

REVIEWING THE WORLD

A REVIEW OF THE CBA WORLDVIEW PROJECT, INTERNATIONAL COVERAGE AND THE UK MEDIA INDUSTRY

MARTIN SCOTT, CHARLOTTE JENNER AND ROSIE SMITH JUNE 2012



Images on front cover, from left to right – Dolce Vita Africana; Only When I Dance; Susan Schulman MMF Bursar in DRC; Town of Runners, Jerry Rothwell; This World: Hostage in the Jungle; Emile Dinneen MMF Bursar; filming War Oratorio in Afghanistan, James Kent; Dolce Vita Africana; Burma VJ, Dogwoof; filming War Oratorio in Pakistan, James Kent; Disarming Minds; Anna Cavell MMF Bursar; Emile Dinneen MMF Bursar; filming War Oratorio in Pakistan, James Kent; filming War Oratorio in Pakistan, James Kent; War Child; filming Afghan Star; filming War Oratorio, James Kent; Afghan Star; Sons of Cuba; Susan Schulman MMS Bursar Sierra Leone; Moving to Mars; The Boy Mir – Ten Years in Afghanistan.

Images on back cover, from left to right – Enemies of the People; Emile Dinneen MMF Bursar; Marathon Boy; The Man Who Stopped the Desert; Awra Amba; Five Broken Cameras; War Child; filming The Trouble with Pirates; Sons of Cuba; The English Surgeon; The Boy Mir – Ten Years in Afghanistan; Grosso Calibre Oxfam/ShootingPoverty; Cashmere Crossing Continents, Simon Ostrovsky; Cashmere Crossing Continents, Simon Ostrovsky; How to Re-Establish a Vodka Empire; Five Broken Cameras; The Man who Stopped the Desert; The Reluctant Revolutionary; filming The Trouble with Pirates; Susan Schulman MMF Bursar in DRC; Mat Heywood BBF Bursar in Malawi; Slaves of the Lake, Asad Ur Rehman; Mat Heywood MMF Bursar in Malawi; Five Broken Cameras.

CONTENTS

KEY FINDINGS	2
INTRODUCTION	3
CHAPTER 1: BRIDGING THE FUNDING GAP?	6
CHAPTER 2: THE BIGGER PICTURE	20
CHAPTER 3: FRAMING DEVELOPMENT	32
CONCLUSION	48

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KEY FINDINGS

In the first chapter of this report we discuss, in quantitative terms, the extent to which WorldView has been successful in facilitating increased media coverage of developing countries in the UK. Specifically, we consider how successful WorldView's 'seed' funding strategy has been in overcoming particular economic obstacles to the broadcast of development-related media content in the UK. We find that the broadcast/commissioning rate of programmes supported by WorldView's Programme Development fund (46%) is well above the UK industry average and that 70% of Multimedia Fund bursars produce at least one broadcast output. We conclude that providing a small amount of 'seed' funding at an early stage in the process of programme development appears to be a very effective way of increasing the quantity and diversity of media coverage of developing countries in the UK. However, the results also signal the existence of additional, more structural, constraints on UK coverage of the wider world.

In the second chapter we draw on the results of interviews with programme makers and broadcasters to examine, in a more qualitative way, further obstacles to a greater quantity and diversity of development-related media content reaching UK audiences. These include issues of perceived audience disinterest, unimaginative formats, ingrained attitudes towards stories set in developing countries, unfavourable scheduling and ratings-chasing. We also examine how WorldView has attempted to address these issues as an adjunct to its 'seed' funding strategy by supporting innovative formats, encouraging international filmmakers,

targeting producers and filmmakers early in their careers, carrying out research into audience interests and by lobbying policy makers and broadcasters. We conclude that with targeted resources, a strong knowledge base and a commitment to innovation, WorldView have been able to increase the diversity and quantity of development-related content that is available on UK television.

In the third chapter we analyse some recent programmes supported by WorldView and ask what their impact on audience perceptions of developing countries might be. In doing so, we also outline the strengths of a 'frames and values' approach for assessing media coverage of developing countries. Our analysis finds that the programmes discussed succeed in promoting values that motivate viewers to feel connected to those beyond their immediate circle, a factor that is particularly significant in the context of dwindling public engagement with development. These 'self-transcendent' values are fostered in a variety of ways, including appealing to shared humanity, challenging the 'victim framework' often associated with development communications and connecting the audience to distant events through the geographic journey of the films narrative. We find that a frames and values approach is useful both in terms of discerning the strengths and weaknesses of current programming in relation to impact on audience perceptions and (we speculate) in terms of planning future productions with a view to actively fostering increased engagement with international development issues.

INTRODUCTION

“Strong and trusted international reporting is at the heart of being a public service broadcaster in a globalised world.”

Mark Scott, Managing Director of ABC Australia

PURPOSE

WorldView is a UK-based, grant giving organisation that was established to support and enhance UK public understanding and awareness of developing countries, via the mainstream broadcast and digital media. The project aims to increase the **quantity, quality, diversity** and **development awareness impact** of broadcast media content set in and about developing countries. WorldView, formerly known as the CBA-DFID Broadcast Media Scheme, was originally launched in 2001. This report is a mid-term evaluation of the activities of the third phase of WorldView 2010-2013. The principal aim of this report is to assess how effectively WorldView's activities have contributed to the overall purpose and goals of the project.

The brief for this report also provided an opportunity not only to evaluate WorldView's activities, but to use this evaluation as a means of reflecting more widely upon UK media coverage of developing countries. An additional aim of this report is therefore to consider what WorldView's outputs over the last eleven years can teach us about the following questions:

1. What are the most significant obstacles preventing the commissioning of a greater **quantity** and **diversity** of development-related media content and how can these obstacles be addressed?
2. How can we assess the impact of media coverage about developing countries on audience perceptions?

We hope that this report will be of interest, not only to those concerned specifically with the outcomes of WorldView activities, but more broadly, to all programme makers, commissioners, audience members and any other individuals and organisations interested in how the Global South is represented to audiences in the UK.

CONTEXT

It is important to establish the context from which the dual purpose of this report has emerged. It is twelve years since the influential report, *Viewing the World* was published. This report, produced by the Department for International Development (DFID), has provided the basis for much of DFID's strategy regarding the media since its publication and it remains the most comprehensive account of the production, content and reception of developing country programming ever conducted in the UK. *Viewing the World* is particularly relevant here because WorldView was established on the basis of one of the recommendations made in the report.

Twelve years on, in *ReViewing the World*, we seek to understand the extent to which the initial rationale for setting up WorldView remains relevant. More broadly, we also seek to examine the extent to which the wider arguments made in *Viewing the World*, particularly in relation to the factors that limit the amount of developing country programming seen on UK television screens, are still appropriate today. Put simply, is the practice of providing 'seed' funding at the early



Susan Schulman MME Bursar Sierra Leone



War Child

WHAT IS WORLDVIEW?

WorldView is a project run by the CBA (Commonwealth Broadcasting Association). The CBA is the largest global association of public service broadcasters with a mandate to support public service media through digital transition, via capacity building and research. The WorldView project aims to improve UK public understanding and awareness of developing countries via the mainstream broadcast and digital media. WorldView aims to achieve this by providing 'seed' funding on a competitive basis to producers to enable them to spend time in developing countries researching stories, identifying characters and locations and shooting taster tapes.

WorldView has three main funding streams. The Project Development Fund (PDF) and the Multimedia Fund (MMF) both provide grants of up to £10,000 for established programme makers/ media producers. The New Genres fund provides support for fiction or drama-documentary films and/

or films which have an innovative multi-platform element. Grants of up to £20,000 are available from this fund for research, development and pilots.

Another recent dimension to the project is YourWorldView. This is an online platform for new and emerging filmmakers to showcase their short films, documentaries and other multimedia content. Through this content, young people around the world are encouraged to engage in discussion and debate about international issues and how they are represented: www.yourworldview.org.uk

WorldView is currently supported by UKaid from the Department for International Development (DFID). UKaid/DFID plays no part in selecting projects for funding and has no editorial input into programmes that have received funding via WorldView.

stages of programme development still the most appropriate strategy for an organisation like WorldView? In order to assist in taking this more long-term view, we draw on the arguments and evidence used in *Viewing the World* as the starting-point for our discussions in the following chapters.

WorldView has also recently celebrated its tenth anniversary. While the project has been evaluated on numerous occasions, there has been no overall account of the sum of eleven years of WorldView activities. As an organisation that is unique for the particular way in which it attempts to address barriers to the development of media coverage of developing countries, it is important that some public record of its work be made.

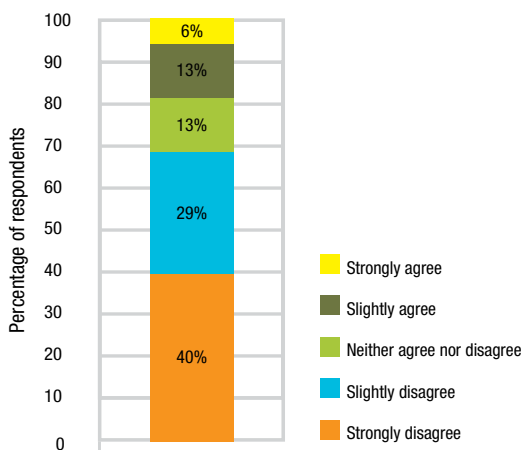
More pragmatically, it is important to note that WorldView activities were suspended for a significant period of time during 2010/11, due to funding constraints. Since the lead time from the development of a programme idea to broadcast is usually more than three years, we felt a 'short-term' evaluation would have only limited value in this context. As a result, we felt it more appropriate to take a longer-term view of WorldView activities, rather than evaluate only the results of the last one and a half years of the project's output.

Finally, dramatic changes in the political, economic and media environments have taken place since *Viewing the World*

was published and since WorldView was established. We think these changes make our broad approach to analysing WorldView's activities particularly relevant. In the media, for example, the move to digital television and the increasing uptake of on-demand viewing appears to provide greater opportunities for more programming about the wider-world. In practice, however, the threats from these developments often appear to have outweighed the benefits. For example, developing country programming has continually migrated from mainstream channels, such as BBC1 and BBC2, towards digital channels, such as BBC3 and BBC4, that have much smaller audiences (Scott, Rodriguez-Rojas and Jenner 2011). This has left terrestrial channels with record low levels of international coverage. Indeed, in a recent online survey of UK media producers (IBT 2010), only 19% thought that Public Service Broadcasters in the UK overall were doing a good job of covering developing countries (see [Figure 0.1](#)). More specifically, 44% of those programme makers surveyed thought that the BBC was not successful in one of its key remits, to 'Bring the world to the UK' and 46% disagreed that Channel 4 is successful in 'providing viewers with information from around the world'. In this context, we believe an evaluation of the specific activities of WorldView, combined with a wider discussion of the obstacles to, and value of, coverage of developing countries is particularly salient.

WorldView has also been impacted by recent changes

FIGURE 0.1: UK PRODUCERS' RESPONSES TO THE STATEMENT: 'PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTERS IN THE UK ARE DOING A GOOD JOB IN COVERAGE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' (IBT 2010)



The Reluctant Revolutionary



VIEWING THE WORLD

Viewing the World was a research project commissioned in 1999 by the Department for International Development (DFID) designed to 'examine the role of television in public understanding of international affairs' (2000:4). It involved three separate studies.

1. A content analysis, which looked at the kinds of images and ideas from around the world that UK viewers are being offered by television.
2. An audience study, which looked at the impact these programmes are having on viewers.
3. A production study, which examined broadcasters' approach to international output.

This research culminated in a 185 page report, published in 2000. One of the conclusions of this report was that:

Amidst the relentless pressure of commercialism and the requirement to please domestic viewers, it is easy for television decision makers to lose sight of the essentially global dimension of life in today's Britain. Most participants focused on a narrow domestic agenda, with little reference to programming that might reflect how people's lives are now intricately linked to countries around the world.

As a result, it recommended establishing a scheme to provide: *Development funding to help with the researching and planning of documentary and feature projects – or special news features – from developing countries. This would encourage producers to explore fresh ideas from less-covered parts of the world, and improve the quality of these programme ideas*

The scheme which emerged directly from this recommendation was *WorldView*.

in DFID policy. In previous years *WorldView* has been supported as part of the media-engagement element of DFID's Building Support for Development Strategy (BSD). In the 1999 *Building Support for Development Strategy Paper*, 'strengthening television coverage of development issues' (DFID 1999:4) was identified as a pillar of the drive to increase public understanding of development. In 2011, however, a review of this BSD strategy was conducted by the Central Office for Information, specifically focussing on whether DFID should continue to use aid funds to promote awareness of and public involvement in development issues, as a means of tackling global poverty. The review accepted that the 'media interventions supported were all sound and in some cases the individual projects punched above their weight' (COI 2011:28). However, the overall conclusion reached was that:

There will be no new development awareness projects. The link between these programmes and poverty reduction is not strong enough to satisfy our rigorous criteria for development impact (O'Brien 2011:64).

The BSD programme has been re-purposed to focus on development education work in schools and establishing links between schools and hospitals in the UK with similar organisations in developing countries. As a result of this, funding for *WorldView* from DFID is set to end in 2013. The future direction of *WorldView* will depend on the

project's success in seeking alternative funding sources.

In summary, *Viewing the World* was published, and *WorldView* established, during a period of relatively high levels of political support for a specific development awareness strategy that involved the broadcast media and at a time when a small number of terrestrial broadcasters still dominated the media landscape in the UK. In *ReViewing the World* we want to consider what happens to developing country programming - and to attempts to promote it - in a UK political and media environment where this is no longer the case.



Filming War Oratorio in Afghanistan, James Kent

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BRIDGING THE FUNDING GAP?

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we begin our evaluation of WorldView by considering how successful its 'seed' funding strategy has been in increasing the quantity and diversity of development-related media content in the UK. At the same time, we use this as a means of considering the extent to which the economic challenges it is aiming to address are responsible for restricting the **quantity** and **diversity** of development-related media content broadcast in the UK. In other words, we aim to consider whether the practice of providing 'seed' funding at the early stages of programme development is still the most appropriate strategy for a project like WorldView. In doing so, we begin to address our first research question:

1. What are the most significant obstacles preventing the commissioning of a greater quantity and diversity of development-related media content and how can these obstacles be addressed?

Most of the evidence discussed in this chapter is taken from the WorldView database and is accurate as of January 2012. This evidence has, on occasion, been supplemented with interview data taken from the research collated for Chapter 2.

This chapter begins by outlining two particular economic challenges facing producers of content about developing countries: greater costs and higher financial risks than those involved in producing domestic content. UK commissioners are more likely to commission programmes where they can view a taster tape of key characters and locations. But if a proposal involves a story outside of the UK then this involves a greater financial investment from producers seeking a commission. We then review the success of the activities of WorldView, which was set up specifically to help mitigate these economic challenges. Our discussion of WorldView's 'seed' funding strategy is based on an evaluation of two elements of its key purpose; to contribute to an increase in the quantity and the diversity of development related broadcast media content in the UK.

We conclude that providing a small amount of 'seed' funding at an early stage in the process of programme development appears to be a very effective way of increasing the *quantity* and *diversity* of media coverage of developing countries in the UK. However, the results also signal the existence of additional, more structural, constraints on broadcast of developing country content, which WorldView's 'seed' funding strategy alone does not address.



FROM VIEWING THE WORLD TO WORLDVIEW

The argument that there are particular economic challenges facing developing country content was perhaps most clearly articulated and supported in *Viewing the World*. This was a large-scale, DFID-funded, report published in 2000, which looked at, amongst other things, broadcasters' approaches to international coverage. Based on the results of interviews with 38 programme makers and policy makers it argued that, in an increasingly commercialised UK media industry, those wishing to produce television coverage about the rest of the world face two particular economic challenges.

