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Title:

Band Aid Revisited: Humanitarianism, Consumption, and Philanthropy in the 1980s

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Abstract:

This article revisits the iconic Band Aid phenomenon of 1984-85. The analysis sets out to historicise and contextualise Band Aid within the 1980s as a decade, and contemporary British history more broadly. The central argument is that Band Aid was not as epochal as often assumed, instead fitting into a longer history of humanitarianism and charitable fundraising in Britain. However, Band Aid still remains an important signpost for how British society was reshaped during the 1980s by far-reaching changes in capitalism, popular culture, governance and technology. Band Aid both reflected and reinforced an ongoing shift in the legitimacy of charity and welfare, away from state-led welfare solutions towards more individualised and market-driven forms of action articulated through the realms of consumption and mass culture. This form of marketised philanthropy was highly effective at stimulating public donations, but it did so by shunning overt engagement with the underlying causes of global hunger and poverty.

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Key words:

Band Aid, Live Aid, humanitarianism, NGOs, charity

Band Aid Revisited: Humanitarianism, Consumption, and Philanthropy in the 1980s

In British domestic politics, 1984 is often remembered as a year dominated by the miner's strike – a protracted war of attrition which came to symbolise the agenda of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government. But the closing months of 1984 were also the stage for a mass outpouring of humanitarian compassion by millions of ordinary Britons, in aid of distant strangers suffering from a cruel and deadly famine in northern Ethiopia. The spark was a BBC television news report in late October, memorably presented by journalist Michael Buerk, which broadcast graphic scenes of starving African children into millions of homes across the nation. Shocked viewers flooded the BBC with calls, and media coverage of Ethiopia soared exponentially as the footage rapidly spread around the globe. Seemingly overnight, the Ethiopian famine was transformed from an underreported 'third world' disaster into a major political issue.¹

The strength of popular feeling for Ethiopia was extended and given new momentum by the Band Aid phenomenon – a series of fundraising spectacles famously spearheaded by musician turned celebrity humanitarian Bob Geldof. Band Aid brought together dozens of popular artists in one 'supergroup', to record a charity single for the Christmas market with all proceeds going to famine relief. Their song *Do They Know It's Christmas?* attracted huge media and public interest, becoming both the fastest-selling and biggest-selling single of all time, and raising millions of pounds for Ethiopia.² Geldof subsequently established the Band Aid Trust to administer these funds, and began planning further fundraising ventures. These plans culminated in Live Aid, an extravagant multi-venue concert held simultaneously in London and Philadelphia in July 1985. Featuring an impressive array of artists and broadcast globally via cutting-edge satellite technology, Live Aid was watched by a staggering audience of 1.9 billion people. The Live Aid concerts eventually raised £150 million worldwide for aid projects in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa³, a remarkable figure for the time which stunned observers from across the political spectrum.

Band Aid's massive popularity and distinct blend of altruism, technology, corporate marketing and pop music glamour captured the imagination of the world, ensuring the events an iconic status in how the period is collectively and institutionally remembered. Andy McSmith's popular history describes Live Aid as 'the single most lasting image of Britain in the 1980s' and 'one of the greatest displays of generosity that Britain has ever seen.'⁴ He adds that 'there was not another phenomenon quite like Live Aid in the whole of the twentieth century.'⁵ For many observers, Band Aid's significance was not in the donations it raised for

overseas aid (although these were substantial), but rather how it utilized the mass appeal of rock music, popular culture, celebrity and a globalising media to build an extra-parliamentary social movement. Graham Stewart is typical when he states that through Band Aid, pop music 'reclaimed its role as a revolutionary youth movement for social and political change.'⁶ New Left theorists Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques spoke of a 'famine movement' having crystallized from outside the traditional Left, which used the culture of rock music to reach the 'previously unreached'. For Hall and Jacques, the famine movement represented a serious blow to the 'ideology of selfishness' which underpinned the Thatcher government, and therefore offered a practical example of how the Left could overcome its sense of crisis in the 1980s and form a 'counter-hegemonic strategy' against Thatcherism.⁷

Band Aid has also been interpreted more negatively, as a critical moment in consolidating problematic representations of the third world in the British imagination. Band Aid relied heavily on simplistic and graphic images of starving African children as a way to shock and capture the attention of the public, presenting them as objects of pity to be saved through the benevolence of Western celebrities and donors. While Band Aid did not invent this style of representation, due to its huge audience and highly visualized nature it has been implicated in consolidating a colonial image of the global South as helpless, desperate, and dependent upon the benevolence of the global North.⁸ The famine movement's combination of philanthropy with corporate marketing and famous musicians has also been linked with inaugurating a new era of celebrity humanitarianism, in which high-profile stars systematically engage in charitable causes and campaigns.⁹ For many commentators, contemporary celebrity activism is a negative and anti-democratic force, which works to commodify human suffering and obscure the inequalities inherent to the functioning of global capitalism.¹⁰

Regardless of political persuasion, the majority of accounts of Band Aid to date are ahistorical, and share an assumption that the famine movement was a ground-breaking and epochal moment. The iconic status of Live Aid in particular is now largely taken for granted, given the event's prominence in memoirs, recollections, and popular histories of the 1980s. Dylan Jones's recent book uses the day of the Live Aid concerts (13 July 1985) as a way in to narrate a story of the 1980s as a whole, beginning from the position that Live Aid was a critical watershed event which defined the period.¹¹ There is a clear need to historicise and contextualise the Band Aid phenomenon much more convincingly, both within the 1980s as a decade and contemporary British history as a whole. We must ask how Band Aid should be situated within larger histories of humanitarianism, political change, consumerism, popular

culture, charity and technology, and whether unpacking these entanglements can shed new light on developments in British society and culture.

