account of the way images and messages have changed throughout the years but also provides a theoretical insight into the importance of media and imagery in the production and *reproduction of knowledge*. It is this reproduction of knowledge that is important, as what remains in people’s minds are the images of poverty and famine; Africa remains the Dark Continent. Portraying an image is a way of representing a certain form of reality, a form of knowledge if you will. What is important is who decides what knowledge is being imparted from the use of the image or message; does this reflect reality or do Western truths hold and reproduce their hegemonic power over development discourse?

Moeller claims that “if images of starving babies worked in the past to capture attention for a complex crisis of war, refugees and famine, then starving babies will

headline the next difficult crisis” (Moeller, 1999). Manzo (2008) however talks about how in recent years organisations have tried to create alternatives to the image of the starving black African child. OXFAM discusses ‘success stories’ whilst Save The Children portray images of children smiling whilst getting on with their daily lives as opposed to suffering. This issue is in line with the stricter guidelines for communications about children that have arisen in the last few decades. The British NGO Childhope have some of the strictest rules on communication, stating the importance of responsibility the organisation has for the children they represent; they do this by preserving their identity and dignity and conveying a balanced lifestyle (Childhope, 2010). In addition to stricter guidelines, NGOs have also sought to use alternative means of advertising through the use of celebrities. Comic Relief and Make Poverty History are examples of celebrities being used for publicity and fundraising campaigns (**See Appendix 3**).

The use of celebrity status to promote humanitarian campaigns came primarily out of the success of Band-Aid and Live Aid. I will be analysing these campaigns in the next chapter as they incorporate all of the themes that have been mentioned above with regard to responsibility of representation, the importance of the media in promoting humanitarian campaigns as well as the unrealistic or one-sided representation of suffering.

3. CHAPTER 2 – BAND-AID and LIVE AID:

“Misinformation can leave powerful mistaken impressions” (Manzo, 2008, p.641)

3.1 THE ETHIOPIAN FAMINE AND THE MEDIA

The Ethiopian famine of 1984 was one of the most disastrous events of the 20th century. The West’s reaction and response to the famine was relatively slow; even though the famine had been predicted well in advance it took “so long to be generally publicized” (Philo, 2003, p. 104). This is shocking considering not only had charity workers predicted the famine well in advance, but members within the Ethiopian Government Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (R&RC) such as Shimels Adunga had spoken clearly in the United Nations about the upcoming food crisis (he was consequently fired) (Franks, 2006, p.293). Franks explores the reasons why there was a reluctance to help Ethiopia at the time; the main reasons are firstly the largely unpopular international image of the Ethiopian government which was associated with the Soviet Union, as well as the Ethiopian government’s attitude to allowing journalists to film in famine stricken areas (Franks, 2006, p.295). It seems the Derg, the communist party headed by Mengistu, were not only concerned by the political impact the documentaries and reports might have had, but they were also preoccupied with preparing for their ten-year anniversary of being in power (an event upon which the government spent \$100 million dollars!) (Franks, 2006, p.300). Furthermore, it was evident that news agencies were not necessarily interested in working with charities and covering the story. Essentially, it was the persistence of certain individuals such as Michael Buerk and Mohammed Amin that lead to the famine being reported on an international level.

The scope of the famine was brought to the UK public's eye through the collaborative effort of Michael Buerk's and Mohammed Amin's report which was aired on ThamesTV on 23rd October 1984 (Philo, 2003, p.104). This report was reminiscent of the images that were portrayed around ten years earlier in Jonathan Dimblebey's *The Unknown Famine* of 1973 (Philo, 2003, p.105), which had covered the previous Ethiopian famine. There were also other individuals who strived hard to bring to light the atrocities that were occurring months before the airing of the Buerk-Amin report, such as Charles Stewart who directed *Seeds of Despair* and Mike Woolridge, BBC's East Africa correspondent who travelled extensively with Mohammed Amin.

Nevertheless, it was essentially the report of October 23rd 1984 that sparked the public and news channels into action and "literally overnight, it seemed that *everyone* wanted to cover Ethiopia" (Magistand in Philo, 2003, p.107) and "media coverage is a lifeline when it comes to crisis situations" (*Al Jazeera*, 2010) especially when images of suffering can have such an extensive reaction. Fundamentally, what sparked off Bob Geldof's desire to form Band-Aid and write the song "Do They Know It's Christmas?" was the Buerk-Amin report. The report contained shocking images of starving people "as far as the eye can see" (Smith in Franks, 2006, p.300) and thus Geldof began one of the most influential fundraising campaigns of all time.

3.2 BAND-AID

Bob Geldof called his wife Paula Yates, who was a presenter on a Channel 4 pop show to spread the word about writing a song for raising funds for the famine after discussing his initial plans with his friend Midge Ure from Ultravox. (*BBC*,

13/07/2010). Geldof gathered together some of the most influential British and Irish pop and rock musicians of the time to record the song “Do They Know It’s Christmas” on 25th November 1984. The musicians included Bono from U2, Phil Collins, Simon Le Bon and several others. In its first week of release “the single became the UK’s fastest seller of all time, a title it held for almost 13 years...[raising] over £8 million” (*BBC*, 13/07/2010). The song was then rerecorded twice in subsequent years, first in 1989 as Band-Aid II and in 2004 as Band-Aid 20 for the purpose of raising money for the Band-Aid Charitable Trust. Geldof, with regard to the name Band-Aid said that “[w]hat we were doing and what we would raise would be so small in the context of the problem that it would be like putting a tiny plaster on a wound that required twelve stitches (Geldof, 1986, p.223) As commendable as it was that Geldof was aware of the minute role his role would play in helping the situation in Ethiopia, perhaps this could have been made clearer throughout the campaign.