Firstly, international coverage is often necessarily more **expensive** to produce because it requires foreign travel and often greater time in the field to research and develop programme ideas. Before any programmes are commissioned and funded by broadcasters, individual producers and production companies are required to invest a great deal of staff time and resources into developing programme proposals by providing a written treatment and video material of key characters. As Rachel Wexler, Producer of Bungalow Town Productions, explained in an interview for this report, 'having an idea on paper just isn't enough in the current market; having an idea in the form of some well-cut together footage with a really well researched treatment is an absolute requirement now'.

If the proposed programmes are set overseas, then producing such proposals and 'taster' material is simply more time consuming and costly, particularly if set in developing countries. As the authors of *Viewing the World* note, 'developing and researching ideas in developing countries can be costly to a producer, but without this process there may not be enough substance to make a programme proposal convincing or tangible, especially if a commissioning editor is unfamiliar with the country concerned' (DFID 2000:181).

According to the filmmakers, commissioners and producers we interviewed for this report, this issue of expense is as important now, if not more so, as when it was highlighted in *Viewing the World*. As filmmaker, Dan Edelstyn points out,

Making a film about a country that is miles away, that is inaccessible, becomes even more difficult because not only do you have very limited funding opportunities anyway, now you are talking about those limited funding opportunities having to stretch to an expensive-to-get-to place.

As a consequence, if producers and production companies have the choice of investing time and resources into a research trip to either Manchester or Mumbai, then it may well be the proposal set in Manchester that is developed because it is less expensive. As one senior manager was quoted as saying in *Viewing the World* 'budget's a big factor,

THE CASE FOR GREATER QUANTITY AND DIVERSITY OF DEVELOPMENT-RELATED MEDIA CONTENT

WorldView's principal objective is to promote the broadcast of a greater quantity and diversity of development-related media content in the UK. Yet questions over how much coverage of developing countries there 'should' be on UK television and how diverse that programming should be necessarily provide problematic and subjective answers. What constitutes the 'right' amount of coverage and what a suitably diverse range of programming would look like are issues that can never be adequately resolved.

On the one hand, results of Ofcom and BBC Trust surveys suggest that audiences, in general, rate the main UK broadcasters very highly in terms of providing information that helps them to understand the world. In the results of the 2011 Ofcom annual Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) tracker, for example, 70% of respondents thought the PSB's did a good job in providing programmes which helped their understanding of what is going on in the world (Ofcom 2011). Similarly, public satisfaction

with the BBC's fulfilment of its Global Purpose (to 'bring the world to the UK') remains higher than for any other purpose (BBC Trust 2010).

Nevertheless, there is also evidence to suggest that the quantity and diversity of development-related media content in the UK is an issue that needs to be addressed, particularly outside of television news programming. The amount of non-news, factual programming specifically about developing countries on 'the five main PSB' television channels in the UK has declined by 34% in the five years between 2005 and 2010 and is now at its lowest point since such data collection began twenty years ago (Scott, Rodriguez-Rojas and Jenner 2011). In fact, the 200 hours of new developing country factual programming on these five channels in 2010 is half the amount that was shown in 1989-90. With regard to fictional or entertainment-based genres, developing countries are almost entirely absent, making up just 2.2% and 2.5% of international drama and light entertainment programming respectively. Furthermore, in a

“Making a film about a country that is miles away, that is inaccessible, becomes even more difficult because not only do you have very limited funding opportunities anyway, now you are talking about those limited funding opportunities having to stretch to an expensive-to-get-to place.”

Dan Edelstyn, filmmaker

it can influence where a programme is made’. Similarly, another interviewee for *Viewing the World* argued that, ‘we’d probably do more of our programmes abroad if it could be done more cheaply’. Several interviewees also blamed expense for the apparent lack of diversity and originality in programming about developing countries. As one participant explained, ‘research abroad can be the first thing to be sacrificed on a low budget, causing producers to fall back on sloppy Third World clichés and stereotypes’ (DFID 2000:160).

Secondly, the authors of *Viewing the World* argue that it is financially more **risky** to develop programme ideas about developing countries into successful ‘programme proposals’ for submission to a UK broadcaster/commissioner, because such content is often perceived to be a ‘ratings risk’ (2000:3). During the 1980’s, programming about developing countries and development issues gained a reputation within the UK media industry for being ‘dull’ and ‘worthy’ and not the kind of programming audiences would watch. This was reinforced during the 1990’s by the view of key industry figures, notably channel controllers, that audiences were only interested in domestic programming. As one *Viewing the World* interviewee was quoted as saying,

I try and guess what the audience wants. Most people switch on to be entertained, not to get a message.

Instinctively I feel domestic stories will be more interesting than foreign ones (DFID 2000:160).

The authors of the report argue that, ‘the very fact that stories about the developing world are seen as risky leads to self-censoring among producers’ (DFID 2000:181). Furthermore, in an industry that is increasingly ‘ratings’ driven, there has been a tendency for those international programmes that are commissioned / broadcast to conform to a narrow range of subjects or formats that are perceived to be less risky.

Once again, our interviewees argued that this remains a feature of the commissioning process today. For example, Christopher Hird, Executive Producer and Head of Dartmouth Films stated,

Even where there is a commitment to bring stories from abroad, there is a very narrow view of what constitutes a good film. . . . The current affairs test seems to be secret filming, dangerous places, revealing secret bad behaviour, or revealing previously unknown bad behaviour. It is very, very limiting in terms of the stories that you can tell.

Indeed, in a recent online survey of UK programme makers 88% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, ‘it is difficult to get commissioners from UK broadcasters to commission programming about developing countries’ (TPoll 2010).

recent survey of UK programme makers, almost all (85%) felt there was currently too little coverage of programming about developing countries (TPoll 2010). None said there was too much coverage.

Regarding the *diversity* of developing country programming, a recent analysis of the nature of non-news international programming on UK television reached the following conclusion:

Although individual producers and commissioners do not set out to reproduce the same view of the world on television each year, this study reveals that the combined result of all of those individual commissioning decisions, amongst all broadcasters, is to produce factual programmes that cover broadly the same topics, in the same formats, featuring the same parts of the world, every year (Scott, Rodríguez-Rojas and Jenner 2011:13).

This narrow agenda is also apparent in the international coverage of the main UK news bulletins, notwithstanding some important exceptions. One of the conclusions reached in the Ofcom report, *New News, Future News* was that:

There are far more similarities than differences in agendas on mainstream television news. . . . Programmes on different channels often vary more in style than in substance . . . [and] all the broadcasters offer a similar range of news stories delivered through a similar variety of methods (Ofcom 2007:4).

So while some evidence indicates that UK audiences are broadly satisfied with current international coverage, particularly in relation to news programming, there is also plenty of evidence that indicates that UK broadcasters are not supporting a diverse enough range or as many programmes about developing countries as they could.

In summary, producing programmes set in and about developing countries involves **greater investment** and a **higher financial risk** than for programmes about the UK. This might be described as an inherent economic bias *against* the development and commissioning of television programming set in and about developing countries, which limits the quantity and range of international coverage available to UK audiences.

As a consequence, one of the key recommendations to emerge from *Viewing the World* was that a scheme should be established to help producers cope with these particular economic pressures. Such a scheme should provide:

Development funding to help with the researching and planning of documentary and feature projects – or special news features – from developing countries. This would encourage producers to explore fresh ideas from less-covered parts of the world, and improve the quality of these programme ideas (DFID 2000:189).

As a direct result of this recommendation, WorldView¹ was launched by the Department for International Development (DFID) and the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association (CBA) in October 2001 with the aim of improving UK public understanding and awareness of developing countries via the mainstream broadcast and digital media². To achieve this,

the principal aim of the project was to 'bridge' this apparent funding gap in the UK media industry that seemingly limited the development of television programmes about developing countries. Specifically, the main activity of WorldView is to award 'seed' funding to producers enabling them to spend time in developing countries researching stories, identifying characters and locations and shooting taster tapes. This currently takes the form of two main funding streams, the Project Development Fund (PDF)³, which supports producers to develop specific programme ideas, or the Multimedia Fund (MMF)⁴, which focuses on enabling producers to extend their knowledge and understanding of developing countries.

The assumption behind WorldView's 'seed' funding approach is that facilitating the development of high quality background materials for commissioners at an early stage is the most efficient and effective means of increasing the likelihood that developing country content will be commissioned, produced and eventually broadcast. In reviewing the 'seed' funding activities of WorldView in this chapter, we seek to establish the extent to which financial constraints early in the process of programme development are indeed responsible for a lack of quantity and diversity of coverage of developing countries on UK television. We also hope to investigate the continued relevance of WorldView's approach to overcoming these constraints eleven years after its inception.



“Development funding to help with the researching and planning of documentary and feature projects... from developing countries... would encourage producers to explore fresh ideas from less-covered parts of the world, and improve the quality of these programme ideas.”

DFID 2000:189

CONTRIBUTING TO AN INCREASE IN THE QUANTITY OF DEVELOPING COUNTRY CONTENT IN THE UK

Project Development Fund (PDF)

The Project Development Fund (PDF) is an idea specific fund that supports established television/radio producers wishing to produce programmes for mainstream UK television broadcast that will promote understanding of developing countries. Grants of up to £10,000 are intended to bridge an existing funding gap and help cover the costs of research, development, pilot/taster filming and the procurement of filming rights and access.

Since it began, the PDF has received 396 applications from 221 individual producers or production companies for its 18 different rounds of funding. This illustrates, if nothing else, the breadth of individuals and organisations that this fund has been relevant to during the last eleven years.

Figure 1.1 shows how these applications have varied over time and reveals a general increase in the number of applications to the PDF. Before 2008 there were not more than 25 applications to any one PDF funding round, whereas the most recent round of PDF funding, in 2011, generated 42 applications. We might speculate that this marked increase in applications is the result, either of an increasing awareness in the industry of the availability of WorldView funding, or

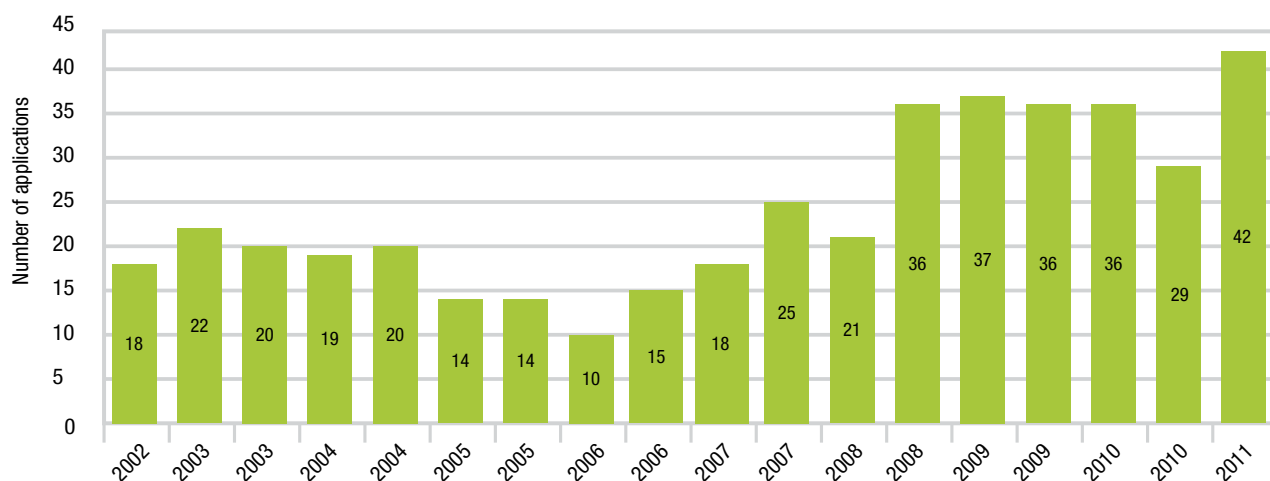
REDUCING RISK: ELIGIBILITY AND EVALUATION CRITERIA

Supporting programme ideas at a relatively early stage in their development is a potentially risky strategy as there is no way of guaranteeing that the money invested will necessarily result in media outputs. Even when this ‘seed’ funding strategy was first proposed in *Viewing the World* it was acknowledged that, ‘there needs to be some certainty that funding goes to programmes with a strong chance of being commissioned’ (DFID 2000:189). WorldView only supports programmes at the development stage to ensure that its strategy does not involve infringements of media freedom and editorial independence. By providing seed funding at the development stage, commissioners are still free to decide to commission or reject any proposal.

In order to reduce this risk WorldView has developed an eligibility and evaluation criteria, which has helped it to achieve its high broadcast/commissioning rates. Firstly, all PDF and MMF applications must demonstrate strong evidence of their broadcast potential by providing a letter/email of interest from a UK mainstream broadcaster/ commissioner. This not only ensures some level of quality to the programme ideas but also prevents WorldView from being overloaded with applications. Indeed, the application rates in Figure 1.1 would likely be considerably higher were it not a requirement to demonstrate interest from a broadcaster.

Secondly, only established programme makers/ media producers may apply for funding. Indeed, one of the selection criteria is the track record of the producer/ director / production company. Other criteria by which applications are evaluated include the suitability of subject matter in improving understanding of developing countries and originality and innovation in approaching the subject matter. Thirdly, all applications that satisfy the eligibility criteria are independently and anonymously evaluated by two people within the industry. Although this can be a time consuming process, it helps to ensure that only programme ideas with a genuine chance of success receive WorldView support.

FIGURE 1.1: NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS TO THE PROJECT DEVELOPMENT FUND FOR EACH ROUND OF FUNDING, SINCE 2002



perhaps even increasing demand in the industry for the kind of funding that WorldView makes available. Indeed, this second explanation was supported by several of our interviewees who commented that broadcasters are increasingly hesitant to provide programme development funding.

Figure 1.2 shows the total number of PDF grants given each year since 2002 as well as the number of awards that have resulted in television or radio broadcast outputs or that have commissions. Over the last eleven years, 142 PDF grants have been awarded. Out of the 122 for which the development phase is complete, 56 have so far resulted in at least one UK television or radio broadcast (or a commission). This amounts to a current broadcast/commissioning rate of 46%. This compares very favourably to the industry average in which around 5-10% of programmes in development are eventually commissioned. Put simply, this means that programme ideas that receive WorldView support through the Project Development Fund have been, relatively, very successful at achieving UK broadcast.

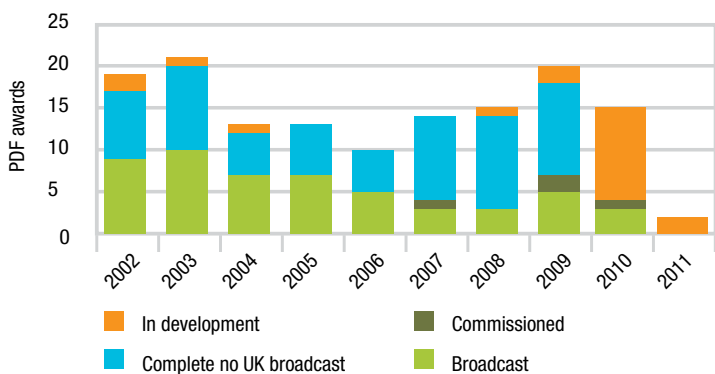
Examples of some of the PDF supported factual programmes that have been on UK television relatively recently include *The English Surgeon* (BBC2, 2008), *Only when I Dance* (Channel 4, 2009), *Afghan Star* (More 4, 2009), *Marathon Boy* (BBC2, 2011), *Out of the Ashes* (BBC4, 2011), *Sons of Cuba* (BBC4,

2011), and *The Reluctant Revolutionary* (BBC4, 2012).