This article undertakes such an analysis. The central argument put forward here is that the ‘famine movement’ was not as epochal as has generally been assumed, instead fitting into a longer history of humanitarian and charitable fundraising. However, Band Aid still remains an important signpost for how British society was reshaped during the 1980s by far-reaching changes in capitalism, popular culture, governance and technology. Band Aid both reflected and reinforced an ongoing shift in the legitimacy of charity and welfare, away from state-led welfare solutions towards more individualised and market-driven forms of action articulated through the realms of consumption and mass culture. This can be interpreted as one consequence of a deeper societal turn towards ‘neoliberal’ political-economic ideas during this period, which helped encourage a more individualistic political consciousness – although this process was never complete or uncontested. This form of marketised philanthropy was highly effective at stimulating public donations, but it did so by shunning overt engagement with the underlying causes of global hunger and poverty.

To articulate this argument, this article is structured into three distinct analytical sections. The first section frames Band Aid within a longer history of British humanitarianism. It is shown that much of what has been seen as new and epochal about the famine movement – specifically, that it sparked the rise of a professionalized aid industry, consolidated British perceptions about the developing world, and triggered a new era of celebrity activism – represented a continuation and extension of long-running trends. Indeed, many of Band Aid's fundraising methods and representational practices were directly influenced by years of emergency fundraising by leading humanitarian non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as Oxfam and Save the Children.

Having established that Band Aid fits into a longer trajectory of humanitarian action in Britain, the article then turns to a discussion of what was distinct about Band Aid, how it fitted into or challenged the wider context of the 1980s, and what it can ultimately tell us about the period as a whole. The second section situates Band Aid in relation to both the rapid political changes initiated by Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative government, and parallel developments in popular culture (especially music). While a number of observers envisioned a new form of ‘counter-hegemonic’ politics taking shape in Band Aid's mass mobilisation, it is shown that Band Aid as a project was co-opted within the dominant structures of capitalist culture and thus generally aligned with the New Right. The third section builds upon this analysis, discussing how Band Aid captured a growing trend for social action to be articulated through the realm of

consumption, tapping into new youth markets and an emerging, self-oriented and postmodern sense of morality. Thus, despite its lofty rhetoric, Band Aid was always more concerned with global spectacle and consumer gratification than it was with challenging the underlying political causes of African famine. The huge fundraising success of Band Aid consolidated this form of action, providing a model for subsequent events to emulate.

Band Aid in the history of British Humanitarianism

The international response to the 1984-85 Ethiopian famine – of which Band Aid was an integral aspect – has been widely presented as a watershed event in the history of humanitarian action. The central role of television coverage in driving huge public donations to NGOs has been depicted as a turning point in charitable fundraising, resulting in the meteoric rise of the professionalised and competitive aid industry we recognise today.¹² The response of the British public to media images of Ethiopian famine in late 1984 and 1985 was remarkable for the sustained interest, intensity of emotion and depth of generosity. The Band Aid phenomenon reinforced and helped sustain this momentum, keeping the famine story in the news headlines and extending the reach of fundraising efforts. Between April 1984 and September 1985, just under £100 million was donated by the British public to aid agencies specifically for Ethiopian famine relief (figure 1). This included £34 million given directly to Band Aid, which was established as a registered charity (the Band Aid Trust) in January 1985. Substantial sums were also raised by the five organizations collectively represented on the UK Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC). The DEC was (and remains today) an umbrella body to make joint fundraising appeals on television to the British public after major disasters, and distribute the proceeds among its members.¹³ In the 1980s the five organisations represented on the DEC were the largest and most influential in the sector: the British Red Cross, Christian Aid, the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD), Oxfam, and Save the Children.¹⁴