3.2.1 The album covers and music videos

The album sleeve for the initial 1984 album was designed by Peter Blake (*BBC entertainment*, 14/06/2002) (See **Appendix 4**). This sleeve, as well as the Band-Aid 20 album sleeve, presents images typical of Christmas time; the first one shows bright colours with several children with toys in their hands, food and Christmas trees. The contrasting image is of two starving African children in black and white at the front of the image. This unexpected contrast makes the cover unbearable and disturbing. This is the same with the follow up sleeve, which includes images of smiling reindeers with snow in the background with another black and white starving child in the corner

with his/her back to the camera. By not clearly identifying the gender of the child, the ‘universal icon of suffering’ is once again presented to the viewer. Also, one can clearly see the child’s ribs and degrading situation. This image was also used in the DVD covers for Live Aid and Live 8. If the purpose of these images is to shock and make us aware of our lavish lifestyles, they certainly manage to do that. By de-contextualising the figures of suffering to such an extreme degree, the viewer is forced to identify the image that is out of place, making the contrast far more effective and shocking due to its unexpected nature. The videos, in comparison, show several musicians coming together in a recording studio, laughing and singing together to “Feed the World!” (See **Appendix 5**). Hearing “Do They Know It’s Christmas?” and watching its video does indeed initiate an emotional response; yet the question arises, does it actually address the issue at hand, the Ethiopian famine? Or does the song just make people want to buy a record for Christmas time and distract from the underlying reason behind the motivation of this song? According to Geldof “people were buying boxes of the record and sending them out as Christmas cards” (Geldof, 1986, p.233); this does reflect the sort of compassion that was present in the public, however it does not show that the public understands the complexities underlying the humanitarian crisis. This is crucial in order to tackle the one-sided image that is presented in the song, which portrays an unrealistic view of Africa and hence damages the humanitarian cause.

3.2.2 “Do They Know It’s Christmas” and its equivalents

The lyrics of “Do They Know It’s Christmas?” were written by Bob Geldof himself, and the melody was written by Midge Ure (See **Appendix 6**). It is important to look

at the lyrics of the song as they conjure up a certain image and representation of suffering in the listeners' mind, whilst at the same time depicting a clear message of some sort of 'togetherness' in the plight to end famine. The song was a huge success amongst the UK public, and raised much more money than initially anticipated. It was also out of compassion to do good and make a positive impact on the situation at the time as well as raising awareness; one cannot dispute the compassionate motivations that lie behind this song, however, it seems that the song could have indeed been more responsible with its representations of Africa, suffering and the Ethiopian famine. For example,

“...the World Development Movement (WDM)- which campaigns for international development - said many of the song lyrics were ‘patronising, false and out of date’. The organisation condemned the “negative stereotypes” depicted in the song and regretted it did not ‘provide a more accurate reflection of Africa and its problems’” (*BBC NEWS*, 16/11/2004).

Mark Curtis, the director of WDM, states that: “The song perpetuates the myth that Africa’s problems can somehow be blamed on lack of rainfall and failed harvests” (*BBC NEWS*, 16/11/2004), whereas “the weather doesn’t cause poverty. It merely focuses attention to it” (Michael Poole in Philo, 2003, p.120). The patronising nature of the song comes out within the lyrics and even the song title, “as Ethiopians have pointed out ever since, they did of course knew it was Christmas because the starving were mainly Christian” (Gill, 2010, p.12). Furthermore, the song seems to speak purely from British terms; the fact that the song states that there will be no snow in Africa this year seems quite absurd; is Africa really known for its snow storms? As with a lot of cases in development, images and messages are again “dominated by European values and practices” (Sanders et al, 2008, p.509).

David Howes (1990) analyses another aspect of the song “Do They Know It’s Christmas?” in relation to the American and Canadian equivalent that came out afterwards in order to raise money for the famine as well; Lionel Richie’s and Michael Jackson’s “We are the World” and Northern Lights’ “Tears Are Not Enough” respectively. He claims that the songs reflect the society and societal constitution in which they have come out of, showing the difference in mind frame in societies with regard to the perception and representation of poverty and famine. Howes demonstrates how the Canadian version of the song is “couched in conditional language whereas the American song uses an ontological idiom” (Howes, 1990, p.326). The American song constantly reiterates “we” as ‘one’, the Canadian talks of “every woman, child and man” as separate entities and the British version of the song talks of “you” and “them”. The British Anthropologist Mary Douglas “once observed that ‘more spacing means more solemnity’ ” (Howes, 1990, p.398). This solemnity due to spacing, or distancing, is not easy to apply to these songs because if that is the case the American version seems the least sincere as there is the least distance between the song’s audience and the song’s subjects; however it may also be the most innocent version of the song. It seems that it is necessary, for obvious reasons, to bridge the gap between ‘us’ and ‘them’. It is indeed important to see the differences of approach to representations of suffering within different societies; in this case the West’s representation of Africa. As our goal is to move away from unrealistic representations of Africa and ‘disaster pornography’, finding the underlying reasons for such representation may also help us move away from such depictions. The main idea that is conveyed throughout all these songs is the thought of personal responsibility to be able to make a difference (Howes, 1990, p.332), yet it appears to

be presented in an unknowledgeable and un-empathizing manner. Howes makes a valid point when he admits that “words such as ‘Thank God its them instead of you’, do not exactly kindle much fellow-feeling as regards ‘them’”(Howes, 1990, p.337). The “rivers of bitter tears” and “clanging chimes of doom” do not exactly allow people to move away from the image of Africa being, to quote Conrad, the “Heart of Darkness”.