What Figure 1.2 does not reveal is that many PDF awards have resulted, not just in a single documentary, but in a range of outputs on a variety of formats. For example, *Rooftop's Haiti* is a documentary about a Liverpool policeman visiting Haiti to learn about the production of new sculptures to mark the 200th anniversary of the abolition of slavery, which resulted in coverage at a museum exhibition, extensive print coverage and a screening at Glastonbury festival. It is also important to note that many of the programmes that have not yet been broadcast on television or radio in the UK have still received significant exposure. For example, although *The Man Who Stopped the Desert* has not yet received a UK broadcast, it has had, to date, 13 UK cinema screenings and 2 festival screenings and has been shown in numerous countries including France, South Korea, New Zealand and the USA. It has also been screened on Capitol Hill and in the Library of Congress as well as in the UN in Brussels and was screened at the launch of the 2011 International year of the Forest at the UN in New York.

Furthermore, it is usual for factual television programmes to take several years to reach broadcast after development has been completed. Most of the PDFs that have been awarded funding, which have not yet been commissioned or received a broadcast, are still actively seeking interest from broadcasters.

FIGURE 1.2: NUMBER OF PDF AWARDS EACH YEAR THAT HAVE RESULTED IN BROADCAST OUTPUTS, OR NOT, OR THAT ARE STILL IN DEVELOPMENT



Mat Heywood MIMF Bursar, Malawi



We might, therefore, reasonably expect the number of PDF awards that have resulted in broadcast outputs to increase in the future, particularly for those awarded in most recent years.

Figure 1.3 shows the primary location of programmes that have received support from the Project Development Fund. The 15 different locations include mainstream television channels (BBC1, BBC2, BBC4, ITV1, Channel 4, More 4, Channel 5) and radio stations (BBC Radio 4, BBC1Xtra), as well as a range of regional (BBC Regional), digital (Community Channel, Teachers TV, Current TV) and international locations (Al Jazeera English, BBC World). Figure 1.3 reveals a relative concentration of PDF supported programmes on mainstream UK television channels, such as Channel 4 (25%), BBC4 (19%) and More 4 (19%).

Figure 1.3 also makes clear, however, that the PDF has not been particularly successful at supporting programmes about developing countries to appear on the two most popular television channels in the UK. BBC1 and ITV1 are the primary location of just 4% and 2% of PDF supported outputs respectively. However, this finding should be considered in the context of the more general lack of international factual content on these two channels (in both absolute and relative terms). Recent IBT research has shown that BBC1 and ITV1 were the two terrestrial channels with the least amount of new non-news factual

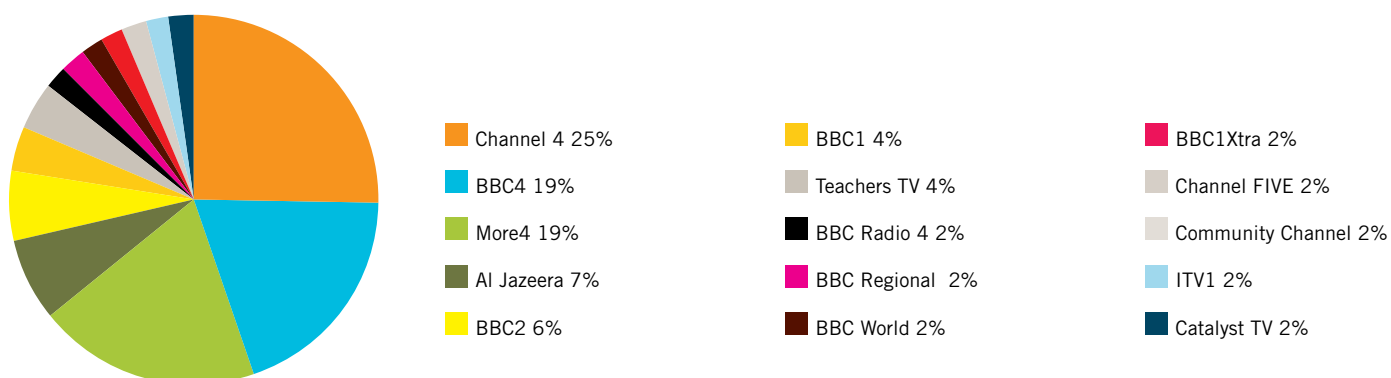
programming about developing countries in 2010 and 2007 respectively (Scott, Rodriguez-Rojas and Jenner 2011).

Multimedia Fund (MMF)

The Multimedia Fund (MMF) is a **person specific** fund which enables UK based television producers and multimedia journalists to extend their knowledge and understanding of the Global South by working for up to three months in a developing country or countries. DFID's initial aim for the MMF was to encourage, stimulate and invest in programme makers' interest in development coverage at an early stage in their careers. As such it was a long-term aim with no immediate impact on development coverage in the UK. However, the fund has evolved with time and bursars are now tasked with producing media outputs that will directly contribute to improving the quality and quantity of output about developing countries via the UK media immediately on their return. Bursars are also specifically encouraged to work with broadcast professionals in the countries they visit in order to establish strong links with programme makers in the South. This is facilitated via the CBA [Commonwealth Broadcasting Association] network of members.

Figure 1.4 shows the total number of MMF grants given each year as well as the number of awards that have resulted in broadcast outputs. Over the eleven years that

FIGURE 1.3: PRIMARY MEDIA OUTLETS (TELEVISION OR RADIO) FOR PROJECT DEVELOPMENT FUND MATERIAL 2002-2010



the MMF has been running, 92 individuals have benefited from the 86 awards that have been granted. Out of these 86 MMF grants, 60 of them, or **70%**, have resulted in *at least one* television or radio output. Many have resulted in numerous broadcasts and publications on a range of topics. The contract awarded jointly to Richard Bond and Chris Starkie, for example, facilitated the development of 11 media outputs in total including a week of Indian programming on BBC1 Regional television as well as several newspaper and magazine features and network radio and television coverage.

Indeed, the nature of the Multimedia Fund means that resulting outputs feature as much on television news bulletins as they do as full-length programmes. As [Figure 1.5](#) shows, the primary outlet for 33% of MMF material has been national or regional BBC News programmes. For example, a trip to The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) by Susan Schulman, supported by the MMF, resulted in range of outputs including on Channel 4 News and The Guardian newspaper. Similarly, Simon Ostrovsky's trip to Mongolia resulted in outputs that featured on BBC Newsnight, Al Jazeera and The Independent newspaper.

The most common locations for MMF outputs, which take the form of documentaries, are similar to PDF output locations and include BBC4 (10%), The Community Channel (10%), Channel 4 (8%) and BBC2 (7%). Notable examples of such

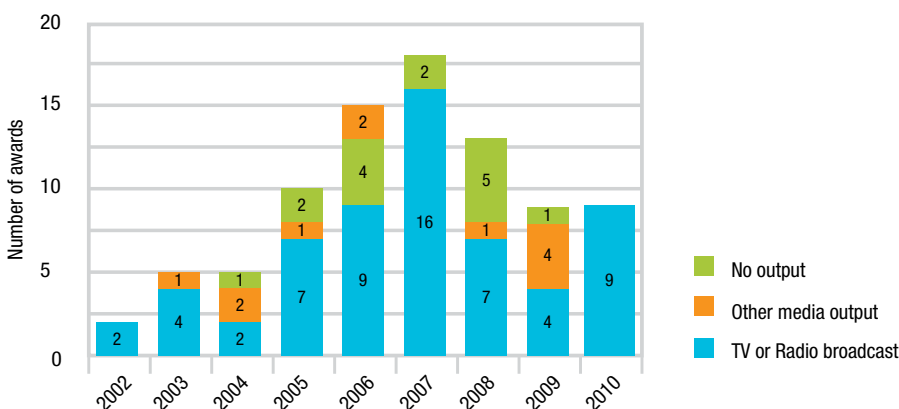
programmes include *African School* (BBC4/2, 2005), *War Oratorio* (More4, 2007), *The Hunger Season* (More4, 2008), *Moving to Mars* (More4, 2010) and *Up in Smoke* (More4 2011). Figure 1.5 also reveals, however, that just like PDF outputs, MMF supported outputs have rarely featured on BBC1 and ITV1 (outside of the news).

Of the 30% of MMF grants that have not resulted in television or radio outputs in the UK, half of them have still resulted in alternative media outputs. Examples include *This is Lagos*, a full length documentary broadcast in Nigeria and shown by airlines, the award winning documentary *All About Darfur*, which has had cinema screenings across the UK and showings at major international film festivals and a film about displaced teenagers from the DRC living in Uganda, which has been used by NGOs and in Parliament.

Summary

In summary, the results in Figures 1.1, 1.2, 1.3 1.4 and 1.5 suggest that making a relatively small financial intervention by funding programme ideas in their early stages, via mechanisms such as the PDF or the MMF, appears to be very successful in facilitating a greater quantity of UK media coverage of developing countries. The broadcast/commissioning rate of programmes supported by the PDF (46%) is well above the UK industry average and 70% of MMF bursars produce at least one broadcast output.

FIGURE 1.4: NUMBER OF MMF AWARDS EACH YEAR THAT HAVE RESULTED IN BROADCAST OUTPUTS, OTHER MEDIA OUTPUTS OR NO OUTPUTS



“The broadcast/commissioning rate of programmes supported by the Programme Development Fund (46%) is well above the UK industry average and 70% of Multimedia Fund bursars produce at least one broadcast output.”

This adds weight to the argument that a funding gap is a significant factor in restricting the quantity of coverage of developing countries in the UK media. Furthermore, it suggests that WorldView’s approach to bridging this gap has been, and remains, an appropriate and effective means of addressing it. Indeed, the PDF appears to be increasingly popular, with applications rising markedly over time.

CONTRIBUTING TO AN INCREASE IN THE DIVERSITY OF DEVELOPING COUNTRY CONTENT IN THE UK

WorldView aims not only to contribute to an increase in the quantity of UK media content related to development but also to the diversity of that content. In order to gain some measure of how successful WorldView has been in this regard through its ‘seed’ funding strategy, the locations and topics of all non-news factual programmes supported by the PDF can be compared to the locations and topics of international non-news factual output of UK broadcasters in general. The data used to make this comparison is taken from previous IBT research, which has been recording the quantity and nature of international factual programming on UK television since 1989 (see Dover and Barnett 2004).

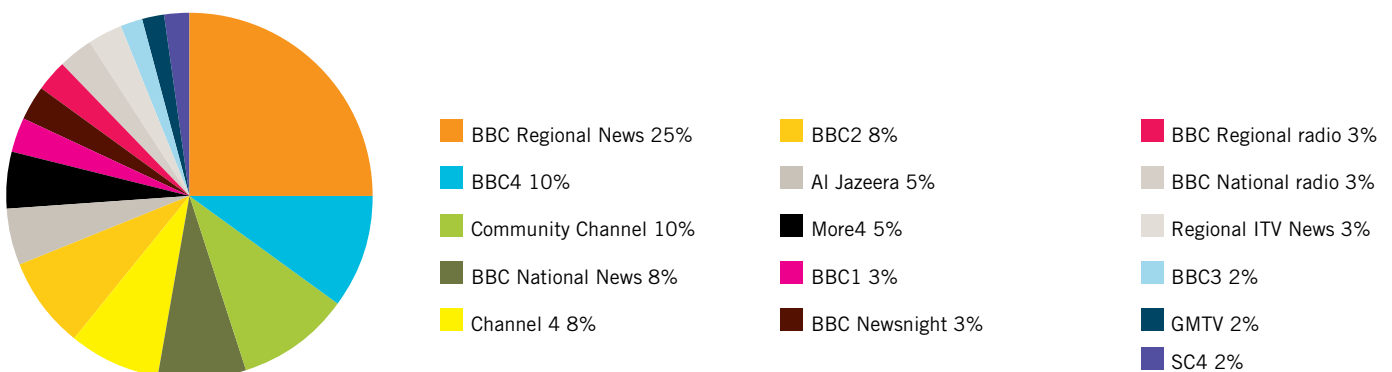
Figure 1.6 shows that the non-news factual programmes broadcast on UK television, which WorldView has supported, largely cover Africa (43%) and Asia (42%). The remainder of coverage focuses on Latin America and the

Caribbean (10%) and the Middle East and North Africa (3%). Figure 1.6 also includes data from recent research by the International Broadcasting Trust (2011) that gives the geographical distribution of international non-news factual coverage on UK television. This data shows that it is North America (28%) and Europe (25%) that received the most coverage. Significantly, the geographical distribution of non-news international factual programming on UK television has remained remarkably static over at least the last 5 years (see Scott, Rodriguez-Rojas and Jenner 2011)

A comparison between the two sets of data in Figure 1.6 helps to illustrate the contribution that WorldView supported programmes are making to the geographical distribution of international factual programming on UK television. Whereas Africa and Asia receive only 14% and 15% of international non-news factual coverage on UK television respectively, these two regions of the world dominate (85%) in WorldView supported programmes.

This contribution is perhaps even more apparent if the results are broken down by country. Figure 1.7 shows that over the last 10 years, PDF and MMF supported programmes have covered 32 and 31 different developing countries respectively. India is the country to have received most coverage (being the principal focus of 22% of all broadcast outputs), while other developing countries to

FIGURE 1.5: PRIMARY MEDIA OUTLETS (TELEVISION OR RADIO) FOR MULTIMEDIA FUND MATERIAL 2002-2010



have been covered include Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Colombia, Ghana, Honduras, Ethiopia, Liberia, Malawi, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Thailand, Uganda, Venezuela and Zimbabwe. This range of coverage compares favourably to IBT data for individual UK television channels over a single year (2010), which show, for example, that in that year ITV1 covered 14 different developing countries in its new non-news factual programming, BBC1 covered 16 countries, Channel 4 covered 33 countries and BBC2 covered 34 different developing countries.

It is worth noting, however, that the data in Figure 1.6 shows that neither Latin America and the Caribbean nor the Middle East and North Africa feature prominently, either on UK television in general (11%), or in WorldView supported programmes (13%). In the eleven years that WorldView has been running, it has only supported 4 programmes about the Middle East and North Africa to achieve a UK broadcast. This has largely been the result of a lack of applications from producers with programme ideas based in this part of the world.

Topic

To provide a further indication of the extent to which WorldView supported outputs are expanding the diversity of international content on UK television, Figure 1.8 shows the distribution of the topics of PDF supported outputs. Each

output was coded using the same definitions of ‘topics’ as used by the biennial IBT research into international television coverage. Figure 1.8 also shows the average percentage of international UK TV coverage addressing different topics between 2003-2010 (also taken from previous IBT research) to allow for a comparison with WorldView outputs.

The data in Figure 1.8 shows that the vast majority of WorldView supported outputs cover the topics of development, environment and human rights (38%), religion, culture and arts (26%), conflict and disaster (13%) and politics (9%). These include programmes such as *Living with Aids* (Channel 4, 2005), *Dolce Vita Africana* (BBC4, 2008), *When China met Africa* (BBC4, 2010), *The Trouble with Pirates* (BBC4, 2010), *War Child* (More4, 2011) and *From Haiti’s Ashes* (BBC2, 2011). A comparison with the IBT data shows that these are the four topics that otherwise receive the least coverage on UK television in general (apart from programmes about crime). Less than a quarter of all international factual programming on UK television is about any one of these four topics. Previous studies (Scott 2008) have shown that international coverage of politics, conflict and disasters and development, environment and human rights in particular are rare on UK television. In short, WorldView appears to be contributing to topics of international programming that otherwise receive relatively little coverage on UK television.