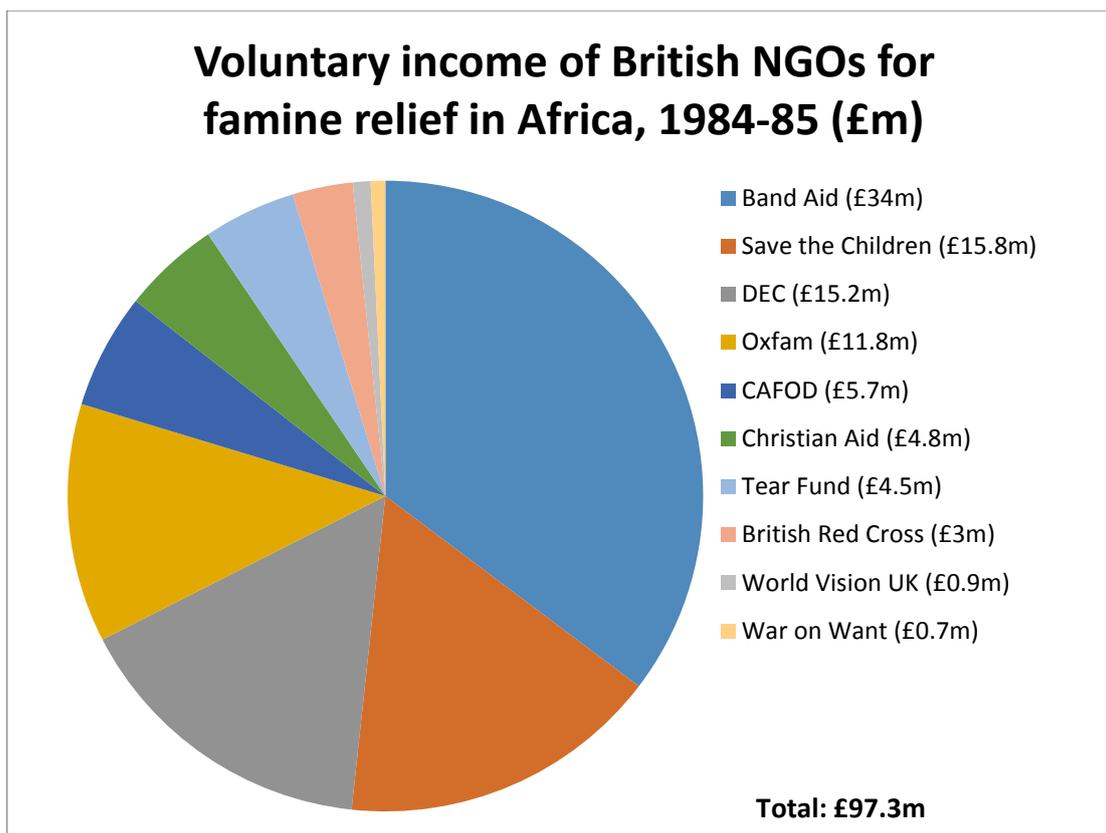


Figure 1: Voluntary donations from the British public to humanitarian NGOs, specifically for famine relief in Africa, from 1 April 1984 to 30 September 1985.¹⁵

The sudden influx of income in turn fuelled a period of rapid and sustained institutional growth for these organisations, who were able to increase their budgets, employ more staff, and invest more in marketing and administration. Save the Children's growth was particularly impressive, driven by a massive jump in income from £16.5 million to £42.5 million between 1984 and 1985.¹⁶ However, this sudden expansion of the humanitarian sector was not unprecedented, and fitted into a longer trend of British aid agencies steadily expanding since the Second World War as popular support for humanitarian causes and campaigns increased (figure 2). A crucial driver of this trend was the continual involvement of leading NGOs in responding to high-profile disasters (both natural and man-made) in the developing world, which included profoundly important interventions such as the Nigerian Civil War in 1968, or the Ethiopian famine of 1973. Providing emergency assistance in these crises granted humanitarian NGOs access to the media, legitimacy, infrastructure, and a popular fundraising base.¹⁷

Technological advances in communications and filming over the course of the 1970s and early 1980s further stimulated humanitarian empathy in Britain, reducing the delay between capturing and broadcasting footage and bringing a new level of immediacy to overseas

disasters.¹⁸ When positioned visibly in the media, humanitarian NGOs could experience incredible spurts of growth by responding to such scenes of suffering. In the period between 1979 and 1980, Oxfam's income increased by 94 percent due to the organization's high-profile involvement in Cambodia, which was experiencing severe hardship after the fall of the Khmer Rouge.¹⁹ The massive public response to famine in Ethiopia in 1984-85, which peaked with the Live Aid concerts, was thus also a consolidation of a long-term trajectory of the British public donating ever-increasing amounts for humanitarian emergencies. This was underlined by a jump for international aid as a proportion of all voluntary donations to registered charities in Britain, from 11 percent in 1984 to 22 percent in 1985.²⁰

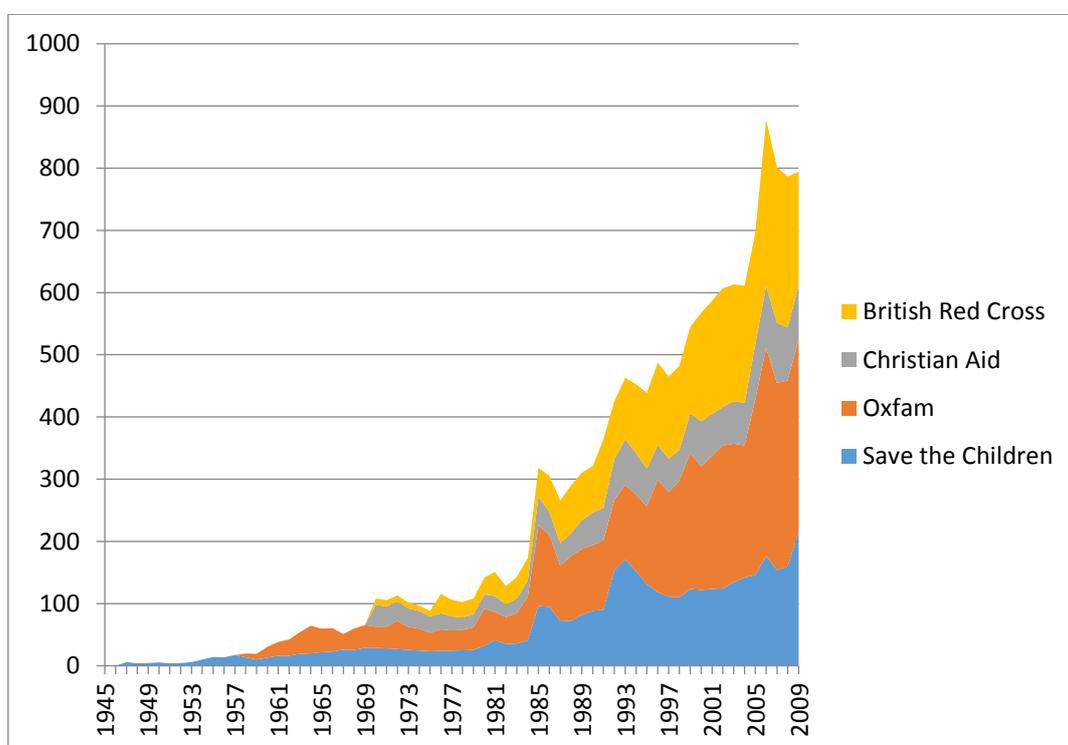


Figure 2: Cumulated income (£m) of British Red Cross, Christian Aid, Oxfam and Save the Children, 1945-2009 (adjusted for inflation, 2009).²¹