3.2.3 The celebrity factor

One of the main reasons that Band-Aid (and Live Aid) received so much publicity and attention was due to the popularity of the celebrities who took part in the song. This appealed to a wide audience in the UK and abroad, especially the younger generation who probably do not watch the news very often (Philo, 2003, p.123). This also had a greater impact on the follow up concerts in 1985 for Live Aid where according to the BBC Broadcasting Research Department:

“For the *Nine O’clock News* on the BBC 71 per cent of those watching it were aged 35. But in the same week as these figures, the first 6 hours of Live Aid concert was watched by an audience of whom 68 per cent were below the age of 35. By 3.00a.m. there were still nearly three times as many people under the age of 16 watching it as there were over the age of 55.”(Philo, 2003, p.123)

The use of celebrity status to promote humanitarian principles has increased dramatically in the years since Band-Aid and Live-Aid. Celebrities such as Geldof and Bono have indeed become ‘aid celebrities’ in their own right. Geldof’s celebrity status allowed him to use sponsorship for Band-Aid which “made it possible to minimise costs and maximise the donations to the cause” (Richey and Ponte, 2008, p.718). This business-like approach has reached a pinnacle in this decade with

campaigns such as Bono's Product (RED)TM which effectively promotes charity through consumerism. The images presented then are not of suffering but of 'cool' products with celebrities promoting them. However, Tajudeen (2006) argues that:

“These campaigns offer individual poverty alleviation mechanisms without making a dent on the global and national structure of power which impoverishes the masses of their peoples. Whatever Bob Geldof, Bono and other busy-body new missionaries in the west may do, poverty can neither be danced out of town nor talked out of existence with Prime Ministers and Presidents”.

So, 'aid celebrities', if they so desperately want to make a positive contribution, must not only strive for raising funds for humanitarian aid but also try harder to focus on the underlying social and economic reasons for disasters such as the 1984 Ethiopian famine. At the same time they must be aware of this when using images and depicting messages for fundraising campaigns as opposed to presenting a one-sided perspective to complex situations.

This view is not only present in the academic world but has been expressed by political bands such as Chumbawamba whose album titles read “Pictures of Starving Children Sell Records” (1986). Their rather inappropriate song title “Slag Aid” is for the purpose of criticising the efforts of Band Aid of 1984, as they attack musicians who took part in the charity (**See Appendix 7**). Perhaps it is not fair to immediately criticise the efforts of compassionate musicians/celebrities who want to make a positive difference, but it is important to question the ways in which they carry out their charitable actions, and then if necessary criticise the efforts which could have been executed in a more responsible manner.

3.3 LIVE-AID

Live Aid took place on the 13th of July 1985 simultaneously at Wembley Stadium in London and JFK in Philadelphia. It was the follow up event to Band-Aid and it was attended by hundreds of well known musicians such as Queen, David Bowie, Dire Straits, The Who, Elton John and of course the Boomtown Rats. As stated before, millions watched the uninterrupted live broadcast around the world on the BBC for 16 hours (*BBC*, 2000). The event itself raised over 100 million dollars (*BBC*, 2000). Franks states that Live Aid “gave the famine coverage a huge boost. The charitable effort became a major story itself” (2006). This sort of scale of fundraising had never been seen before; not only was the money that was raised for famine relief unbelievably high, but nothing as technically ambitious had taken place before. This global concert changed the face of fundraising forever. Several benefit concerts, songs and events involving celebrities took place after the events of Band-Aid and Live Aid such as Sun City and Farm Aid. Even a computer game Soft Aid was released as a means to raise money for humanitarian purposes; the image used on the packaging of the game similarly presents the image of a starving African mother (**See Appendix 8**).

It is evident that images presented to the audience at Live Aid of the hundreds of thousands suffering in Ethiopia inspired people to donate such a large amount of money. Richey and Ponte (2008, p.720) remark that:

“From Live Aid onwards the dominant images of African AIDS have been those of suffering, more likely to generate pity than compassion, portraying Africans as victims with no agency set in circumstances that are far removed from the Western lifestyle.”

This is not just about representations of AIDS but representations of any form of disaster and disease in Africa. The fact that these images represent people with no agency undermines their ability to help themselves. This lack of agency is yet another defining factor which separates ‘us’ from ‘them’, defining ‘us’ as having the agency to help those who are suffering, and ‘them’ as having none and purely relying on our efforts. This representation dehumanises the subjects.