FIGURE 1.6: REGIONS OF THE WORLD COVERED BY PDF SUPPORTED OUTPUTS AND ON UK TELEVISION IN GENERAL

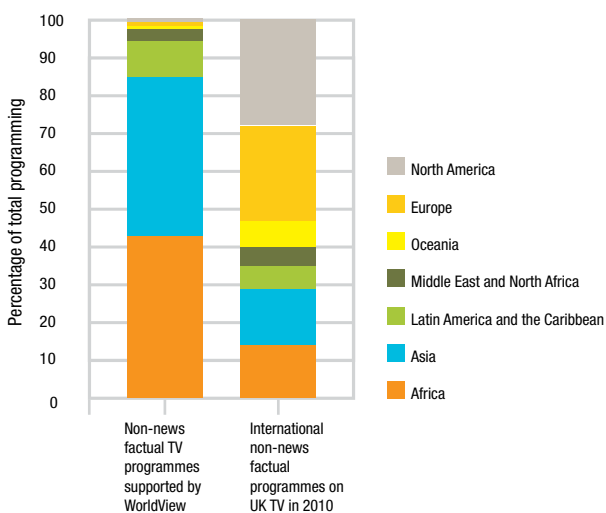
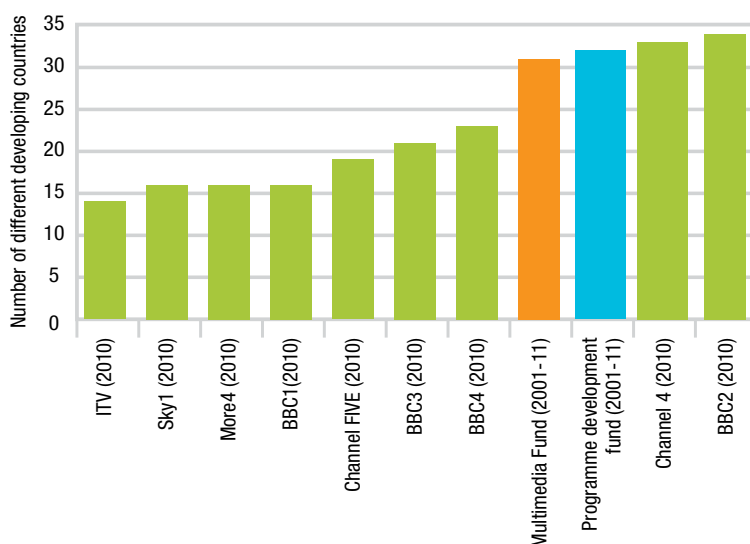


FIGURE 1.7: NO. OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES COVERED BY MMF AND PDF OUTPUTS AND ON UK TELEVISION IN 2010



While this is a useful finding, it is important to be clear that the nature of the two sets of data in Figure 1.6, 1.7 and 1.8 limits, to some extent, the strength of the conclusions that can be drawn. Whereas the WorldView programmes refer to both news and non-news television content broadcast between 2002 and 2010 by any mainstream or digital broadcaster, the IBT data refers only to television programmes broadcast on the most popular mainstream UK television channels over a shorter period of time. Nevertheless, the comparison remains useful, at least for giving an indication of the role that WorldView plays in facilitating the development of content about locations and topics that otherwise receive relatively less coverage in the UK media.

SUMMARY

In summary, the evidence presented here allows us to conclude that WorldView supported broadcast outputs do appear to contribute to an increase in the diversity of UK media content related to developing countries, at least in terms of topic and geographical location. For example, we find that WorldView supported outputs contribute most to those topics which otherwise receive the least coverage in international factual programming on UK television, such as development, environment and human rights and conflict and disaster. As one of our interviewees, Kate Townsend-Vision, Executive Producer, BBC Storyville, said, 'WorldView is certainly very helpful for our documentaries, in terms of

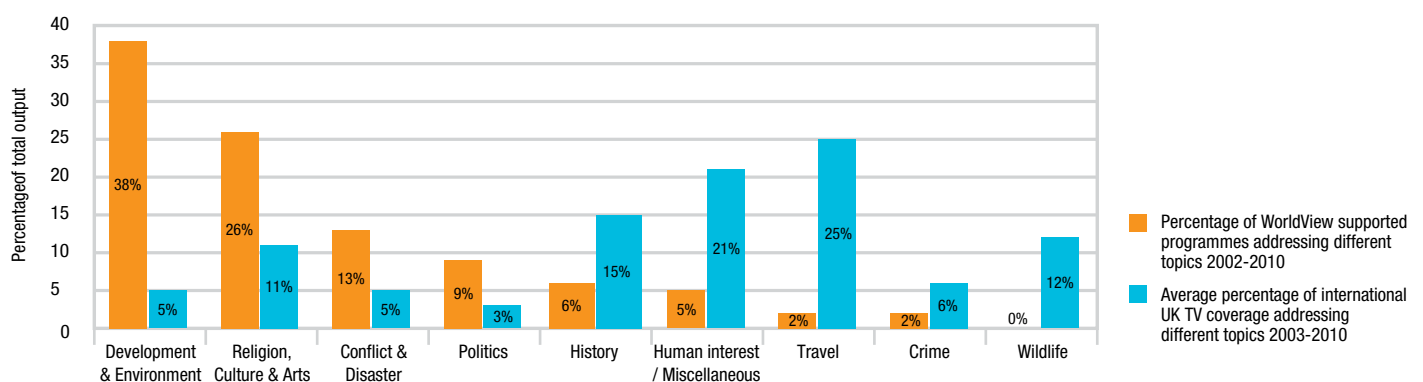
increasing diversity'. This conclusion supports the argument that a funding gap is, at least to some degree, responsible for restricting the range of programmes about developing countries being produced and broadcast in the UK.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have outlined two particular economic challenges facing the production and commissioning of developing country content in the UK, which, we have argued, constitute a 'funding gap' for programme makers in the early stages of programme development. Through a review of the 'seed' funding activities of WorldView over the last eleven years we have presented evidence to show that providing a relatively small amount of competitive funding early on, to support the development of high quality background materials for commissioners, does significantly increase the likelihood that programmes about developing countries will be commissioned, produced and eventually broadcast. Furthermore, WorldView's strategy also appears to contribute to expanding the range of developing country programming broadcast in the UK and is seemingly becoming increasingly popular.

However, the results also signal the existence of additional, more structural constraints on developing country content, which WorldView's 'seed' funding strategy alone does not address. For example, while WorldView supported

FIGURE 1.8: A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TOPICS COVERED BY WORLDVIEW PDF FUNDED OUTPUTS AND THOSE COVERED BY NON-NEWS INTERNATIONAL FACTUAL PROGRAMMING ON UK TELEVISION IN GENERAL



DOES WORLDVIEW SUPPORT CONTENT THAT WOULDN'T OTHERWISE BE PRODUCED?

One of the assumptions in this chapter is that the programme proposals that WorldView supports would not have achieved a UK commission or broadcast without WorldView support. It could be the case, however, that WorldView supports programme ideas that would have been commissioned anyway. While it is not possible to ever prove such a counter-factual notion, there is a range of supporting evidence from producers to suggest that many programmes would simply not have been made without WorldView funding.

*Without seed-funding from WorldView to go out to Kazakhstan, this film would have remained an unproven idea on a piece of paper (Antony Butts, *After the Apocalypse*).*

*The WorldView grant was an absolute lifeline in the early stages of shooting the film. Without it, there would never have been a *Sons of Cuba* (Andrew Lang, *Sons of Cuba*).*

For some programmes, the testimonies of beneficiaries and others involved in WorldView supported films suggest that the significance of WorldView support lay, not necessarily in the creation of the programme, but in improving the quality of the content.

*The scheme provided us with critical funding at a critical juncture that enabled another trip to Cambodia. That was the trip that made the film what it is (Rob Lemkin, *Enemies of the People*).*

Some of the films that I have worked on – that WorldView have put money into – they've actually been able to realise the ambition better. So it's not just about making a film. Film-makers have been able to aim higher creatively, in terms of production values and in terms of how far the film can go (Rachel Wexler).

outputs contribute well to existing programme strands with an international dimension, such as *True Stories* (More 4), *Storyville* (BBC4 / BBC2) and *Witness* (Al Jazeera), they contribute relatively very little to the most popular channels in the UK (BBC1 and ITV1), to more commercial broadcasters, such as Channel Five and Sky, or to schedules outside of relevant programme strands. As Rachel Wexler argues, 'the biggest challenge is that TV broadcast slots are so hard to come by for that kind of content'. Similarly, while WorldView's approach may be successful at encouraging more coverage of some parts of the world (Asia and Africa), it has not been sufficient for facilitating greater coverage about others (Latin America and the Caribbean and the Middle East and North Africa).

This suggests that while a 'funding gap' may be one of the main obstacles to many programmes set in African and Asian countries, or those destined for international-focussed programme strands, there is something more fundamental restricting coverage of other parts of the world and on other parts of the schedule. In summary, while 'seed' funding may be appropriate for helping a greater range of specific programme ideas to reach broadcast, it does not fundamentally challenge broadcaster's overall approach to the commissioning / broadcast of international content in general. In the next chapter, informed by interviews with broadcasters, commissioners, filmmakers and producers, we explore the

additional barriers that exist within the industry for international content, the underlying causes of such barriers and the different approaches taken by WorldView to address them.

Footnotes

1. WorldView was initially named the 'CBA-DFID Broadcast Media Scheme'.
2. The initial aim of the project was specifically to 'bridge a 'funding gap' in the UK media industry that limited the production of TV programmes about the wider-world'.
3. PDF grants are awarded in rounds with usually two rounds a year whilst the MMF is a 'rolling' fund with no deadlines or closing dates for applications (although funding is available for only a limited number of grants each year).
4. The Multimedia Fund was initially named the 'Travel Bursary Fund'.
5. It is relevant to note that funding rounds in which the number of applicants appears to decline (round 1 in 2006 and round 2 in 2010) correspond with periods of times in which future funding for WorldView was not guaranteed.
6. Using the IBT definition, a programme is considered 'about' a particular developing country if the principal themes discussed in the programme are explicitly and directly related to that country. If it is set in multiple countries then it refers to the country which featured most prominently.

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“Providing a relatively small amount of competitive funding early on to support the development of high quality background materials for commissioners does significantly increase the likelihood that programmes about developing countries will be commissioned, produced and eventually broadcast.”

THE IMPACT OF WORLDVIEW PROGRAMMING

“Footage from *Enemies of the People* was used by prosecutors in a UN-backed war crimes court in Cambodia where ‘Brother Number 2’ in the Khmer Rouge regime is on trial for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide.”

There is always a danger, with any attempt to evaluate the development of media content, to judge success entirely on whether a broadcast is achieved. While we hope to have demonstrated in this chapter that WorldView has been relatively successful in this regard, it is also important to reflect the wider development-related impacts of WorldView supported programmes.

One way we hope to achieve this is by analysing a small number of WorldView supported programmes in detail in Chapter 3 to investigate what values they are likely to reinforce in their audiences. Another way of demonstrating their impact is by looking at the awards that individual films have won. For example, in 2009 *Afghan Star* won best World Cinema Documentary Award at the Sundance Film Festival, *The English Surgeon* won the Emmy award for Outstanding Science and Technology Programming and *Moving to Mars* won a prestigious UK Grierson award.

But perhaps an even more informative means of reflecting the wider impact of WorldView films is to focus on the tangible development-related impacts that some of the films have had. Due to the fact that WorldView films are all development-related, there are many examples of films having links to charities. For example, *War Child* has helped to raise money for the GUA Africa charity, which helps people to overcome the effects of war and poverty in Sudan. *Town of Runners* has developed an outreach campaign that involves workshops and screenings in UK secondary schools and raising money to train coaches, support young runners and renovate running facilities in Ethiopia.

Other films’ impact extends beyond raising money. *Up in Smoke* has entered into a collaboration with Oxfam to support its GROW campaign, described as ‘a global movement for better ways to grow, share and live together’. *Moving to Mars* is associated with the City of Sanctuary movement that aims to create a culture of hospitality for those seeking sanctuary in UK cities. On the website audiences are invited to become mentors to refugees in their local area. Interestingly, *Moving to Mars* also inspired a Coldplay song of the same name!

Enemies of the People



In the most recent example of impact, footage from *Enemies of the People* was used in a UN-backed war crimes court in Cambodia where Nuon Chea, known as ‘Brother Number 2’ in the Khmer Rouge regime, is on trial for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. The footage was used by prosecutors to support their claim that he had a policy of killing those he regarded as disloyal.

The importance of thinking about impact outside of a single broadcast was summed up by one of our interviewees who argued that,

In the world in which we live now, it doesn't look as though simply having something on television is the thing that shifts public opinion. It looks as though you achieve that by having a film that is in some way allied with a strand of thinking or opinion or campaigning, any of those things, that already exists in the real world (Christopher Hurd).

He went on to argue that,

The big problem with some films is by the time that they get to television, the director and all the people involved are exhausted and there are just no resources to turn the film into something that the world notices. My most recent example of this is a film that WorldView supported – After the Apocalypse. None of the impact of this film would have been possible if we hadn't got a grant from the Wellcome Trust to pay for outreach work... Putting money into films to support outreach, dissemination and distribution is a very valuable way of spending money. If you look at The End of the Line, the change in public attitudes did not come when 900,000 people watched it on television, it came when 12,000 watched it in the cinema and there was an enormous amount of press and publicity about it. There is a really important lesson to learn, that if the purpose of these films is to have an impact on public attitudes about development, supporting the stuff that goes on around the broadcast or precedes the broadcast, that turns it into a form of public event, is really important (Christopher Hurd).

THE BIGGER PICTURE

INTRODUCTION

For the past eleven years WorldView's core activity has been tackling the economic barriers to the commissioning of developing country programming in the UK, by providing 'seed' funding in various forms. However, as we concluded in the previous chapter, economic intervention alone can only go so far in addressing market failure in the provision of content about developing countries for UK television. In response to this fact, WorldView has adapted its activities over the past eleven years so as to address some of the additional challenges that affect the diversity and quantity of content about the rest of the world. This has included activities such as raising the profile of development content, undertaking research and funding innovative formats for international documentaries. As founder of WorldView, Sally-Ann Wilson, explains:

People in the UK today don't live their lives according to distinct 'boxes' marked 'domestic' and 'international'. Yet that is how broadcasters still seem to operate. The UK is part of a globalised world and our research and experience shows that to really make a difference WorldView needs to intervene at all levels within the media industry. Providing 'seed funding' has a significant impact but we need to build from that and create ripples that impact the wider industry.

In this chapter we shall review WorldView's strategy, using it as an illustrative example of how the broader causes of the lack of development-related content on UK television might be tackled. In so doing we will further explore the first of our research questions:

1. What are the most important obstacles preventing the commissioning of a greater **quantity** and **diversity** of development-related media content and how can these obstacles be addressed?

The discussion in this chapter is based on the results of a series of interviews with producers, filmmakers and commissioners working within the UK documentary industry. We asked interviewees to describe the hurdles within the UK industry, which they believe create barriers to developing and gaining commissions for programmes about developing countries. All interviewees have some experience or knowledge of WorldView and were also asked to give their opinion on the relevance, strengths and weaknesses of the project.