In addition to generating money, Band Aid's representational practices have also been depicted as critical for shaping British conceptions of Africa and the developing world. In all of its fundraising ventures, Band Aid relied heavily on graphic images of starving African children, which were integral to its populist appeal, fundraising strategies, and universalist rhetoric. However, this form of representation has also been implicated in consolidating a colonial view of the global South as helpless, desperate, and dependent upon the benevolent contributions of white westerners. Tanja Müller argues that Band Aid's representation of famine was

‘instrumental in establishing a hegemonic culture of humanitarianism in which moral responsibility towards impoverished parts of an imagined Africa is based on pity rather than the demand for justice.’²² This critique is as old as Band Aid itself. The single *Do They Know It's Christmas?* was described by *Black Voice* magazine as ‘the racist event of the decade’ due to its exclusion of black artists, and focus upon images of white millionaire philanthropists rushing to ‘save’ Africa.²³

The sharpest contemporary criticisms of Band Aid’s communications were articulated from within the international aid and development sector. Many organizations and experts were troubled by how Live Aid appeared to have gripped the imagination of the world with negative and neo-colonial images of starving African children, reinforcing problematic stereotypes about African poverty and undermining connected NGO advocacy and public education efforts. Oxfam commented that Band Aid was promoting ‘negative and racist stereotypes of Africa and black people generally’, adding that ‘fundamental questions about why this crisis in Africa is being allowed to happen are being raised... Band Aid/Live Aid are not coming up with the answers.’²⁴ Christian Aid similarly attacked the Band Aid project for relying on the ‘starving baby image’ and promoting a ‘racist view of the world’, which was reinforced by virtually all the artists involved in the Live Aid concert being white.²⁵

While legitimate, these criticisms also obscured how Band Aid was following a methodology for humanitarian representation and fundraising already well established in Britain. The reliance on simplistic images of starving children was problematic, but fitted into a longer lineage of child-centric charitable appeals dating back to missionaries and philanthropists in the colonial period.²⁶ Modern NGOs adapted and continued this practice, recognizing that it offered the most efficient means to mobilise the public and extract funding. The broadcast emergency appeals produced and aired by the Disasters Emergency Committee from the mid-1960s onwards were all cast in this mould, focusing upon the physical suffering of individuals while obscuring the more complex political contexts of third world disasters and poverty.²⁷ Indeed, it was during the 1960s that the stereotypical image of the starving African child was elevated into a ‘universal icon of human suffering’, due to its widespread dissemination in television news reports and NGO publicity.²⁸ It was only during the 1970s and 1980s that aid agencies began to internally critique these representational practices – the consequence of engaging more systematically with long-term efforts to tackle the structural causes of third world poverty. This shift in emphasis also encouraged a new rhetoric of empowerment, participation, and solidarity with the global poor.²⁹

This critique was directed at Band Aid in the mid-1980s. However, many of the principal NGOs were themselves complicit in these same problematic practices. For instance, the accusation that Band Aid was presenting an ‘over-simplified solution to Africa's problems’ could also be applied to the organisations represented on the DEC, who as early as 1983 were troubled by the risks of publicizing Ethiopia's ‘political situation’.³⁰ This was a veiled reference to how the famine was largely the result of a series of brutal civil wars being waged by the authoritarian Ethiopian government.³¹ Instead, the DEC members highlighted the humanitarian imperative to save lives, represented by images of vulnerable Ethiopian women and children, and provided no explanation for the famine beyond vague allusions to drought. In the process, the leading NGOs established a simplistic narrative framework for Ethiopian famine reporting that the media and Band Aid later took up more forcefully.

Michael Buerk’s iconic BBC news report in October 1984 was articulated within this frame, memorably referring to the famine as ‘biblical... the closest thing to Hell on Earth.’ This description coded the famine as a sudden, apocalyptic event occurring outside of human agency, and made no reference to the role of the Ethiopian government in creating famine, or the broader structural causes of hunger in Africa.³² In the media frenzy that followed Buerk’s report, prominent NGOs helped perpetuate this narrative further by providing quotes from aid workers, making emergency appeals, and playing up to ethnocentric press reporting which contrasted benevolent Westerners with tragic Africans. What this all suggests is that Band Aid's representational practices were not novel at all, but following a model for successful emergency fundraising firmly embedded in the British humanitarian sector by the leading NGOs, which included the very same organisations that criticised Geldof and Live Aid in 1985.

One aspect in which Band Aid’s lasting significance appears self-evident is how Geldof exploited the appeal of pop music and celebrities to reach constituencies previously uninterested in international aid issues, especially young people. BBC research found that of the audience watching the first six hours of the Live Aid concert, 68 percent were below the age of 35. By 3:00am, there were still nearly three times as many people under the age of 16 watching as there were over the age of 55.³³ There was a detectable sense of awe within the humanitarian sector at the mass youth audience reached by Live Aid, neatly voiced by the Director of Christian Aid's simple observation that ‘yes – the world is changed.’³⁴ An independent report prepared in 1986 captured this feeling, stating that Live Aid had contributed to a ‘transformation in the image of charitable giving and appeals’:

‘Charitable giving has shed its image of a largely individual, “amateur” and upper class activity centred around balls, lunches and jumble sales and taken on some of the classless glamour,

excitement and interest of those are who seen publicly to represent it. Charity has moved from being worthy, boring and patronising, to being newsworthy and exciting – as Geldof has put it, “making compassion hip”.³⁵