3.4 IMPACTS AND CONSEQUENCES

The question now is, how effective are these campaigns? In terms of fundraising the effectiveness was certainly phenomenal and exceeded everyone’s expectations. These events raised more money than any other fundraising efforts at the time. In terms of creating a new approach to fundraising it was also incredibly successful. The most important question is, nevertheless, how effective these campaigns were in reflecting the reality of the situation in Ethiopia with regards to the famine. In terms of raising awareness and portraying underlying social and economic reasons for poverty and famine in Ethiopia, it was less effective. The images and messages presented in these campaigns were focusing on the suffering as opposed to the *reasons* behind the suffering. And it is these reasons that need to be focused on, in order to generate true compassion and a desire for action, as opposed to simply allowing people to feel pity, part with their money and then forget about the whole situation. Geldof (1986, p.219) himself had stated in his autobiography that he wished to “evoke pity and concern”; what is significant though is evoking compassion and a desire to make a difference.

Stephen Lloyd, who now works for the Christian NGO CAFOD, had worked in Ethiopia up to five years for relief efforts from 1984 onwards. He states that the

images that were being used in the media and for fundraising purposes were reflecting some sort of reality on the ground but at the same time were exploitative and somewhat disrespectful of the Ethiopian people (Lloyd, 2010). So, not only are these images not fully encompassing of problems on the ground but are also disrespectful. It is this disrespect and skewed reality that we must strive to be rid of. What then has changed in the last twenty years between Live Aid and Live 8? It is now important to delve into the characteristics of Live 8 in the following chapter, and indeed see if there has been a change regarding the responsibility in representing suffering.

4. Chapter 3 - LIVE 8

“High speed electronic news media have created new opportunities not just for activism and awareness, but also for performance, presentation, advertising, propaganda, and for political work of all kinds” (Keenan, 2004, p.423)

4.1 2005

In 2005 the G8 leaders were set to meet in Gleneagles, Scotland between 6-8 July to discuss the fate of Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) as well as come up with a plan regarding increasing overseas aid to these countries, especially of those within the African continent. It had been five years since the Millennium Development Goals were established; one of the goals being to “Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger” by 2015, describing the poverty line as people who live on less than 1\$ a day (U.N Millennium Development Goals). This was not being achieved to the degree it should have been by this year and the 2005 Human Development Report “call[ed] for swift and dramatic changes in global aid, trade and security policies to fulfil the promises” made in the millennium (2005 Human Development Report). It was in this sort of political and social context in which Live 8 was to take place as supporting the larger Make Poverty History campaign.

4.2 MAKE POVERTY HISTORY CAMPAIGN

The Make Poverty History campaign was dubbed “[t]he biggest ever anti-poverty movement...It consisted of a coalition of over 500 organizations” (Make Poverty History, 2005) including NGOs and trade unions that came together to increase awareness about the problems of poverty and to pressurise governments into changing

unfair trade rules and regulations as well as urging them to cancel the debt of HIPC's. The campaign created several advertisements that strived to make people aware of the problems caused by extreme poverty. The "Click" advertisements, with celebrities such as Kate Moss and George Clooney were part of the Make Poverty History campaign; they showed different celebrities clicking their fingers every three seconds to signify that a child had died due to poverty. The UK Office of Communications (Ofcom) decided it would ban the advertisements from appearing on television and radio because they were aimed "towards a political end" (Gibson, 2005). Many were disappointed with this decision as the advertisements were designed to raise awareness in the campaign and poverty itself. The "Click" advertisements were indeed shockingly effective not just due to the celebrity factor but due to the nature of the celebrities asking people to be remembered in this generation for "making poverty history" – and who would not want to be remembered for that? This tactic appeals to the more image-conscious side of people, who can then feel that they are part of something bigger than themselves, and that they will somehow gain recognition from their actions – which they could do by wearing a white wristband 'awareness' bracelet. Nevertheless, the white wristbands were controversial because, arguably, they become a fashionable icon as opposed to an 'awareness' icon (**See Appendix 9**). This can be dangerous as it drives the focus away from what people are becoming 'aware' about: the political nature of poverty and suffering.

Despite the 'claimed' political nature of the campaign, it can be argued that it was successful in raising awareness of the political reasons behind the causes of poverty much more than any other campaign previously; it addressed the underlying reasons for poverty as it was purposefully set up to coincide with the G8 meetings of 2005

and rally as much support for protests around the country. It was to support the efforts of Make Poverty History campaign that Bob Geldof decided to re-create Live Aid and organize Live 8, but this time for a different purpose all together – for raising awareness as opposed to just fundraising for a cause. It was no longer simply about generating pity. Geldof further used the “Click” advertisements to show the audiences throughout the Live 8 concerts in order to rally support for protests against the G8 in Scotland.

4.3 LIVE 8

Live 8 took part on 2 July 2005 where an “estimated 3 billion people came together to watch 10 concerts featuring over 1000 musicians from across the globe” (Live 8 DVD, 2005). This global concert was much bigger than Live Aid and the one main difference was that it “asked people not for their money, but for their voice” (Live 8 DVD, 2005). Geldof, during the concerts, asked for “a million people” to join the protestors of the Make Poverty Campaign and ‘Long Walk to Justice’ in Scotland for the G8 Summit; (Jury, 2005) According to the Make Poverty History campaign “over 225,000 people took to the streets of Edinburgh to call on world leaders to act at the G8”. This protest, coupled with the large attendance at the Live 8 concerts led to the G8 leaders agreeing to cancel the debt of 38 countries and giving \$50 billion more aid per year by 2010. This campaign perhaps created a more informed public as opposed to relying simply on donations; people were asked to back a cause not simply through money but political action.