Interviewees

- Anna Miralis, Commissioning Editor, True Stories and Documentaries, Channel 4
- Brian Woods, Founder and Director, True Vision
- Christopher Hird, Founder and Managing Director, Dartmouth Films
- Dan Edelstyn, Filmmaker and WorldView bursar
- Guy Davidi, Filmmaker and WorldView bursar
- Flora Gregory, Editor, Al Jazeera
- Himesh Kar, WorldView Consultant
- Kate Townsend-Vision, Executive Producer, BBC Storyville
- Orlando Von Einsiedel, Founder, Grain Media and WorldView bursar
- Phil Grabsky, Founder, Seventh Art Productions and WorldView bursar
- Rachel Wexler, Producer, Bungalow Town Productions
- Sally-Ann Wilson, Founder, WorldView and Secretary-General, CBA



AUDIENCE (DIS)INTEREST AND PROGRAMME FORMATS

When asked about the hurdles to gaining commissions for development-related programming in the UK, all of our interviewees expressed the view that aside from economic factors, there were additional obstacles that prevented the commissioning and production of content set in and about developing countries.

The most common feature of our interviewees' responses was that there is a perception within the UK television industry that UK audiences are not interested in programming about the rest of the world. Indeed, 'audience interest' was the third most often cited obstacle to the commissioning of development-related programming in a survey of 48 programme makers, undertaken by the International Broadcasting Trust (IBT 2012). As Rachel Wexler, producer at Bungalow Town Productions put it:

I think that there is an idea amongst broadcasters that people don't really, can't really, engage with other cultures or other countries.

Filmmaker and founder of Grain Media, Orlando Von Einsiedel, also identified attitudes about perceived audience disinterest acting as a barrier to getting films about the rest of the world commissioned.

I think there is an attitudinal barrier. Sadly that view is probably vindicated with viewing figures ... But, definitely I've come up against that attitude in the industry.

Von Einsiedel went on to point out that this attitude has led to the types of foreign stories that are eventually commissioned by UK broadcasters often being forced to fit into narrow, UK-centric categories, further limiting the diversity of international content available on UK television.

Another main hurdle in terms of getting a television commission, and I'm talking for the UK terrestrials here, is they are only really interested in covering issues outside of the UK if there is a really strong UK tie to it.

The perception amongst broadcasters that audiences are disinterested in content about the rest of the world is not a new one and can, arguably, be linked to the formats that have historically been used for this type of content. As one interviewee pointed out, the use of dated formats, which are not engaging, has created the stereotype that development-related content is 'dry' or 'worthy',

With television, there has to be an entertainment element or value to it, to get people to watch it and to be hooked in. It's not just the broadcasters being closed to it necessarily...it's perhaps also that some people are

Five Broken Cameras



The English Surgeon



“There is an idea amongst broadcasters that people don’t really, can’t really, engage with other cultures or others countries.”

Rachel Wexler

reinforcing the stereotype that this stuff is dry/boring by lacking imagination in how they tell the story.

Indeed, traditional long-form documentary formats that deliver shocking or dramatic images of suffering and adversity, or take a ‘charity-appeal’ approach to developing country content, fail to win large numbers of viewers in the modern media landscape, where audiences are overwhelmed by choice in the media they consume and are increasingly looking to be entertained.

WorldView’s approach

In response to this and in an attempt to challenge the stereotype of developing country content being ‘dry’ and ‘worthy’, WorldView targets its support at innovative formats that appeal to broader audiences, as well as supporting content from non-UK voices. The innovative approaches to development-related programming WorldView has supported include non-factual and factual entertainment, web documentaries and comedy. For example, WorldView recently supported the *Awra Amba* interactive web documentary project (www.awraamba.com), produced by Write This Down Productions. This multimedia project allows viewers to take a 360 degree, interactive tour of a small weaving community in Northern Ethiopia. Users are able to navigate their own path through the web-doc and interact directly with

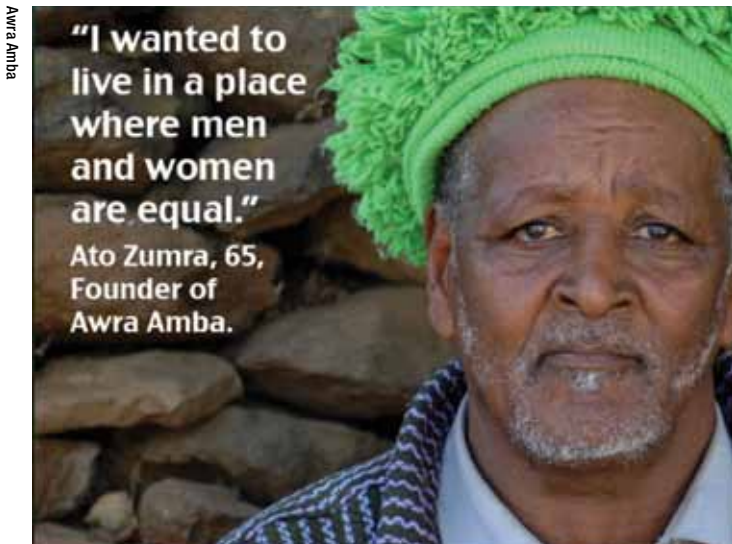
the community, through a diverse range of multimedia content. A further example of WorldView’s support for innovative formats is *War Oratorio*, a documentary-opera filmed in three war zones in Afghanistan, Uganda and Kashmir, which was screened on More4 in 2007.

WorldView has also challenged industry attitudes towards content about the wider-world by supporting international filmmakers as part of its strategy. A recent example of this is the WorldView-supported film, *5 Broken Cameras*, produced by Emat Burnat and Guy Davidi, who are based in Palestine and Israel respectively and use their own, non-UK, voices to tell their story.

As one interviewee said of WorldView’s approach,

*All the films that I’ve been involved in that have had WorldView support are extremely diverse and they are working with film makers who have got really distinct voices... So we’ve got *The English Surgeon*, *How to Re-Establish a Vodka Empire*, *Out of the Ashes*, there’s lots more, they are very different films from each other but they all did very well.*

More recently, WorldView have taken this approach further, introducing a new funding stream, known as the New Genres Fund, aimed at the development of fiction,



drama-documentaries and innovative multi-platform projects. WorldView Consultant, Himesh Kar, explains,

The New Genres Fund supports content development across a range of emerging and evolving media platforms, such as digital broadcast, transmedia, web-based and theatrical – including VoD and digital cinema. It's about innovation in storytelling that connects UK audiences with the wider world, supporting the development of original projects that are entertaining, compelling, and informative at the same time.

By focussing on the development of innovative formats for the coverage of developing countries, WorldView has attempted to challenge industry perceptions about audience interest and demonstrate the potential for this type of content. One interviewee argued that this is particularly important because,

Most films dealing with the developing world are focusing on certain elements and certain ways of telling stories, what I call: stories of pity and stories of condemnation. The audience of the 21st century is more and more sophisticated and cynical than it was 20 years ago and so

it is tired with these narratives. The challenge is to be able to bring out new types of stories and themes rather than the old ones that are focusing on human rights and classic development issues in the old patterns of storytelling.

Indeed, research, as well as viewing figures, have confirmed that taking a more innovative approach, allowing audiences to relate to characters' stories and be entertained as well as being informed about developing countries, is an effective way of engaging broader audiences. WorldView's most recently commissioned audience research with the International Broadcasting Trust (IBT), *The World in Focus* (Scott 2009), provided evidence that UK audiences are interested in programming about the rest of the world, so long as it is presented in an interesting and engaging way. For example, the report showed that reality formats set in developing countries, like *The World's Strictest Parents* (BBC3), were able to provide an entertaining way of understanding everyday life in developing countries, which many audiences responded well to. Participants in the research focus groups also expressed a strong desire to see more coverage of stories that lay in between 'squalor and safari', which they described as stories about 'real life', 'normal' and 'everyday lives' in developing countries.



AUDIENCES FOR WORLDVIEW SUPPORTED PROGRAMMES

“WorldView supported projects reach a range and diversity of audiences in the UK; via mainstream broadcasts, regional broadcasts, diaspora media channels and increasingly substantial cinema audiences.”

A critical factor in terms of WorldView impact is the ‘Audience Reach’ of projects supported, i.e. the size of the audience reached by any programme. Historically, broadcast audiences were limited. When WorldView was first established there were only five analogue terrestrial TV stations in the UK. The size of the audience was measured via an agreed system known as BARB [Broadcasters’ Audience Research Board]. The BARB system was established primarily for use by the advertising industry and access to the detailed information gathered by BARB has always been prohibitively expensive for WorldView.

Digital broadcasting makes the collection and collation of accurate audience data technically possible but in a more fragmented and competitive television market, the ‘reach’ of an audience for any programme is more closely guarded by broadcasters.

In spite of this, the WorldView team have been able to identify audience figures for many individual programmes that have received WorldView support. As confidence and trust in WorldView has grown, producers, and often broadcasters, have been willing to share information and statistics. The 3 Minute Wonders strand on Channel 4, for example, which has featured a number of WorldView supported outputs, regularly achieved an audience of around 1.2-1.5 million.

Using this data, it is possible to estimate the combined audience for the 103 programmes (or 108 hours of new international content) that WorldView has supported, through both the PDF and the MMF, to be approximately 320 million. This figure includes the audiences of repeats and on-demand services since, for programmes on digital channels in particular, these are important strategies for building larger audiences. It does not, however, include the audiences for the many cinema screenings.

Also, this figure does not include the size of the audience for screenings or broadcasts in other countries. Although the focus of WorldView supported programmes is always on reaching UK audiences, some programmes have had additional success, with audiences outside of the UK. For example, in its initial and six subsequent repeat broadcasts on More 4, *Afghan Star*, achieved an estimated audience of around 1.5 million in the UK. In Afghanistan it is reported to have been watched by an equally significant number of viewers.

WorldView supports a diverse range of programming about developing

Filming Afghan Star



countries and development issues. Inherent in this diversity is the fact that not all the programmes will appeal to a wide audience.

By contrast, many of the WorldView programmes broadcast on regional news bulletins or digital channels, for example, have received significantly smaller audiences. However, the fact of being on regional television does not necessarily mean small audiences. Regional television audiences of more than 500,000 have been achieved by multi-platform projects such as *The Hospital: Gambia and Uganda: 33 Years On*. In a digital media landscape regional news and current affairs programmes are effective aggregators of audience interest. Early evening regional news programmes frequently attract larger audiences than international documentary strands, such as BBC Storyville, that are now marginalised in the network schedules. Regional programmes and inserts may also have a significant impact as they aim to connect with diaspora communities in the UK.

In conclusion it is evident that WorldView supported projects reach a range and diversity of audiences in the UK; via mainstream broadcasts, regional broadcasts, diaspora media channels and increasingly substantial cinema audiences. WorldView projects have also reached wide audiences via screenings at music festivals, popular festivals, installations and art exhibitions. One project [*Not Waving But Drowning*] was also communicated to the public via an advertising campaign on buses as well as by a broadcast documentary and radio outputs.

Many WorldView supported programmes that make use of innovative and engaging formats have also helped to illustrate that programming about developing countries can reach relatively large audiences through achieving impressive audience figures. For example, *Geldof in Africa* (BBC1) maintained audiences of between 5 and 7 million during the summer of 2005, whilst several WorldView supported outputs have featured as Comic Relief inserts on BBC1, drawing very large audiences. Others have built relatively large audiences over time via repeat showings. The Africa, India and China School series' for example, all accumulated audiences of many millions through numerous repeats on BBC4 and BBC2.

INDUSTRY ATTITUDES

Aside from the issue of audience interest, the producers and filmmakers we interviewed also claimed there to be a general disinterest and unwillingness amongst broadcasters to commission unknown stories about developing countries. As one interviewee put it,

There is not, in my view, a strong part of the culture of any of the broadcasters that says that a significant part of their job is to bring unknown stories about different parts of the world to the public.

A number of interviewees went on to assert that a general lack of industry commitment to programming about

developing countries by UK broadcasters is evident in, and reinforced by, the way that this type of content is treated in the schedules. As Rachel Wexler argued,

One of the biggest challenges is that television broadcast slots are so hard to come by for this kind of content. There are really only two main slots that have that remit, True Stories and BBC Storyville.

Several interviewees argued that, as a result of the diminishing number of slots being given to this kind of content in broadcasters' schedules, getting a commission is increasingly competitive, limiting the diversity of films that are eventually broadcast. Moreover, they claimed that those programmes that are commissioned and broadcast are often limited, in terms of audience reach, by their positioning in the schedule. In other words, they are unlikely to attract large audiences because they are aired at less popular times or on digital channels. Similarly, it's rare for developing country content to receive substantial trailing or promotion prior to broadcast, meaning that audiences are even less likely to be aware of it. This serves to reinforce the industry idea that developing country content does not get significant ratings, or interest from UK audiences.

WorldView's approach

As well as supporting innovative formats and diverse voices



“There is not, in my view, a strong part of the culture of any of the broadcasters that says that a significant part of their job is to bring unknown stories about different parts of the world to the public.”

and stories, an additional way that WorldView has attempted to tackle a disengaged attitude towards developing country content within the industry is through their Multimedia Fund (MMF). The MMF not only works to facilitate development-related coverage in the short-term, it also enables emerging producers and filmmakers to research and get experience of developing countries at the start of their careers, with the aim of influencing their commitment to international coverage in the long term. As Sally-Ann Wilson explains,

The media world operates at a frenetic pace and the MMF is unique in that it enables filmmakers to spend time in one location. This in turn means they can build genuine connections and find stories that will resonate with UK and international audiences.

The initial idea for this approach was outlined in *Viewing the World*, which stated that this kind of project ‘could build up a core of producers with heightened awareness of international and multicultural issues, and with direct access to ideas and fellow programme-makers around the world’ (DFID 2000:181). This approach has proven successful, with many MMF bursars, having spent a significant amount of time in developing countries at an early stage of their career, going on to make more films about developing countries. For example, James

Smith, who went to India as an MMF bursar, went on to become the founding producer on the BBC series, *Tribe*, an extremely successful and arguably the first big, popular anthropological series set in the Global South. Similarly, Amanda Burrell, who spent 18 months in India in 2003, continues to make programmes about India and has had several films broadcast.

Although not specifically designed for the same purpose, WorldView’s Project Development Fund (PDF) has also helped to nurture long-term interest in developing country content and encouraged beneficiaries to go on to do more work internationally. For example, Andrew Lang, a PDF beneficiary who made the film *Sons of Cuba* went on to make a recent Unreported World film for Channel 4 about the film industry in Afghanistan. Similarly, Carl Hunter used his PDF grant to develop a series of short-films entitled *Asylum Allotments*, which were broadcast on Channel 4’s ‘3 minute wonder’ slot. He later went on to write the comedy film *Grow Your Own*, which also dealt with issues related to asylum seekers in the UK.

WorldView also targets media students and trainees as they enter the industry through providing grants for projects that are identified by schemes such as the Edinburgh TV Festival ‘Fast Track’ and the Television for Young People initiatives.



Sons of Cuba

PUTTING INTERNATIONAL CONTENT ON THE AGENDA

When asked for their views on addressing broadcasters' attitudes towards programming about developing countries, a number of interviewees pointed to the need for robust, independent and reliable research into audience preferences, as well as the benefits to the public of this kind of content. As Rachel Wexler explains,

I think doing research into audiences and their perspectives is really important. And getting people from different disciplines to do the research, because I think once you are in the industry it's so easy to think it's the whole world.

WorldView's approach

Interviewees identified the importance of a research role for WorldView, a role in which the project has been engaged for some years. In 2005, WorldView formed a research partnership with the International Broadcasting Trust (IBT) called the *Reflecting the Real World Research Group*. This collaboration resulted in the commissioning and publication of numerous research reports on audience perceptions and engagement with development issues and development coverage in the UK. Making use of its contacts and its own extensive knowledge base, WorldView has used this research to raise the profile of development programming, disseminating the research publications widely amongst broadcasters, commissioners, policy makers and filmmakers.