Commentators have generally supported this depiction of Live Aid as fuelling a ‘transformation’ in philanthropy, giving rise to a new era of slick, media-friendly celebrity humanitarianism. Mark Wheeler writes that the Live Aid concerts ‘reconfigured the public’s attitude towards charities by making them “cool” and demonstrating that fund-raising could be chic.’³⁶ Yet, Band Aid also represented a continuation of a process of professionalization which had been ongoing within British humanitarianism for many decades. As early as the 1950s, Oxfam pioneered the use of innovative fundraising schemes and sophisticated marketing techniques as a means to generate publicity and drive institutional growth. During the 1960s, NGOs from a diverse range of sectors came to view such publicity tactics as a ‘necessary tool of the modern charity and campaigning organization.’³⁷ Many humanitarian agencies understood the advantages of being associated with popular culture and appealing directly to young people. For instance, in 1979 the BBC Children’s television programme *Blue Peter* launched an appeal for Cambodian relief which was explicitly undertaken in support of Oxfam, and linked directly to the organisation’s fundraising apparatus.³⁸

Band Aid did provide further impetus to these trends, as the established aid agencies looked to capitalize on the initiative’s populist appeal. Typical proposals included the Christian Aid campaign designed ‘with Live Aid in mind, to appear in the popular and music press, and *Time Out*.’³⁹ War on Want overhauled its approach to fundraising after Live Aid, to place stronger emphasis on ‘the use of the media, presentation, style and ambition.’ Recommendations for putting this into practice included closer relations with the press, associating with local or national celebrities, and building campaigns around simple slogans and ‘theatrical’ images.⁴⁰ More generally, voluntary organizations from a range of sectors further incorporated principles of corporate promotion and marketing into their communication practices in the immediate post-Live Aid years. This broader professionalisation of voluntary action contributed to commercial television relaxing its restrictions on advertising in 1989, permitting British charities to appeal for funds and promote their aims in paid-for advertisements in the broadcast media.⁴¹

Finally, Band Aid has often been depicted as triggering a new era of celebrity engagement with international aid and development issues. Lisa Richey and Stefano Ponte refer to the Band Aid charity single and Live Aid concerts as ‘the most important events that marked the growth of celebrity activism.’⁴² However, while Band Aid did provide an important impetus

to transnational celebrity activism, it also fitted into a longer lineage of celebrity humanitarian interventions. Ami Shah documents how in the British colonial period, a diverse range of humanitarians, missionaries and reformers employed strategies which aimed to maximize attention by ‘connecting their advocacy to well-known public figures.’ From that point onwards, celebrity activists repeatedly advocated for intervention in what is now conceptualized as the global South, although the profile of the celebrity expert evolved in the latter decades of the twentieth century to be predominantly popular musicians and artists.⁴³ For example, during the 1960s Oxfam organized a slew of events and campaigns which were framed around the endorsement of stars, such as its 1963 ‘Hunger £Million’ campaign which was supported by the Beatles and other prominent singers.⁴⁴ More specifically, Lucy Robinson has documented a number of benefit concerts which preceded and foreshadowed Live Aid.⁴⁵ This includes George Harrison's famous 1971 Concert for Bangladesh, which aimed to raise international awareness and funding for refugees displaced by the ongoing East Pakistan crisis.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the manner in which Band Aid framed famine in Africa and its solutions, with its focus on simplistic imagery and Western benevolence, had substantial similarities with celebrity activism undertaken during the colonial period which tended to be top-down and apolitical.⁴⁷

The Famine Movement in 1980s Britain

By locating Band Aid within the longer history of British humanitarianism set out above, much of what has often been presented as ground-breaking and epochal appears more as a continuation or acceleration of prior trends. This in turn problematises Band Aid's assumed status as an iconic and defining event of the 1980s, and raises pressing questions concerning the lasting significance of the ‘famine movement’ and how it should be framed in contemporary British history. It is these questions to which this article now turns.

Firstly, Band Aid needs to be situated within a British political and social context. This was a period of radical transformation initiated by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government, which came to power in 1979 and has largely dominated historical accounts of 1980s Britain to date. Central to this project was an attack on the post-war consensus, expressed in resentment towards inflation, taxation, nationalization, and welfare. Instead, Thatcherism promoted privatization, monetarism, cutting the public sector, and strengthening central government against local authorities and trade unions. Culturally, Thatcher and her administration spoke of a rediscovery of traditional ‘Victorian values’ of hard work, discipline,

self-reliance, and philanthropy. In practice these ‘Victorian’ values were never fully defined, and mainly functioned as a discursive strategy to limit the meanings of certain terms (such as ‘inequality’ and ‘poverty’) while casting Thatcher herself as a frugal traditionalist.⁴⁸ What this rhetoric and policy change did signal was a departure in governmental attitudes to poverty and welfare, as statist solutions were to be displaced in favour of non-state philanthropy and individualist enterprise.⁴⁹ For instance, the new administration slashed the official aid budget from 0.51 percent of gross national product (GNP) in 1979, to just 0.27 percent by 1990.⁵⁰ At the same time, official financial support for aid and humanitarian NGOs actually increased over the course of the 1980s, which was consistent with the Conservative Party’s wider faith in non-state solutions.⁵¹ The 1980s thus witnessed a reconfiguration in popular attitudes to the poor, both at home and overseas, to place new emphasis on depoliticised notions of efficiency and morality.⁵²