4.3.1 Echoes of the past

Live 8's use of imagery and messages was relatively different from that of Live Aid. As already stated the campaign focused much more on raising awareness on the problems of poverty and 'voice' as opposed to fundraising; this was completely backed by the Make Poverty History campaign, which was quite political in nature. In this respect, it appears that Live 8 was much more politically responsible than Live Aid, which did not even try to tackle the reasons behind the Ethiopian famine. The use of celebrities in the advertisements might again have veered away from the issues at hand – but these celebrities were talking in terms of governments and leaders, which had not been previously addressed.

The image used on the DVD cover was similar to Live Aid's, with a guitar in the shape of Africa being used to signify the benefit of the concerts for the African continent (**See Appendix 10**). The Live 8 DVD has the phrase “the long walk to justice” written on the front, which is arguable less naïve than the Live Aid slogan: “the day the music changed the world”. It appears there have been some significant changes in twenty years since Geldof first decided to start the benefit concerts. The question is, how significant?

The important issue now is to discuss what has changed regarding the representation of suffering presented throughout this campaign. The images generated by news coverage become images associated with the campaign as they also depict the public's state of mind and action based on their awareness, which is not simply through monetary donations (and not a crowd in the stadium as shown during the Live

Aid campaigns but those of protestors on ‘the long walk to justice’). However, the news coverage still focuses on the agency of the audience as opposed to the agency of those who are ‘suffering’. In that way, it is perhaps still not as successful in improving the one-sided perception of Africa (which was still the main concern of Live 8).

Nevertheless, one of the striking media images from Live 8 was of the appearance of Birhan Woldu. Birhan was mentioned earlier with regards to representations of suffering that was circulated throughout the Ethiopian famine. Her images as a near-to-death child were shown in Live Aid in 1985 (See **Appendix 11**). Twenty years later Bob Geldof made a speech at Live 8 bringing Birhan on stage to make a speech as a successful agriculture student and thanking the crowd for their support while Geldof shouts that “you do work!” (*Live 8 DVD*, 2005). This incident conveys a sense of hope in what everyone is taking part in as opposed to pure pity. The compassion maybe has been recaptured in that moment; the representation of suffering has briefly turned into a representation of hope. Not only has hope been injected into people’s minds but a human being with a past and personality has been presented to the audience as opposed to the typical ‘de-politicised’ image we are also so used to by now. Birhan, who used to be another generic example of ‘disaster pornography’, has been given agency. As a representative of others who had suffered in Ethiopia, the audience is shown that these images are real people who can make a difference to their own countries. The audience can also relate to Birhan bridging the gap between ‘us’ and ‘them’. This particular media image is successful in countering the vast representation of suffering. Nevertheless, it is a small yet significant change in representation, and the organisers of Live 8’s choice of using Birhan as a new type of representation indicates an important change in their awareness strategy.

4.4 IMPACTS AND CONSEQUENCES

What then was the effectiveness of the Live 8 campaign? As mentioned before the message was clearly different to that of Live Aid and Band-Aid. The purpose of raising awareness was a priority and for this reason images of suffering were not as present as they were for the former campaigns. Furthermore, Live 8 was not a humanitarian relief campaign but a campaign with a humanitarian purpose; eradicating poverty which in essence can prevent some humanitarian disasters from occurring – such as the famine of 1984 in Ethiopia. Live 8 was received in several different ways; whilst many people, such as Geldof (2005), thought it was a success because of the G8 leaders making several promises, many thought it was a publicity stunt for the musicians taking place (Geldof, 2005). It is easy to criticise the efforts of Live 8 and the celebrities that took part, but it is not so easy seeing the positive impacts and further potential of these types of fundraising events. It can also be argued that the London bombings which occurred on the 7th of July indeed drew the public's attention away from the impact of the Live 8 campaign. However, according to Barbara Stocking, director of OXFAM GB at the time said that “I think that was the difference...I don't pretend that everybody's remembered that, but I think there was a change in attitude” (Youngs, 2006). This campaign also influenced the ONE campaign in the U.S which continues till this day. It most importantly showed us how mass media can indeed come together and focus on a single topic whilst getting vast public attention.

Now that it is 2010, exactly five years after this campaign it is important also to see how much effect these campaigns had on the governments and leaders keeping their

promises of the time. There has definitely been an increase in overseas aid but it is not to the degree that was promised during the 2005 G8 Summit in Scotland. Laura Kelley from ONE states that there has been a large increase in AIDS/HIV and malaria treatment in Africa and this is because of the “aid and debt cancellation [which] means developing country governments have more money to spend on health services” (BBC, 2010).

For the purpose of this dissertation it is essential to see the differences that have occurred with regard to the representation of suffering in the last twenty years and see whether or not there has been a change both ethically and politically in humanitarian fundraising campaigns when it comes to representations of suffering as opposed to simply assessing campaigns for their intentions and consequences. We have seen with the Band-Aid, Live-Aid and Live 8 campaigns there has been a shift from fundraising to raising awareness at the same time. This is reflective of the stricter image and communication guidelines discussed in chapter one and the alternative development or humanitarian campaigns that have been taking place over the years (See for example Oxfam’s Climate Change campaign or Make Trade Fair). Geldof released a book in 2005 with the help of the BBC called *Geldof in Africa*; it would be appropriate to end this chapter with Geldof’s own thoughts on this subject of representation:

“Africa is not the Dark Continent as so often described by writers from the gloomy skies of Europe...It is the Luminous Continent. Drenched in sun, pounded by heat and shimmering in its blinding glare...Africa is quite simply the most extraordinary, beautiful and luminous place on earth.” (Geldof, 2005)

He then goes on to state that one should not romanticise Africa but to present it in a realistic fashion. It is indeed for the above reason why media representations of suffering must change in order to present the reality of Africa as a whole, and not just focus on one aspect of a complex continent and situation. We must, as responsible human beings, respect people's background and dignity and present a reality that is uncompromising of respect.