WorldView has also used its growing brand as a means of putting international content on the agenda, through attending and holding events with industry stakeholders and parliamentarians. WorldView also regularly participates in and runs workshops at Sheffield Doc Fest and other similar media industry events.

Interviewees were clear that any research should not only be used to inform broadcasters about the audience's relationship with developing country content but also as a lobbying and policy tool. For example, Christopher Hird argued that the lobbying of broadcasters should be more than the 'whining of people like me' and should consist of 'the considered views of those with both a policy and a financial understanding, based upon data and research.' With this kind of research to back up WorldView's lobbying power he claims, 'the chances are that these people (commissioners and broadcasters) would think maybe something is possible.'

Through promotion, research, funding and supporting innovative formats that are shown to be well received by audiences, WorldView has during its eleven year life worked towards raising awareness of this type of content amongst the top levels of both broadcasting and government. Using their experience and understanding of the industry, the WorldView team has successfully lobbied policymakers and broadcasters to make policy changes in support of more



Emile Dimeen/MNF Bursar



diverse international content. For example, in the last charter reviews of the BBC and Channel 4, WorldView and IBT lobbied to secure a new primary purpose for these public service broadcasters to 'bring the world to the UK' (BBC) and 'challenge people to see the world differently' (Channel 4).

As Sally-Ann Wilson explains,

I believe that WorldView has done more for international coverage in the UK than provide funding for the projects it has directly supported. WorldView has been part of an enabling environment for coverage about the wider-world. Working closely with IBT, WorldView has ensured that for the past eleven years there has been a 'buzz' around international programming. Would series such as Last Man Standing and the Stacey Dooley programmes have happened if WorldView hadn't existed? Personally, I'm not sure that they would.

When asked about the future, a number of interviewees said they saw WorldView, with its industry knowledge and experience as well as its body of research, fulfilling the role of an ambassador for international content in the UK, both in terms of providing funding and lobbying power. As one interviewee said,

I would love WorldView to lead on lobbying, helping to

shift the attitude within the industry toward this kind of content. Especially if they can put their name to it because WorldView is going to become a really big name.

ECONOMICS AND RISK

Interestingly, all of our interviewees confirmed that in their opinion it is still the economic barriers, which were outlined in the previous chapter, that are the most significant challenge for developing country content. As Christopher Hird explained,

There is a financial cost of getting to a position at which you can get a commissioning editor to commission a programme, which is one of the reasons why the WorldView grant scheme is genuinely useful.

A number of interviewees also pointed to risk, also addressed in the previous chapter, as a major hurdle for development content. Filmmaker and Director of *How to Re-establish a Vodka Empire*, Dan Edelstyn, explained:

Broadcasters want to mitigate their risk as much as possible by, in a sense, not funding anything until it's gone passed its 'critical mass'. When it's gained that critical momentum, which means it is already more or less in the can, then they come on with the funding. So who is paying for it up to that point? Well I suppose entities like WorldView are paying for it.



In fact, the issues of funding and commissioning risk were important, not just for our relatively small number of interviewees. They were also cited within the much larger IBT industry survey as being the two greatest obstacles preventing involvement with television programmes based in developing countries (IBT 2012). One interviewee from the survey was recorded as saying,

[WorldView] plays a crucial role in helping programmes about the developing world get made, as without its development grants, many ideas would not even reach the point of broadcaster commission.

CONCLUSION

In answer to our research question, our interviewees made clear that the economic barriers that we discuss in Chapter 1 remain the most challenging obstacles to developing country content being commissioned and made for UK audiences. These results suggest that eleven years after its inception, WorldView's grants, which are primarily aimed at addressing the issues of funding and risk, remain a very relevant and valuable intervention. Indeed, with the contraction of the documentary industry and less funding available from broadcasters, interviewees even argued that WorldView support is needed now more than ever and is plugging a significant gap in the industry.

But whilst this may be the case, we also learned from our interviewees that there are other barriers to developing country content that cannot be addressed simply through 'seed' funding. Issues of perceived audience disinterest, unimaginative formats, ingrained attitudes towards stories set in developing countries, unfavourable scheduling and ratings-chasing are also limiting the quantity and diversity of developing country content on UK television. WorldView has attempted to address these issues as an adjunct to its 'seed' funding strategy by supporting innovative formats that often win larger audiences, encouraging international filmmakers who provide non-UK voices, targeting producers and filmmakers early in their careers, carrying out research into audience interests and by lobbying policy makers and broadcasters.

Changes in industry culture and attitudes are notoriously difficult to quantify and it is therefore difficult to measure in definitive terms how successful WorldView has been in tackling industry attitudes towards this type of content. Changes to broadcasting culture do not happen overnight and according to our interviewees there is still a long way to go in shifting the attitudes of many broadcasters and commissioners towards developing country content. However, over the past eleven years WorldView has shown, through their commissioning success-rate, audience figures and the awards received by the films that they have supported,



Mat Heywood MNF-Bursar, Malawi



Filming War Oriforo/James Kent

“[WorldView] plays a crucial role in helping programmes about the developing world get made, as without its development grants, many ideas would not even reach the point of broadcaster commission.”

that with targeted resources, a strong knowledge base and a commitment to innovation, they have been able to increase the diversity and quantity of development-related content that is available on UK television.

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FRAMING DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

In the previous two chapters we combined an evaluation of WorldView's 'seed' funding and other activities with a wider discussion of the significance of different obstacles preventing greater quantity and diversity of development-related media content. In this chapter, the dual purpose of this report continues as we combine an evaluation of a small number of specific WorldView supported programmes with an attempt to answer the following much broader question:

How can we assess the impact of media coverage about developing countries on audience perceptions?

In this section we argue that the concepts of 'values' (the 'guiding principles' we refer to when assessing and acting on situations) and 'frames' (pre-learned knowledge that we use to understand discourse and ideas) provide a particularly useful framework for assessing media coverage of developing countries. We seek to demonstrate this through a discourse analysis of a small selection of WorldView supported programmes.

The approach taken in this chapter builds on the work of two recent reports. The first is *Finding Frames: New Ways to Engage the Public in Global Poverty* (Darnton and Kirk 2011), which explores the use of frames in international development NGO communications. The second is *Common Cause: The Case for Working with our Cultural Values* (Crompton 2010), which addresses the importance of using frames to reinforce specific values in environmental campaigning. These two reports argue that if NGOs are to encourage meaningful public engagement there is a need to reevaluate the dominant messages in their communication materials, with a view to

actively fostering 'self-transcendent' values. These are the common human values which motivate us to care for people beyond our immediate circle and to tackle 'bigger-than-self' issues, such as global poverty or environmental degradation.

However, while both of these influential reports take campaign materials as their starting point, we attempt to extend the debate to include other forms of media content, particularly television. We argue that this is a significant area for consideration because, in the words of Martin Kirk (2011), 'this is how most people come into contact with these issues. So changing the perceptions on television will make a huge difference. It is a challenge for broadcasters as much as it is a challenge for NGOs'.

As a result of our analysis we conclude that, in their different ways, all the films discussed successfully establish a sense of connectivity between the UK-based audience and the films' distant protagonists. Each film also looks beyond 'negative' frames for development to explore the root causes of the issues raised. We also surmise that, although the findings don't neatly adhere to frames set out in *Finding Frames* and *Common Cause*, a frames and values approach is a useful way of assessing the impact of media coverage about developing countries on the audience's perceptions of development.

The chapter is structured as follows: Background Literature discusses relevant frames and values literature in order to set the context for the analysis. The Methodology details reasons for choosing discourse analysis and the sampling and analysis methods. Finally, the Analysis section presents the results of the research.



FRAMES AND VALUES: BACKGROUND LITERATURE

The *Finding Frames* (Darnton and Kirk 2011) report reiterates the argument previously made by VSO (2001) that given the current lack of UK public engagement with global poverty, there is a need to change the way that development messages are communicated. They suggest an approach that links frames and values as one means of bringing about this change. This is because public engagement with development is based on more than simply being able to access the 'facts'. Research has shown that people's values are what motivate them to act on social and environmental issues. Frames are useful cognitive structures that provide the connection between the concrete media text and more abstract values.

Values for development

Values are 'the guiding principles by which we act, and by which we evaluate both our own actions and those of others' (Darnton and Kirk 2011:40). Extensive empirical research has been carried out into human values. This research, pioneered by Shalom Schwartz, a social psychologist, has helped to identify ten value types, which are consistent across different cultures (see [Figure 3.2](#)). Family, education and the media will all contribute to shaping an individual's values, particularly in our formative childhood years, but values also change through lived experience (Crompton 2010:35). For example Holmes and

colleagues (2011:2) explain how someone might increasingly value tradition after watching history documentaries, or desire social status after reading tabloid gossip pages.

According to Schwartz's research, people with a strong sense of 'universalism' values will hold issues such as equality, social justice and world peace in high regard. Darnton and Kirk (2011:53) consider these findings specifically in relation to development messages and make the case that those with a strong sense of 'universalism' values will be more inclined to take concrete action relative to global poverty, whether in the form of donating or campaigning for social change. In short, values matter because they impact on behaviour (Crompton 2010:8). Viewed in the context of our analysis, certain WorldView films may encourage a sense of connectivity between audience and central protagonists and according to the theory this will strengthen self-transcendent 'universalism' values, concerning care for all people, not just those socially proximate to us.

Having considered how development messages can potentially strengthen universalism values and how these values may have a knock on effect on behaviour, the following section explores the concept of frames, which provides a tangible means of understanding how values are forged by verbal and visual language.

FIGURE 3.1: THE NEED TO ASSESS THE IMPACT OF MEDIA COVERAGE ABOUT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ON AUDIENCE PERCEPTIONS.

The need for a coherent means of assessing the impact of developing country programming on audience perceptions has been highlighted in a number of previous reports. In *Viewing the World*, for example, the authors conclude that we require: Additional indicators to ratings for measuring a programme's worth. What other ways could be used to measure the value and impact of programming identified as important? (DFID 2000:183).

In fact, the lack of a coherent framework, or even an informed vocabulary, with which to discuss or assess the value of developing country programming is apparent in the *Viewing the World* report itself. Throughout, there is no clear or consistent conceptualisation of what it is about the media's impact on public cognition that is under investigation. In the 550-word conclusion, for example, references to the ways in which the public are disposed towards developing countries are variously defined as 'engagement', 'interest', 'understanding', 'perceptions', 'appetite' and being 'informed'.

Television plays a crucial part in influencing public understanding of world affairs. This role has become ever more important in a globally interrelated society. But

these studies raise doubts as to whether television viewers are being adequately informed about, and engaged in, the world at large (DFID 2000:6).

Similarly, it is argued in *Viewing the World* and elsewhere (see VSO 2001) that media coverage of developing countries is 'negative' and should be more 'positive'. Western publics are seen to have 'negative' perceptions of developing countries and ways need to be found of using the media to encourage them to be more 'positive'. We regard this 'negative'/'positive' dichotomy as problematic because it oversimplifies the complex and nuanced ways in which developing countries are represented and how these representations influence audience attitudes and behaviours.

In summary, we consider the search for a more robust means of assessing the impact of media coverage about developing countries on an audience's perceptions to be an important project for two reasons. Firstly, such a framework can enable us to isolate which aspects of a programme might be important in enhancing its impact. Secondly, it can provide a means of assessing the value of such programming.

“Public engagement with development is based on more than simply being able to access the ‘facts’. Research has shown that people’s values are what motivate them to act on social and environmental issues.”

Framing development communications

Frames are both ‘mental structures’ (the associated knowledge around language, which give structure to our ideas) and ‘communicative tools’ that can be used to elicit these structures and form our interpretations of discourse. As cognitive structures they serve as ‘frames of reference for interpreting new information’ (Holmes et al 2011:37). Frames are tied to language. For example Darnton and Kirk (2011:76) explain how ‘tax-relief’ triggers association with a ‘relief and rescue scenario’ and the phrase ‘war on terror’ evokes deeply rooted associations with war and conflict rather than, for example, more peaceable, international law.

Deep frames in development communications

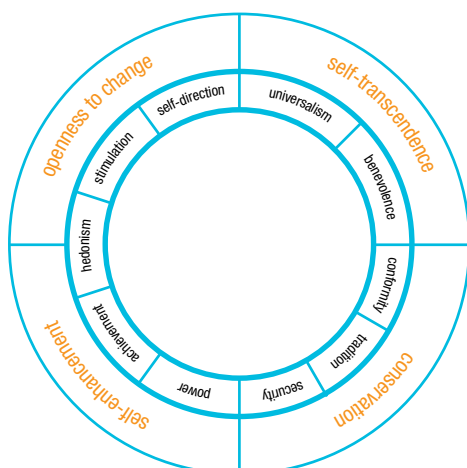
The work of cognitive linguists such as George Lakoff has been particularly significant in frames research. He distinguishes between deep and surface frames (Crompton 2010:41-2). Deep frames are broader in scope and ‘like ideologies or grand narratives’, tend to be applied across a variety of different situations’ (Holmes et al 2011:36). They provide the ‘evaluative context for the discourse’ and frequently centre on ideals like freedom and respect for authority. As such they are strongly related to values (Darnton and Kirk 2011:75). Darnton and Kirk (2011:6) cite the *Make Poverty History Campaign* as a recent example of deep frames in development messages. They argue that although the campaign tried to ‘reframe global

poverty’ as being about *justice* not *charity*, ultimately it fell short because these transformational core messages were overshadowed by the transactional focus of the campaign. The appeal for justice was ‘drowned out by the noise of celebrities, white wristbands and pop concerts’.

Surface frames in development communications

Surface frames determine the angle from which a subject is viewed (Darnton and Kirk 2011:75). They are closer to the simple meanings of words than deep frames. They refer, not just the dictionary definition, but all the linked knowledge evoked by a word. Certain surface frames activate deep frames. This is why it is important to get the surface framing right in communications relating to development. For example, the word ‘development’ might be considered problematic because it evokes notions of paternalism and technical expertise. ‘It activates the ‘moral order’ deep frame in which ‘undeveloped’ nations are like backward children who can only grow up (develop) by following the lessons given by ‘adult’ nations. (Darnton and Kirk 2011:8). With different surface framing the word ‘development’ can trigger different deep frames. For example, if reframed as ‘development as care for distant others’ or, in Amartya Sen’s terminology, ‘development as freedom’ the evaluative context of the word ‘development’ changes (Darnton and Kirk 2011:59). (See [Figure 3.4](#) for examples of surface frames.)

FIGURE 3.2: SCHWARTZ’S VALUES CIRCUMPLEX (HOLMES AND COLLEAGUES 2011:14-16)



Values can be plotted across a circle of compatible and opposing values called a circumplex.

The ten value groupings are divided along two axes. ‘Openness to change’ as opposed to ‘conservation’ relates to values centred on independence and acceptance of change in opposition to values linked to desire to preserve the past and adhere to the current status quo.

The ‘self-enhancement’ versus ‘self-transcendence’ axis refers to the pursuit of personal success as opposed to concern for others.

Openness to change

1. Hedonism: pleasure and gratification for oneself.
2. Stimulation: excitement, novelty and challenge in life.
3. Self-direction: independent thought and action.

Conservation

4. Tradition: respect for ideas provided by traditional culture or religion.
5. Conformity: restraint from actions that violate social norms.
6. Security: safety, harmony, and stability in the context of society, relationships and self.

Self-enhancement

7. Power: social status and prestige, control of people and resources.
8. Achievement: personal success gained by showing competence in accordance with social standards.

Self-transcendence

9. Universalism: understanding, appreciation and protection of all people and nature.
10. Benevolence: concern for those within our immediate social circle.