It was this conception of British society as inward-looking and individualist which Band Aid was widely seen to have subverted. Band Aid was supported by millions of people within Britain, and billions more around the world, who came together to try and alleviate hunger and starvation overseas. Through its scale and rhetoric, Band Aid worked to construct an imagined community of these concerned citizens, affecting positive change on a global level – Live Aid’s tagline was revealingly ‘the day music changed the world.’ This interpretation was most eloquently expressed by New Left theorists Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques, who argued in 1986 that the famine movement represented a serious blow to the ‘ideology of selfishness’ which underpinned Thatcherism, displacing it with ‘altruism and conscience.’ The broader political context for such accounts was the Labour Party’s landslide defeat in the 1983 general election, which was followed by victory for the Conservative Government in the symbolic war of attrition that was the 1984-85 miners’ strike. For Hall and his New Left contemporaries, the Band Aid enterprise thus emerged at a moment when they were actively seeking out viable, non-parliamentary alternatives to the demoralized Labour Party. In this context, Band Aid appeared to offer a practical example of how the Left could overcome its sense of crisis in the 1980s and form a ‘counter-hegemonic strategy’ against the Thatcherite consensus.⁵³ Dick Hebdige similarly argued that Geldof had articulated a powerful anti-Thatcherite critique of selfish individualism, which ‘resuscitated traditions of cooperation, mutual assistance, and that faith in human agency and collective action which had... animated the early trade unionists and the Labour Movement.’⁵⁴

This view of Band Aid was shared by a range of commentators and observers, and was often expressed in more populist language. The *Daily Star* announced that Live Aid ‘proved

that pop stars and the people could achieve what politicians had been powerless to do – raise millions for the starving around the world.⁵⁵ The *Daily Mirror* triumphantly declared that ‘Live Aid rose above governments. The support... was a gigantic vote by more than a thousand million people on behalf of the starving in Africa.’⁵⁶ Many of the artists who performed at Live Aid also conceptualized the spectacle in these terms. American folk singer Joan Baez opened the Philadelphia concert with the announcement ‘good morning you children of the 80s. This is your Woodstock, and it is long overdue.’ Baez's implication was that Live Aid represented a major political event, and a revival of the 1960s counter-cultural movement.⁵⁷ Indeed, Geldof had deliberately pushed for her to open the American concert for this very reason.⁵⁸ A rhetoric of universal humanity and global community was crucial to Band Aid's mobilizing power, as it aspired towards a moral crusade to ‘feed the world.’ This conception continues to have popular purchase. In his recent history, Andy McSmith writes that Live Aid was ‘one of the greatest displays of generosity that Britain has ever seen, and... the single most lasting image of Britain in the 1980s.’ McSmith adds that this ‘might seem odd, because the decade is not thought of as a charitable one.’⁵⁹

However, while its populist rhetoric of altruism, global citizenship and universal humanism appeared as a direct assault upon the ‘common sense’ logic of Thatcherism, Band Aid can also be situated within the latter's ideological framework. Although it promoted an image of collective responsibility, Band Aid was ultimately all about maximizing its own fundraising potential, to raise money which could then be spent on aid projects. In its various initiatives, Band Aid asked of its audience only to contribute financially, and utilized various methods (evocative images of suffering, celebrity endorsement, appeals to morality, and shaming tactics) to drive these donations up. As Geldof later admitted, ‘[Live Aid] wasn't a concert. Never to me. It was a TV show, and the TV show was to get at one end. Money. It was all a pragmatic exercise.’⁶⁰ The suggestion that Live Aid was a ‘TV show’ rather than a concert also indicates how Band Aid as an event was as much a celebration of technology and mass culture as it was about the actual musical content.

While Band Aid undoubtedly raised awareness of African famine, and successfully conveyed a sense of injustice that such a condition could occur in a world of plenty, it therefore did so within a very narrow frame. Band Aid did not open up a discussion about the policies of Western nations in the developing world, nor did it advocate for specific policy reforms or structural changes that could tackle the root causes of distant suffering. Band Aid was more concerned with individual charity, and in its emphasis on entrepreneurial philanthropy actually shared significant ideological common ground with the Thatcherite view of welfare.⁶¹ Indeed,

such is the degree of overlap between the two that the lack of support given to Band Aid by Thatcher's administration appears puzzling. Thatcher refused to waive the VAT on sales of the Band Aid charity single (despite significant public pressure to do so), and declined Geldof's invitation to give a video address at Live Aid.⁶² This can be at least partly attributed to Thatcher's own indifference to issues of global poverty. As a former aide later recalled, she was 'unsympathetic and uninterested in aid... sympathy for the poor en masse, especially overseas, was not within her repertoire'.⁶³ Thatcher, along with many others on the Conservative Right, was sceptical of the value of aid and took the view that charity should begin, and end, at home.

Band Aid was ultimately unwilling to embrace its potential as a form of counter-hegemonic politics. The Band Aid Trust defined itself from the outset as a 'non-political organisation'.⁶⁴ The records and internal discussions of the Band Aid Trust during this period reveal little consideration was given to donor education or advocacy programmes, instead focusing upon administration, logistics, and publicity.⁶⁵ To draw on David Korten's typology, the Band Aid Trust resembled a 'first generation' NGO, designed to alleviate the symptoms of poverty rather than the root causes.⁶⁶ Tellingly, the Live Aid concerts were not followed up by donor education or political mobilization, and instead Geldof looked towards further fundraising events such as Schools Aid and Sport Aid. While Band Aid's blurring of discourses of universal humanity and social collectivism with individualistic philanthropy may appear contradictory, it highlights how British culture was being shaped by multiple trajectories during the 1980s. The process of transition from social democracy to Thatcherite neoliberalism was never organic, and was always contested, chaotic and incomplete.⁶⁷ Bob Geldof himself was well aware of his own project's ambiguities, revealingly stating that Band Aid was 'all things to all people... the Tories could use it as "a shining example of individual action and individual responsibility." The Communists would say, "It's the proletarian rage against the excesses of the First World"'.⁶⁸