5. Conclusion:

This dissertation has set out to discover the implications and consequences of the representation of suffering used within humanitarian fundraising campaigns, and how this has further importance with regards to the media's role in further portraying images and messages of 'disaster pornography'. This in turn was used to explore the effectiveness of such campaigns. It has tried to do this by focusing on some of the most influential campaigns organised by Bob Geldof starting with Band-Aid, Live Aid and finally looking at what has changed within twenty years up to Live 8.

The first chapter explored the importance of responsibility within aid organisations with regard to being accountable to recipients of aid as well as being respectful of their social and political backgrounds when it comes to representing them within humanitarian campaigns. This was put in a larger context of media representation in general by exploring the importance of the media when it comes to 'mobilizing shame' or allowing the public to act and react to humanitarian disasters. In addition, specific campaigns were explored to imply the underlying consequences and implications of such representation ranging from starving children to refugees. It was understood through this analysis that repetition of victimised imagery conveys not only an unrealistic approach to the social and political reasons behind humanitarian disasters such as the Ethiopian famine of 1984, but also does not really respect the dignity of the people who are being represented in campaigns for the relief of such disasters.

The second chapter focused specifically on the background of media representations of the Ethiopian famine and explored the reasons behind the late reaction to a disaster of such scale. This was seen to be partly due to the fault of the Ethiopian government, but at the same time it was compounded by the lack of cooperation between aid organisations and news and media agencies across the world. In context of this famine, the fundraising campaigns Band-Aid and Live Aid were analysed with regards to the representation of suffering. Through analysis it becomes evident that these campaigns, although full of compassion by the organisers and those taking part, not only had quite a naïve approach to the problems facing Ethiopia but also did not have much substance regarding the representation of Africa as a continent.

Chapter three moved on to explore Live 8 in context of the Make Poverty History campaign, which took part in 2005 in close proximity to the G8 Summit. It became evident that Live 8 was significantly different from previous campaigns, as it had a much more political agenda in terms of raising awareness regarding poverty, and asking the public to speak out to their governments regarding unfair trade and aid policies. The representation of suffering has definitely taken a back seat twenty years on with regard to this campaign and the focus has become much more specific to the problems that cause poverty in the first place. Bob Geldof's own views of Africa as the "Luminous Continent" reflect his changing view regarding how Africa should be represented. Striving for the representation of Africa in this way is what needs to be continued in order to convey a balanced view not only of the issues that are present with regard to humanitarian disasters, but in terms of a more respectful, politically and ethically responsible way of representing those who are receiving aid.

This dissertation has maintained that the media is incredibly powerful when it comes to representing humanitarian disasters and gaining support from the public for either fundraising or raising awareness. Because of its power, the media has the ability to create images in people's minds that can create subconscious understandings of situations if constantly repeated such as with the 'pornography of poverty'; and Africa being regarded as the "Dark Continent". It is necessary that the media and fundraising campaigns become more responsible with regards to such representations in order to present realistic understandings of social and political problems. What is important is also for the media institutions and news agencies to work more closely with charities and aid organisations and take them seriously in order to be aware of the humanitarian problems that face certain countries and get them across to the public as closely as possible. Laura Hinks who works for the British Red Cross states: "absolutely charities should work closer with these institutions as they are generally aware of situations right from the beginning; when there is more publicity then there is not only more fundraising but more awareness" (Hinks, 2010).

We have also found out the incredible and influential power of campaigns that involve celebrities and music. If celebrities have the power to bring together vast audiences as well as intend to raise awareness or money for a humanitarian cause, they should, just as media institutions, be aware of the implications regarding the representation of suffering and be responsible both politically and ethically.

In essence, this paper has argued for a stricter responsibility regarding representation that have been applied in most NGOs at present. This responsibility goes hand in hand with present NGO communication guidelines, and should be made widely available to

the media institutions as well as organisations such as Live Aid so that they can realise the unseen consequences of the representation of suffering. It is all good and well for celebrities such as Bono and Bob Geldof to want to take part in the aid chain, but they are just as accountable as anyone else within the chain to the people they work with, and the people they represent within their aid campaigns. Taking the initiative to help others, though commendable, needs therefore to not exploit the very suffering it serves to help.

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Appendices:

1. Childhope's guidelines on communications about children (2008):

Within its fundraising and publicity materials, ChildHope will sometimes be required to use text and imagery from its projects around the world. In so doing, it recognises that it has a responsibility to the children that are portrayed. To this end, ChildHope looks on all children as human beings, who are the subject and receivers of human rights and will respect these rights at all times.

In communications about children, the following therefore, applies:

Every child has a right to be accurately represented through both words and imagery. The organisation's portrayal of each child must not be manipulated or sensationalised in any way, but provide a balanced depiction of their life and circumstances. Children must be presented as human beings with their own identity and dignity preserved.