As part of the *Finding Frames* report Darnton and Kirk (2011) conducted a 'staged conversation' with high-level NGO staff. Joe Brewer, a cognitive frames analyst, observed this 'conversation'. Working together the group discerned a set of deep frames, which they found to be present in UK development NGO discourses. As this was an exploratory study, Darnton and Kirk emphasise the need for ongoing research to further test these frames. This is what we attempt to do through our analysis of WorldView films. A selection of these opposing deep frames is discussed in greater detail to the right.

THE FREE MARKET FRAME

- The world is made up of individuals motivated to maximise their self-interest.
- Wealth is created through the hard work of these individuals.
- Free markets are moral: profit is maximised when individuals act on their self-interest.
- Markets naturally produce optimal outcomes.

SHARED PROSPERITY FRAME

- The world as filled with natural manmade support systems, referred to as 'the commons'.
- These generate wealth and are owned by all.
- Shared infrastructure produces wealth and empowers us to cooperate.
- Markets are just one piece of this shared infrastructure.

FIGURE 3.3: DEEP FRAMES FOR DEVELOPMENT (DARNTON AND KIRK 2011:83-86)

METHODOLOGY

What is discourse analysis?

While Darnton and Kirk don't propose a precise technique for discerning frames and values in media texts they do suggest that because frames are found in language, discourse analysis provides a suitable means of analysis. Michel Foucault's theories have shaped thinking around approaches to discourse analysis, which focuses on the socially constructed nature of media texts. He argued that language does not just reflect the world but produces it by constructing knowledge and reinforcing certain ideologies over others (Rose 2001:136). A key strength of the method is its attention to complexity as it seeks to shed light through 'exemplification, argumentation and narration' (Herring 2004:369). Moreover, as a flexible method, it is suited to analysing multidimensional texts like film and television programmes because it can be applied to written, spoken and visual language.

Sampling and collection methods

Van Dijk (2006:99) argues that 'there is no such thing as a 'complete' discourse analysis' because there are so many potential units and levels which can be examined. For this reason it is essential to delimit what is being analysed and to make this selection based on the aims of the research. Consequently, a decision was made to evaluate one film

supported by each of the principal WorldView initiatives. These are the Multimedia Fund, Programme Development Fund and the recently established YourWorldView. The most recent film supported by each was chosen at the time of writing this report. The aim was to give a rounded account of a variety of programmes supported by WorldView within the time and space constraints of the research.

In order to examine the frames and values in each film an analysis checklist was drawn up. Categories included:

1. What frames/values are reinforced by the choices made around **filming techniques**? What use (if any) is made of live action, archive footage and/or interviews?
2. What frames/values are reinforced by the filmmaker's choices relative to **who speaks** on film? Does the filmmaker make use of interviews, expert testimonies, narration or his/her own (self-reflexive) voice?
3. In what ways does the **cinematography** serve the filmmaker's aims relative to the frames/values emphasised by the film? Consider camera angles, distance, movement, colour, focus and exposure.
4. What **organising principals** does the filmmaker follow? For example is the action chronological? How do these choices impact on the frames/values evidenced in the film?
5. **Editing**: what are we asked to focus on and what do absences reveal? What purpose does this serve

FIGURE 3.4: SURFACE FRAMES FOR DEVELOPMENT (DARNTON AND KIRK 2011:116-117)

The **Change the System Frame** focuses on the reformation of power structures and institutions as a means of tackling poverty.

The **Charity Frame** views the International Development NGO as the means by which wealthy people to share their money with the poor.

The **Empathy Frame** sees the key value that spurs people to care for the poor as being based on feelings of togetherness and compassion.

The **International Solidarity Frame** reflects the idea that rich and poor are part of the same community and that what affects some will have a knock-on effect on all.

The **Poverty Frame** views the issue of concern as poverty to the exclusion of interrelated issues such as trade, corruption and environmental degradation.

The **Social Justice Frame** draws attention to race and class inequities. Its emphasis is on justice and dignity.

The **Social Responsibility Frame** hinges on the underlying value that motivates people to recognise the role they can play in improving society.

ELITE GOVERNANCE FRAME

- Governance is too complex for ordinary people.
- Experts are needed to make the important decisions.
- Elites are necessary for democracy because they bring expertise to difficult problems.

PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY FRAME

- People are capable of governing themselves
- Elected officials play a part in the democratic process through public engagement.
- Ordinary people are a source of valuable insight.

THE MORAL ORDER FRAME

- We are what we are because of the workings of nature, which is moral.
- Natural hierarchies of power have developed over time. Because nature is moral these power hierarchies are also seen to be moral. These include God above man, man above nature, adults above children, Western culture above non-Western culture and men above women.

NON-HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURES

- An alternative to the moral order frame is envisaged as being founded on non-hierarchical structures.
- This frame centres on strong moral purpose and values of equality.
- Drawing on existing structures in political philosophy, cultural anthropology or religion may help to further shape this frame.
- The idea of non-hierarchical structures resonates with current development approaches such as South-South partnerships.

relative to the frames/values evidenced in the film?
6. How does **imagery** impact the frames/values promoted by the film? Consider for example use of still images, animation and symbolic imagery.

See Beach (2012), Campsall (2005) and Nowlan (2012) for further detail regarding the analysis of television and film media.

Critiques of the approach

Despite its usefulness discourse analysis is a subjective process dependent on researcher interpretation (Rose 2001:130). Secondly in conducting a film analysis there are three sites of meaning-making. These are the production of the film, the film itself and its reception by an audience (Fairclough 2003:10). Discourse analysis can tell us about the content of the film but it cannot tell us definitively how different audiences will interpret the film or the behind-the-scenes motivations of the film's producers. Thirdly, because of the in-depth nature of conducting a discourse analysis it was necessary to focus on a small number of films. As a result, while observations may be of relevance to WorldView's most recent output, overarching conclusions about all WorldView supported content cannot be surmised from an analysis of these films alone. Fourthly, because of the lack of comparison with non-WorldView supported outputs it is not possible to conclusively prove the differences between content funded by the organisation and more mainstream programmes related to international

development. Lastly it should be noted that although there is currently rich debate taking place in relation to frames and values in development messages, this research is still in early stages. Consequently there is a need to develop a stronger body of empirical research and clear-cut methodologies to fuel the debate. Therefore, rather than attempting to make definitive claims we seek to add a new dimension to the frames and values literature through our focus on film and television and it is our hope that this initial exploratory study serves as a jumping off point for further investigation.

Anna Cavell MMF-Bursar



Only When I Dance



ANALYSIS

The Boy Mir: Ten Years in Afghanistan

The Boy Mir: Ten Years in Afghanistan is a feature length documentary that charts the transition from childhood to adulthood of an Afghan boy named Mir. In the UK it was screened under the title *The Boy from Bamiyan* on Channel 4 in November 2011. The perspectives of Mir and his family provide the vehicle through which the filmmaker Phil Grabsky documents changes in Afghan life between 2001 and 2010 after the retreat of the Taliban marked the end of thirty-years of civil war. We argue that the film successfully activates ‘universalism’ values of equality and social justice in three ways. Firstly, the film explores *universal themes*, which audiences can relate to. Secondly, the story is told, almost exclusively, through Afghan eyes. As such, it offers a change from the plethora of programmes about Afghanistan that focus on the experiences of western occupying forces. Thirdly, the film challenges conventional surface frames for development relating to poverty, aid and charity, as the film’s Afghan protagonists are depicted as the heroes of their own story.

Universal themes

The Boy Mir: Ten Years in Afghanistan triggers ‘universalism’ values through exploration of common human experiences such as family relationships and growing up. It touches on

the ‘Empathy’ surface frame (see Figure 3.4) that hinges on underlying values of ‘commonality and compassion’. The narrative revolves around intimate glimpses of day-to-day life and focuses on the ups and downs of *family relationships*. These are made easy for the audience to relate to regardless of geographic location. For example, against a backdrop of poverty and destruction, we see Mir’s father Abdul laughing fondly at his son’s misbehaviour. Like children the world over, Mir is told off by his mum for not studying hard enough. We hear him despair ‘Oh no mum is angry again!’ And we witness Mir’s parents bickering as financial strain weighs heavily upon both of them.

Similarly, the theme of *growing up* taps into another universal human experience. As a little boy Mir plays, laughs and fights with his friends. As he grows he assumes adult responsibilities; ploughing the arid land and working in a coal mine for meagre wages. ‘I am now a man’ he says more than once. As a teenager Mir wants to be liked and is influenced by both the media and peer pressure. He sees a motorbike on television and decides to save up for one. He spends all the credit on his brother’s mobile phone and wants to ‘call girls in Kabul’. Although he lives in extraordinary circumstances, in many ways Mir’s transition from child to teenager tells a universal story.

The Boy Mir – Ten Years in Afghanistan



From left to right: Mir: a universal teenager?; growing up as common human experience

“By focussing on our common humanity the filmmaker highlights the injustice of the grinding poverty Mir’s family experiences. As Grabsky points out in an interview with television producer David Cox (2011), ‘they are just like you and I and the fact that people just like you and I are eating grass in this day and age is shocking.’”

By focussing on our common humanity the filmmaker highlights the injustice of the grinding poverty Mir’s family experiences. As Grabsky points out in an interview with television producer David Cox (2011), ‘they are just like you and I and the fact that people just like you and I are eating grass in this day and age is shocking’.

Afghanistan through Afghan eyes

The Boy Mir: Ten Years in Afghanistan documents change in post 2001 Afghanistan as seen through the eyes of a poor, rural Afghan family. According to film critic Jules Brenner (2011) it offers a unique perspective of the country’s culture, seldom seen in the UK media. Often western media coverage of Afghanistan is synonymous with war, violence, religious extremism and foreign intervention. However *The Boy Mir: Ten Years in Afghanistan* shifts discourse from the macro to the micro level, from an outsider to an insider viewpoint. As life in Mir’s family’s village is relatively disconnected from Taliban activity the film becomes a ‘study of generalized human experience’ in which the day-to-day details of family life become ‘a unique way for an Afghan family of little opportunity to share their triumphs and sufferings with the larger world’ (Brenner 2011).

As blogger Kelsey Atherton (2011) puts it, Mir’s narrative, as experienced through his eyes, does not adhere to ‘the grand arc of struggle between the interloping Americans and the

indomitable Afghan people’. Wider events are touched upon but they seem almost as far removed from Mir’s reality as they are from most of the audience’s. For example, audio of western news reports is played over scenes of day-to-day life in Mir’s community, such as a local football game. The disparity between the juxtaposed war reportage voiceover and scenes of slow-moving rural life seems incongruous. At points in the film we literally experience wider events through the eyes and ears of Mir and his family, as they listen to the news on the radio or watch developments on television. In these instances both the viewer and Mir experience countrywide developments through the prism of the media, rather than first hand. Indeed we only witness an actual military presence in Mir’s community twice: at the start of the film when a helicopter casts a shadow on a hillside as it flies overhead, and in the tenth year of filming when Mir meets ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) soldiers for the first time.

Mir’s encounter with international forces is narrated from his perspective. Although the soldiers arrive armed and in big trucks, Mir observes their shared humanity, ‘They came out with their big guns and I was scared *but I noticed they were scared too*’. This comment is telling because it reverses the conventional victim framework. Rather than ‘developed countries’ rescuing ‘victims’ of underdevelopment, here we witness a young Afghan boy expressing compassion for foreign soldiers who he senses share his fear.



The Boy Mir – Ten Years in Afghanistan

The positioning of the audience in the Afghan protagonist's shoes activates the 'Empathy' frame whereby care for the poor is based on feelings of togetherness and compassion. This approach demonstrates one way in which 'universalism' values can be activated and audiences might be encouraged engage on a deeper level with the lives of those in developing countries.

Challenging conventional frames for development

The Boy Mir: Ten Years in Afghanistan touches on development issues such as poverty, the plight of refugees and gender inequalities. The long-term perspective of the film and the intimate portraits of the key characters serve to 'personalise development concepts' and 'give each a name and a story' (Camp 2011). The way in which these issues are portrayed challenges the surface framing traditionally associated with international development. This section will discuss the 'Poverty' and 'Charity' surface frames to illustrate this point (see Figure 3.4).

To firstly consider the 'Poverty' frame, which views the issue of concern as 'poverty often to the exclusion of interrelated issues'. Poverty is indeed a constant theme in the film. Mir's family are forced to eat cow tripe that the butcher has thrown away in order to survive. At the start of the film, as refugees, they live in a cave. When they move back to their village they work in a dangerous coalmine, as this is their only means of earning a living. However, poverty is not viewed as removed

from wider issues. Throughout the film education is framed as holding the key to liberation from hardship. Mir experiences a constant tug between work, for the short-term survival of his family and school as a means of improving his long-term prospects. His father Abdul has mixed emotions on the subject: 'When you have food then you can go to school'. But his brother Khushdel who laments his own illiteracy is constant in encouraging Mir to further his education: 'I've told you a thousand times, this is all about your future, not mine. I am illiterate. I did not go to school. That's why I've ended up digging coal in a mountain which could collapse at any minute.'

The 'Charity' frame positions development NGOs as conduits through which money is donated to the poor. *The Boy Mir: Ten Years in Afghanistan* however, challenges conventional notions of charity. When aid is delivered to villagers who scramble for clothes being handed out, Mir's mother refuses to take the clothing and chastises her neighbours; 'shame on you for behaving like beggars!' Mir's family hope to be given one of a hundred houses being built by an NGO for Bamiyan cave dwellers but they aren't allocated one and in this instance fall through the net of charity. Towards the end of the film Mir scoffs at the ineffectiveness of notebooks given out by soldiers visiting his village, pointing out that he could afford to buy them himself. In short Mir's family do not fit the 'victim' framework often associated with the portrayal of poor people in

The Boy Mir – Ten Years in Afghanistan



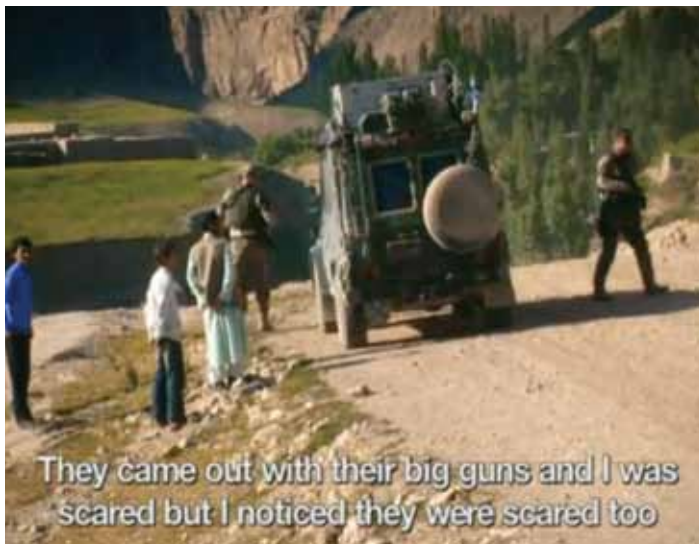
From left to right: mediated events from an Afghan perspective; soldiers visit Mir's village; education as escape from poverty

development communications. They are the heroes of their own story. Their humour and resilience shines throughout the film as exemplified in the scene in which Khushdel dances with his friends as they work in a coalmine ('it might be a mine but we still need to entertain ourselves'). Mir's hopeful comment 'I want to carry on with my studies and become a headmaster or president' sums up his optimism in spite of the difficulties he faces.

Summary

In summary, the dominant surface frames throughout the film are the 'Empathy' and 'Social Justice' rather than the more disempowering 'Poverty' or 'Charity' frames. In terms of deep frames the film's focus on intimate portraits of people 'who are just like you or I' evokes the 'Non-Hierarchical Structures' frame (see Figure 3.3) with its emphasis on equality. The 'Participatory Democracy' frame (see Figure 3.3) is also evident in the sense that the survival of Mir's family comes across as being the result of their hard work, cooperation and ingenuity. In essence the film activates 'universalism' values by focussing on the commonalities of human experience, viewed from an Afghan perspective, and by avoiding the 'victim' framework often observed in communications relating to international development.