These ambiguities and tensions were inherent to Band Aid from the outset, and were part of the project's appeal. Many of these contradictions can be attributed to the central role played in the enterprise by popular culture and popular music, especially rock. Live Aid billed itself as the 'global jukebox', and many of the artists and charity songs associated with Band Aid invoked and reinforced a popular, aspirational globalism characteristic of the period.⁶⁹ In doing so, the famine movement used the power of global television to fashion rock music into an instrument of social action. Hall and Jacques observed that 'no other cultural form could have played the political role that rock did in the Band Aid/Live Aid phenomenon'.⁷⁰ Rock

music furnished Band Aid with a spirit of idealistic rebellion and self-expression, providing a populist and internationalist language which appealed to a broad cross-section of society, especially young people. Geldof's criteria for selecting performers to participate was simple – he wanted internationally recognised acts who could attract as many viewers as possible. As Geldof later commented, ‘we were putting on a global jukebox and we had to be ruthless. We were talking about bands that could sell six, eight, ten million albums without even blinking...’⁷¹ In short, the artists involved in Live Aid ‘had to do hits. [They] weren't allowed to do anything else.’⁷²

This emphasis on *hits* equipped Band Aid with enormous mass appeal, which helped pull individuals together with a persuasive force (what Geldof called his ‘constituency of compassion’⁷³). It also tied Band Aid to a form of apolitical, media-friendly stadium rock that was situated firmly within the dominant structures of the corporate music industry. Live Aid excluded performers who had prior involvement in left-wing musical campaigns, while mobilising the traditionally ‘non-political’ establishment – which included the BBC and a range of corporate sponsors. The Band Aid Trustees were all revealingly powerful individuals within the music, television and entertainment industries.⁷⁴ Band Aid also mobilised the Royal Family – Prince Charles and Princess Diana both attended Live Aid, entering at midday to a royal fanfare. Geldof's acquisition of royal approval enhanced the sense of spectacle and gravitas.⁷⁵ The rendition of *God Save the Queen* which followed the Royal couple's entrance also underlined how Live Aid was selling itself as a ritualistic and participatory media event, which could never be authentically counter-hegemonic or subversive.

Band Aid's harnessing of popular music as a vehicle for social action has often been depicted as following in the footsteps of the notable Rock Against Racism (RAR) campaign, which was set up just under a decade earlier in 1976. RAR was a spontaneous movement of musicians and fans, who used music concerts as political instruments to challenge popular racism in late 1970s Britain. RAR was very much a product of its time, drawing on punk's distinctive style, abrasive attitude, political character and amateur ethic.⁷⁶ By contrast, Band Aid was a largely top-down and corporate spectacle, which belonged to a different tradition of apolitical and paternalistic charity. This was vividly apparent in Band Aid's rhetoric, which couched the famine movement in the language of morality rather than politics. As Geldof bluntly stated, ‘Band Aid was a moral issue: whether you were of the right or left was irrelevant.’⁷⁷ In this form of ‘common-sense humanitarianism’, the imperative to act to save others was a fundamentally moral obligation, which did not require consideration of any broader political context or challenges.⁷⁸ As Geldof famously put it, he would ‘shake hands

with the devil to help the poor starving masses in Ethiopia.⁷⁹ The obtaining of a moral authority by Band Aid was part of its populist appeal. It also implied that the project had no need to justify itself, which suppressed alternative claims and depoliticised African famine through obscuring its structural causes.⁸⁰

The notable musician and left-wing activist Billy Bragg would later state that while he ‘applauded the efforts’ of Band Aid, he felt the project should have been a call to ‘smash capitalism *and* feed the world’.⁸¹ A committed socialist with strong convictions about the role popular musicians could play in activist causes, Bragg had been at the forefront of music’s influence on the 1984 miners’ strike. But to adopt such an overtly political stance on the complicity of consumer capitalism in perpetuating global hunger and poverty, as called for by Bragg and others on the political Left, could never have the same mass mobilizing power as the vague aspiration to ‘feed the world’. Live Aid’s sentimentalised morality was an updated model for how social change could be affected through popular music and culture, which was more attuned to the corporate climate of the 1980s than Rock Against Racism and similar ventures inspired by punk.

The Famine Movement as Consumer Spectacle

Through its blend of altruism, technology and popular culture, Band Aid was a form of activism articulated from within the dominant structures of free market capitalism rather than in opposition to it. This aligned with a broader trajectory of free market discourses penetrating into the public sphere over the course of the 1980s, aided by the forging of discursive links by the political Right between the market and ideas of family, nation and tradition.⁸² This can be interpreted as the ascendancy of ‘neoliberalism’, not only as a set of ideas and policies for managing the state and the economy, but as a governing rationality which extended market values to all aspects of social life – although as argued previously, this process was never fully hegemonic or absolute.⁸³

Crucially, as a new emphasis on the free market took hold, the realm of consumption was increasingly legitimized as a means to intervene in global issues. The connection of charity and consumption has a long history in Britain, such as charities selling merchandise and running high-street shops. In the 1980s the range of outlets for engaging in charitable actions through consumption widened significantly, in line with a broader expansion of the consumer society and categories of the market (especially ‘youth’ culture). Jo Littler describes this as the rise of ‘cosmopolitan caring consumption’ – being compassionate and caring through the

consumption of ethical products or charitable causes.⁸⁴ Ethical consumption gained new momentum in the 1980s and took on characteristics of being edgy and fashionable, constructing a large and potentially philanthropic-oriented market. Band Aid very effectively tapped into this market, as the globalised spectacle of Live Aid both satisfied and reinforced a consumer desire for charitable texts in the aftermath of the Ethiopian famine.⁸⁵