ChildHope will avoid the following:

Language and images that could possibly degrade, victimise or shame children.

Making generalisations which do not accurately reflect the nature of the situation

Discrimination of any kind

Taking pictures out of context (e.g. pictures should be accompanied by an explanatory caption where possible and should be relevant to any accompanying text).

Where children are indeed victims, the preservation of the child's dignity must, nevertheless, be preserved at all times. The organisation should attempt to depict a balance between victimisation and empowerment by using necessary tools, such as 'before' and 'after' shots.

In images, children should not be depicted in any poses that could be interpreted as sexually provocative.

Personal and physical information that could be used to identify the location of a child within a country and cause them to be put at risk will not be used on the organisation's website or in any other form of communication for general or public purposes. Where it is necessary to use case studies to highlight the work of ChildHope, names of children will be changed.

Permission will always be sought from the child/children themselves before taking photographs, except under exceptional circumstances, based on the child/children's best interests, where this may not be possible or desirable.

To the greatest extent possible, the organisation will acquire informed consent/the permission of the child, child's guardian and/or NGO responsible for the child, before using any image for publicity, fundraising, awareness raising or other purpose. The purpose should be made clear to the consent giver.

As far as possible, people (including children) should be able to give their own accounts, rather than have people speak on their behalf. People's (including children's) ability to take responsibility and action for themselves should be highlighted.

Information about a child/children's life and photographs of children (including information stored on the PC) will be kept in secure files. Access to these should be limited to those that need to use them during the course of their work.

Individuals or organisations that request the use of ChildHope's resources, such as photographs, will be required to sign an agreement with the organisation as to the proper use of such materials. Suggested wording of this agreement is below:

ChildHope UK Photo/Photo Negative/Slide/Resource Lending

ChildHope UK is pleased to lend you the resources detailed below, for the purpose listed.

They are lent on the basis that you or your organisation uses them specifically for the purpose agreed. In order to comply with our child protection duties, we reserve the right to cancel this agreement if we feel that the use of ChildHope's materials breaches the organisation's agreement or infringes on the rights of the child/children in the photograph.

Description	Agreed use of resource

I have borrowed the above photographs from ChildHope UK. I agree to abide by ChildHope's policy as outlined above.

Signed.....

Date.....

Lent By.....

2. Pulitzer Prize Winning Photo 1994 by Kevin Carter:



URL:<http://www.muktomona.com/Articles/kevin_carter/sudan_child.htm>

3. Bono, Bob Geldof and Penelope Cruz in “Click” campaign for Make Poverty History:



URL : <<http://theinspirationroom.com/daily/commercials/2005/6/Bono-Click.jpg>>

URL:

<<http://www.visit4info.com/sitecontent/LG/fullZZZZZZTVC050401155026PIC.jpg>>

URL:<<http://a.images.blip.tv/Stephenjudge-MakePovertyHistoryClick2006235.jpeg>>

4. Original 1984 Sleeve to “Do They Know It’s Christmas?”:



URL : <<http://rwrant.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2009/12/Band-Aid-1984-Do-They-Know-Its-Christmas.jpg>>

2004 Sleeve to “Do They Know It’s Christmas?”:



URL:<<http://www.illustrated-db-discography.nl/cdsingle/pictures/bandaid20.jpg>>

5. A still shot from the video “Do They Know It’s Christmas?” 1984:



URL HYPERLINK: <<http://runawaydinosaur.files.wordpress.com/2008/11/band-aid.jpg?w=400&h=286>>

6. Lyrics for Original 1984 Recording of “Do They Know It’s Christmas ?”:

It's Christmas time
 There's no need to be afraid
 At Christmas time, we let in light and we banish shade
 And in our world of plenty we can spread a smile of joy
 Throw your arms around the world at Christmas time
 But say a prayer
 Pray for the other ones
 At Christmas time it's hard, but when you're having fun
 There's a world outside your window
 And it's a world of dread and fear
 Where the only water flowing is the bitter sting of tears
 And the Christmas bells that ring there
 Are the clanging chimes of doom
 Well tonight thank God it's them instead of you
 And there won't be snow in Africa this Christmas time
 The greatest gift they'll get this year is life
 (Oooh) Where nothing ever grows
 No rain nor rivers flow
 Do they know it's Christmas time at all
 (Here's to you) raise a glass for everyone
 (Here's to them) underneath that burning sun
 Do they know it's Christmas time at all

 Feed the world, feed the world, feed the world
 Let them know it's Christmas time again

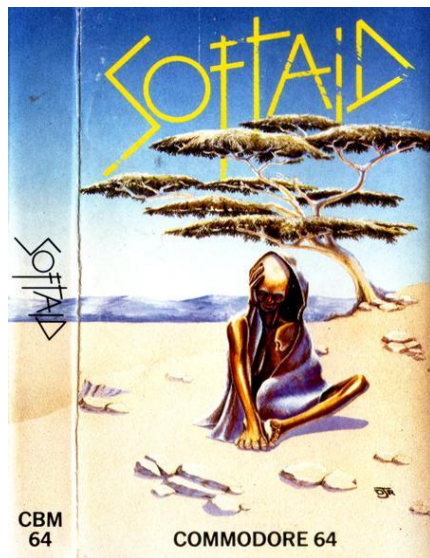
URL : <<http://homepage.ntlworld.com/gary.hart/lyricsb/band.html>>