The Boy Mir - Ten Years in Afghanistan



The Boy Mir - Ten Years in Afghanistan



Cashmere Crossing Continents

The 8-minute long film by Simon Ostrovsky (screened on BBC *Newsnight* on 13 October 2011) addresses the exploitation of North Korean workers who are exported to Mongolia to work for the profit of their government. They are given food and board but payment for their labour goes directly to the North Korean dictatorship. The film draws a link to the UK through its focus on the practices of the Edinburgh Woollen Mill (EWM) whose cashmere jumpers are made at the 'Eermel' factory in Mongolia by North Korean Workers. The documentary exposes mistreatment of these workers by both their own government and by western corporations who allegedly turn a blind eye to the origin of their on-the-ground staff.

In this analysis we argue that the film activates the 'universalism' value of social justice in three ways. Firstly it reinforces the 'Social Responsibility' frame (see Figure 3.4) by establishing a connection between the actions of the viewer (the UK-based consumer) and the exploited North Korean worker via the link to a British company (EWM) and the symbolic journey of the film's narrative from Edinburgh to Mongolia to North Korea and back again. Secondly it activates what Darnton and Kirk refer to as the 'Change the System' frame (see Figure 3.4) through exposé style reportage, which calls for transparency and fundamental change at upper levels of the clothing distribution hierarchy. Thirdly the documentary plays on the 'International Solidarity' frame (see Figure 3.4) by

making clear that what affects 'them' also impacts on 'us'.

Transcending geography

Unlike *The Boy Mir: Ten Years in Afghanistan*, the dominant voice throughout the film is that of the non-local filmmaker, Simon Ostrovsky, rather than the subjects of the film. North Korean workers do not speak as Ostrovsky is forbidden from interviewing them by both embassy and factory security staff. He explains in the film's narrative:

I wanted to talk to the North Koreans of the cashmere factory but the embassy said no. I wanted to ask how much they earned personally from the arrangement. Then factory officials stopped us filming and escorted us outside.

Although we don't hear the first hand opinions of the North Korean workers, a sense of connectivity between the viewer and the film's subject is fostered by the investigative journey of the film's narrative, which tracks the production of cashmere clothing, made in Mongolia by North Korean workers and sold in Scotland by EWM. This geographic journey serves to involve the UK-based audience by establishing a clear connection between their actions, if they buy products from EWM, and the exploitation of North Koreans on the other side of the world. In this sense the 'Social Responsibility' frame is activated. This is the value that motivates people to recognise the role they can play in improving society.

Cashmere Crossing Continents/Simon Ostrovsky



From left to right: narrative journey from Edinburgh to Mongolia to North Korea

“A sense of connectivity between the viewer and the film’s subject is fostered by the investigative journey of the film’s narrative, which tracks the production of cashmere clothing, made in Mongolia by North Korean workers and sold in Scotland by EWM.”

Stylistically the film revolves around investigative reportage. The filmmakers face numerous challenges, including uncooperative interviewees and thwarted attempts to speak directly with North Korean workers or Edinburgh Woollen Mill representatives. However, although the film doesn’t access unequivocal proof, it does point to incriminating gaps in information provided by Edinburgh Woollen Mill about the production process and calls for a change in the misleading labelling of garments. In suggesting the need for reform at the highest levels of the distribution process and questioning the actions of large corporations the film activates the ‘Change the System’ frame with its focus on challenging power structures.

Lastly *Cashmere Crossing Continents* promotes what Darton and Kirk term the ‘International Solidarity’ frame. This relates to the notion that what affects people in distant places also affects us. In this context we are also being exploited and misguided by the practices of the Edinburgh Woollen Mill who fail to acknowledge their entanglement with the practices of the North Korean Government. Therefore the programme appeals to both common interest values (we feel concern for exploited North Korean workers) and self-interest values (we are motivated to defend ourselves against the misleading consumer labelling which represents a breach of *our* consumer rights).

Summary

In summary, the film reinforces the ‘Social Responsibility’, ‘Change the System’ and ‘International Solidarity’ surface frames. In doing so it rejects the ‘Elite Governance’ deep frame, which views good governance as dependent on the expertise of elites. Governing bodies, whether the North Korean government, or higher echelons of Eermel and EWM are framed as exploitative and focussed on their own gain to the detriment of those on the lower rungs of the power hierarchy. Instead the film appeals to both the common interest and self-interest frames, which serves to invite a sense of solidarity between North Korean workers and UK-based audiences.



Grosso Calibre

Grosso Calibre is a 13-minute long film directed by Lucas Gath of the 3Film Group. It addresses the social problems caused by the proliferation of weapons in Complexo do Alemão, a large slum area in the north of Rio de Janeiro. The film is featured on the YourWorldView website. The music and opinions of a young funk singer ‘MC Smith’ provide a continuous thread running through the narrative. But the viewpoints of other local sources are also explored. These include news media, police and prison services, academics and innocents caught up in the crossfire. The film brings to the fore the ‘universalism’ values of justice, equality and peace by juxtaposing multiple *contradictory perspectives*, from both sides of the ‘war’ between police and drug traffickers and, in doing so, encouraging the audience to look beyond the surface problem of slum violence to the root causes of the issue.

Juxtaposing contradictory perspectives

The dominant voice running through the film is that of ‘MC Smith’, a local ‘forbidden funk’ singer. His songs focus on themes such as crime, drug trafficking, inter-slum violence and police corruption and brutality. The popular support evident in the crowds of young people he sings to, suggests he speaks for the disillusioned youth he represents. Another rapper, called ‘2B’, also features on the film and sings over the film’s closing credits. Both artists frame slum violence as

being rooted in deeper social problems than ease of access to weapons. Firstly, there is a fundamental lack of opportunities for young people growing up in the favelas ‘for lack of opportunity the good kid surrenders to the evil’. Secondly, the police are violent and corrupt: ‘I’m not going to sing that the girl is beautiful, graceful and walks through Copacabana beach. On the contrary I say that Big Skull [Rio’s elite police force] goes to the slums, kills innocents and workers.’

A notable feature of the narrative is the juxtaposition of MC Smith’s ‘forbidden funk’ music and violent news footage of shootouts in the slums. Whilst MC Smith sings of drug traffickers who turn to crime because they lack other opportunities, the language of the mainstream news media is firmly anti-trafficker. For example: ‘Police have gained strength in the conflict after destroying a bunker used by the *thugs*.’

The technique of setting differing viewpoints side by side is also evident in the interviews with authority figures. The Subchief of Rio de Janeiro’s Civil Police describes a need to ‘balance the police’s fire power with the crooks’. Whilst the Coordinator of Rio de Janeiro’s Prison Units contests: ‘we should not think that the production of more weaponry, the trade of more weapons will be the answer’. Therefore although the filmmakers’ voices are not heard on film, they do speak through their editorial choices, which enable the viewer to discern contradictory sides of an argument

YOUR WORLDVIEW

YourWorldView (www.yourworldview.org.uk) is the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association’s online platform for new and emerging filmmakers to showcase short films and multimedia content relating to international issues. Through this content, students and young people around the world are encouraged to engage in discussion and debate about these issues and how they are represented.

YourWorldView was launched in 2011 and since then has been involved in three festival screenings and a UK broadcast season on the Community Channel. With more than 130 films, from over 25 different countries, the content showcased on the site is also available to the CBA’s 100 broadcasting members globally. Running alongside WorldView, its sister project providing documentary funding organisation for established filmmakers, YourWorldView functions as an industry ladder encouraging and supporting emerging talent.



From left to right: *Grosso Calibre* on the YourWorldView website; a lack of opportunities; MC Smith’s ‘forbidden funk’

and draw their own conclusions. Viewed collectively the perspectives put forward paint a complex picture and frame the problem of easy access to weapons as stemming from structural inequalities, namely lack of opportunities for young people, skewed perceptions of power and corrupt authorities. The 'Social Justice' frame dominates, bringing to the fore 'universalism' values of justice, equality and peace.

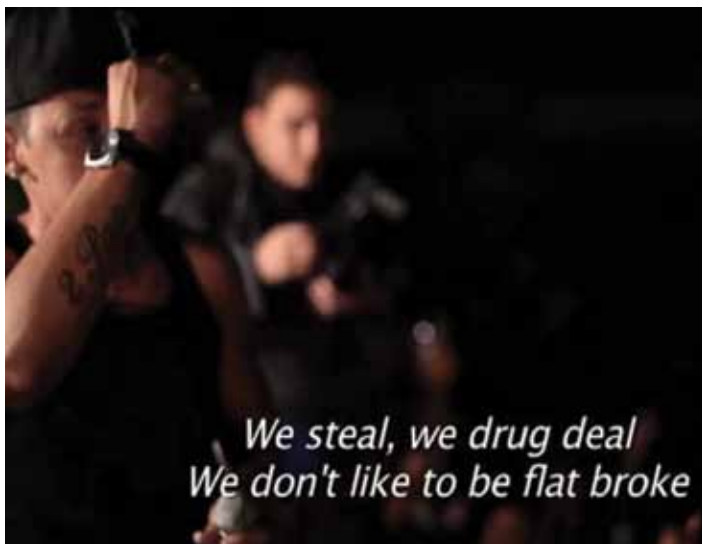
Channelling values into online *action*

Grosso Calibre features on the YourWorldView website, pointing to the capacity of online media to encourage a more participatory kind of audience engagement than is possible via the medium of film and television alone. According to Martin Kirk (2011), because of the wide scope and accessibility of the Internet, websites that seek to foster online communities (like YourWorldView) appeal to the 'values of community affiliation and... speak right to the value of universalism'.

Therefore, in theory, the website has the potential to channel positive values and audience engagement into constructive action in the form of discussion and debate around the issues raised. However, after *Grosso Calibre* had been on the site for eighteen weeks no comments had been posted in relation to the film. This may be because the site is relatively new and still building its audience. But it does point to an area where there is room for improvement, as currently, in the case of this film, the potential for active discussion online is not being utilised.

Summary

The 'Social Justice' frame is emphasised through the film's focus on giving a voice to the disenfranchised youth of Rio's slum communities. The 'Change the System' frame is also evident in the narrative, much of which hinges on fundamental inequalities and the corruption of (police) institutions. The film rejects the 'Elite Governance' deep frame, as elites are frequently seen to be violent and corrupt (we learn that the police sub-chief interviewed is later arrested for supplying weapons to drug-traffickers). Instead the 'Participatory Democracy' deep frame dominates, as it is ordinary people who provide the most lucid knowledge and insight into the problems experienced by their community. Furthermore, as the film appears on the YourWorldView site, it also points to the capacity of online media to foster connectivity and collective action. However, as discussed, in the case of *Grosso Calibre*, this potential has not been realised on the website.



CONCLUSION

To summarise, in this chapter we started off by asking: ‘How can the impact of media coverage about developing countries on audience perceptions be assessed?’ In answer to this question we found that a frames and values approach provides a flexible means of deconstructing WorldView programming covering a wide range of topics and agendas. As cognitive structures, frames provide tangible links between concrete language and more abstract values. Frames are therefore useful lenses with which to discern the strengths and weaknesses of film and television programmes in terms of the values they foster. In our analysis we use this approach to consider the ways in which current WorldView programmes impact on audience perceptions of developing countries as a means of assessing the value of such programming. Looking forward, an awareness of frames and their role in shaping values could be equally usefully applied by filmmakers *prior* to production to define solutions to the current lack of engagement with development issues.

Our research makes a unique contribution to the growing work on frames and values. While it seeks to build on previous research, it shifts the focus from campaign messaging to film and television programmes. Our rationale for this is that if a consideration of frames and values matters for NGO communications, the framing of development on our television screens is equally (if not more) significant given its comparative reach.

Using this theory for our analysis of WorldView supported content, we concluded that each programme discussed taps into self-transcendent ‘universalism’ values in different ways. *The Boy Mir: Ten Years in Afghanistan* focuses on common human experiences, viewed from an Afghan perspective, and challenges the victim framework often associated with development messages. The film *Cashmere Crossing* establishes a sense of connection between audience and subject, through the geographic journey of the film’s narrative. It appeals to both self-transcendent and self-interest values, as the audience are made aware that they too are exploited by misleading garment labelling. The final film analysed, *Grosso Calibre*, sets multiple perspectives side-by-side and in so doing, encourages the audience to look beyond the surface causes of violence and gun trafficking in Rio’s slums, to consider the root causes of the problems explored.

It is evident from our evaluation of WorldView programming that there is no clear-cut recipe for promoting ‘universalism’ values in programmes related to development. In their own ways, each of the films analysed successfully establishes a sense of connectivity between the UK-based audience and the films’ key characters and looks beyond ‘negative’ frames for development to the underlying causes of the issues raised. Nonetheless, a frames and values approach does provide a useful lens through which to view WorldView programming and its potential impact on audience perceptions of development.

“There is no clear-cut recipe for promoting ‘universalism’ values in programmes related to development. In their own ways, each of the films analysed successfully establishes a sense of connectivity between the UK-based audience and the films’ key characters and looks beyond ‘negative’ frames for development to the underlying causes of the issues raised.”

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CONCLUSION

Since WorldView was established eleven years ago the world has changed dramatically. People around the world live lives that are increasingly interconnected and events on one side of the globe often impact on the lives of those living in different countries and continents. In this globalised environment, international coverage provides an increasingly important context to the way that people in the UK live their lives and Public Service Broadcasters have a remit to bring the world to UK audiences in an informed, meaningful, but also engaging, way.

Parallel to globalisation has been a rapid evolution in communications technologies. The internet, mobile phones, user-generated content and digitisation have transformed the media landscape, not just in the UK, but throughout the world. At the same time, however, levels of political support for development awareness initiatives in the UK have dwindled. Support from the Department for International Development (DFID) for WorldView will end in 2013.

Despite these changes, we conclude, based on the results discussed in this evaluation, that WorldView's approach to facilitating increased media coverage of developing countries in the UK is both relevant and successful. The economic barriers, which WorldView's 'seed' funding strategy is specifically designed to address, were still found to be the most challenging obstacles to developing country content being commissioned and produced for UK audiences. Furthermore, the broadcast/commissioning rate of programmes supported by WorldView was found to be well above the UK industry average.

Key to WorldView's continued relevance has been the practice of complimenting the WorldView 'seed' funding strategy with initiatives designed to tackle other barriers to developing country content, such as perceived audience disinterest and the use of unimaginative formats. Worldview has, for example, encouraged international filmmakers, targeted producers and filmmakers early in their careers, implemented research into audience interests and lobbied policy makers and broadcasters at all levels within the industry.

Indeed, the work in Chapter 3 is a good example of this because it demonstrates WorldView's on-going commitment to engaging in current debates about public support for international development. On one level, the results in Chapter 3 signal that WorldView supported programmes are, in different ways, successful in promoting public engagement with development. On another level, they contribute to a wider discussion about how public disengagement with development can be challenged by signalling both the importance of television content and a means of analysing such content.

When DFID funding for WorldView ends in 2013, the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association plans to continue the project with a global focus and scale. They plan to expand it so as to enable the production of diverse international content, not just for broadcasters in the UK, but for Public Service Broadcasters around the world. If this is to be successful, WorldView will need to continue to adapt to stay relevant to changing circumstances, just as it has done in the past.

“Strong and trusted international reporting is at the heart of being a public service broadcaster in a globalised world.”
Mark Scott, Managing Director, ABC Australia