7. Lyrics to the song “Slag Aid” by Chumbawamba:

This is the last one
 Organize, occupy, kick the bastards out
 Don't wear the gold lame
 In keeping with the fashion for charity, not change
 Here's our contribution--we've called it Slag Aid
 For every pop star that we slag off today
 Twenty-five million pounds will be given away
 Paul McCartney - come on down
 With crocodile tears to irrigate this ground
 Make of Somalia a fertile paradise
 Where everyone sings Beatles songs, buys shares in EMI
 A and M
 Axl Rose, this is your life
 Thank the Lord that you were born white
 And thank MTV for this wonderful opportunity
 To peddle your hypocrisy
 David Bowie, the price is right
 With a suitful of compassion and a gobful of shite
 Still the voices of those who doubt
 Coca-Cola for the peasants
 And Michael Jackson, game for a laugh
 Dancing us down the garden path
 To Beverly Hills nine oh one oh, you know, you know
 Fill the world with silver media
 Ladies and Gentlemen, our special guest tonight
 He's come all the way, put your hands together for Mr. John Lydon
 AKA Johnny Rotten
 He's got a new book out, no McLaren, no Matlock, no Dignity
 Well we got a surprise for him tonight
 'Cause we're gonna do the business, and we take no prisoners
 'Cause we got the hammer and we got the nails
 We got the hammer and we got the nails
 We got the hammer and we got the nails
 And the two pieces of wood
 Put 'em together, folks, and what have we got?
 Tonight, live in Leeds, in city square, we've got the two pieces of wood sitting up
 You see him hanging there, he's upside down, nice little twist
 Because we're gonna nail Mr. Lighton right up to that cross and leave him hanging there
 Till the vultures come down and pick his eyes off his can, yeah, yeah, yeah
 Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah
 Ha ha ha ha!
 Ladies and gentlemen, you've been so good
 Thank you, on next week's show, the man upstairs
 And have we got a bone to pick with him!
 Adieu
 Thank you very much
 Thanks a lot
 Cheers
 Ta

URL HYPERLINK: <<http://www.metrolyrics.com/slag-aid-lyrics-chumbawamba.html>>

8. The cover for Soft Aid video game:



9. Make Poverty Fashionable – parody of Make Poverty History

ON THEIR MEAGRE INCOMES, "POP STARS" LIKE BUSTED KNOW ALL ABOUT POVERTY

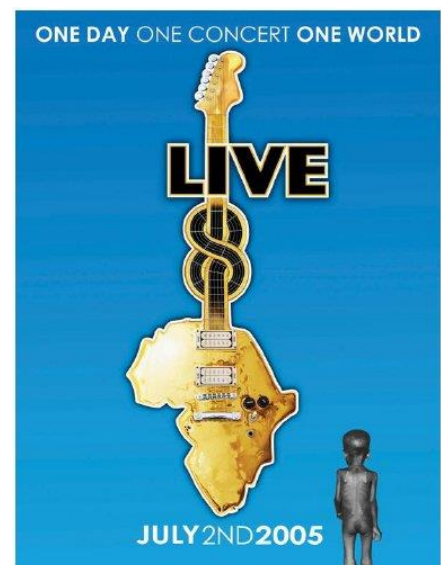
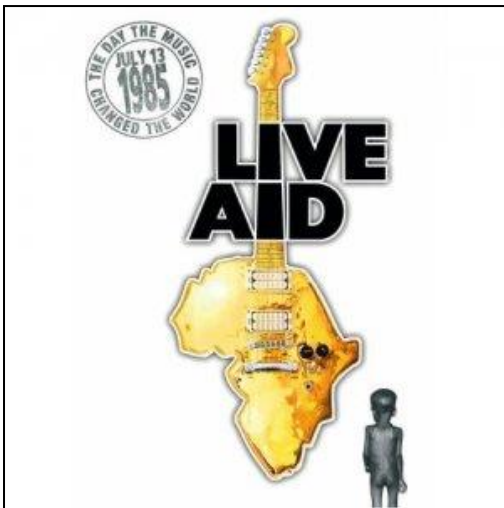
SO WHY NOT BUY A WHITE WRIST-BAND (OR SUITABLY SIMILAR LOOKING CHINESE SWEATSHOP EQUIVALENT) AND PROVE TO EVERYONE THAT WHILE YOU'RE NOT GOING TO DO MUCH ELSE, YOU DO **KNOW** ABOUT POVERTY AND ARE WILLING TO EXPLOIT STARVING AFRICANS FOR THE SAKE OF FASHION AND FITTING IN?

MAKE.POVERTY.FASHIONABLE
EVERYONE'S DOING IT.



URL: <<http://www.lyris-lite.net/fake/poverty/poverty.html>>

10. The DVD covers for Live Aid and Live 8:



URL: <<http://seeker401.wordpress.com/2010/03/05/1985-liveaid-concerts-95-of-money-raised-went-to-rebels-in-ethiopia/>>

URL: <<http://home.clara.net/heureka/music/live8.htm>>

URL: <<http://www.bobgeldof.info/images/live8dvd.jpg>>

11. Birhan Woldu during the famine and at Live 8 with Madonna:



URL: <http://activitypit.ning.com/forum/topics/13-july-2010-the-25th?commentId=1981927%3AComment%3A1738309&xg_source=activity>