Through participation in Band Aid, British and western consumers could position themselves as activists and donors, constructing particular social and political identities coloured with cosmopolitanism and humanism, but also compatible with an emerging neoliberal ethos of individual responsibility. Viewed from this perspective, the famine movement was an important signpost for an emerging self-oriented and postmodern morality in the 1980s, which linked altruistic action with 'feel good' gratifications to the self mediated through lifestyle. The growth of this individualist morality was bound up with a wider societal transition away from collective agency and grand narratives of emancipation, towards identity politics and lifestyle choices.⁸⁶ In the sphere of tackling global hunger and poverty this trend was also resolutely anti-political, commodifying images of suffering children as entertainment and making the West both an actor and spectator in its own humanitarian performances.⁸⁷

By working through the realm of consumption, Band Aid further narrowed the possibilities of political action available to its audience and bypassed structural solutions to African poverty. Consumer philanthropy enabled donors to demonstrate their caring credentials and work towards affecting positive change, but without fundamentally altering their own consumer behaviour or acknowledging the complicity of consumer capitalism in creating and perpetuating global injustice.⁸⁸ In the process, Band Aid helped promote what Lisa Ann Richey and Stefano Ponte refer to as the 'myth of just capitalism' – the notion that capitalism's contradictions and excesses can be solved through specific types of consumption.⁸⁹ Slavoj Žižek characterizes this more pessimistically as 'cultural capitalism', a phenomenon of the post-modern era which works to reduce discontent within global neoliberal capital, and thereby enable its own continuation.⁹⁰

As rock music moved further into the mainstream, it increasingly functioned as a form of corporate leisure and advertising. Indeed, the role played by Geldof and his fellow artists in Live Aid reflected their status as popular entertainers, rather than dissident radicals.⁹¹ However, while numerous scholars have examined Band Aid in terms of sparking a more intense wave of celebrity activism, it has often been overlooked or taken for granted that the entire Band Aid project was only made possible by the active collaboration of the global music and entertainment industries. All of Band Aid's fundraising ventures relied on broadcasters,

distributors, equipment suppliers, record labels and retailers providing services free of charge, and waiving any fees or profits owed to them. Live Aid also featured extensive sponsorship from multinational corporations such as Pepsi-Cola, AT&T, Kodak and Chevrolet, who all contributed substantial cash amounts to underwrite production costs.⁹² Indeed, the assumption that Band Aid could exploit corporate support was integral to Geldof's entire fundraising approach. After the success of *Do They Know It's Christmas?*, the Band Aid Trust was reluctant to work with established aid agencies on the basis that they could instead 'do their own shopping and get relief items free or at cut-prices because of Band Aid publicity.'⁹³

Geldof worked tirelessly to overcome bureaucratic hurdles and secure these partnerships. The active involvement of so many transnational corporations also signalled a growing wider enthusiasm for corporate philanthropy and social responsibility programmes, driven by a globalising media and trends such as deregulation and outsourcing. As a result, companies began to integrate social and environmental concerns more concretely into their business operations during the 1980s.⁹⁴ Global spectacles such as Live Aid helped stimulate these trajectories, as corporations recognized that their brands and reputations could be enhanced through association with fashionable consumer philanthropy.⁹⁵ AT&T's head of public relations revealingly commented after Live Aid that his firm had gained a number of benefits from participation in the event, which not only included contributing to a 'good cause', but also being able to 'try out a new service' and receiving 'great exposure through a good marketing/advertising buy.'⁹⁶ Corporate partnerships further underlined how the famine movement was never geared towards articulating a genuinely political critique of the root causes of African famine, and was instead more about the possibilities of global spectacle and consumer gratification.

Conclusions

Revisiting the Band Aid phenomenon raises a number of implications for historical analysis of the 1980s. While Band Aid may not be as epochal as previously assumed within the history of humanitarianism and charitable fundraising, it was still a significant enterprise which has inspired many imitators and successors in the decades since. Through the lens of Band Aid the 1980s appears as a pivotal decade in which discourses and practices of activism, charity, popular culture and consumerism were all being reworked by major shifts in governance, capitalism, and technology. Band Aid was ultimately a complex cultural site where multiple trajectories and ideologies intersected and interacted, including long-standing colonial

discourses of Western benevolence and African helplessness, and emerging postmodern forms of ‘feel good’ activism. This analysis highlights the need for further histories of the decade which move beyond a focus solely on Thatcherism and national politics, to also situate the period within broader global social, economic and cultural developments.⁹⁷

In retrospect, the massive success and popularity of Band Aid was an indication of how popular culture, the mass media and politics became more closely entwined during the 1980s. This was a decade in which advertising, branding, marketing and celebrity culture all took on more importance in the political realm, which can be attributed to a growing rationalisation of electioneering, an erosion of traditional forms of allegiance and accompanying privatisation of politics, and the deeper penetration of the mass media (especially television) into everyday life. As a result, politics itself became more commercialised, mediated and image-conscious over the course of the 1980s. This trend also facilitated popular musicians such as Geldof taking on the guise of politicians and intervening in the political realm.⁹⁸

While Thatcher herself kept Geldof and Band Aid at arm’s length, subsequent generations of political leaders learnt valuable lessons from the period. A decade later, Tony Blair made appearances at pop award ceremonies and was photographed with popular artists of the day, as part of a sophisticated public relations exercise to distance his New Labour government-in-waiting from both the Conservatives and ‘Old’ Labour.⁹⁹ More recently, David Cameron and his advisors made frequent positive public references to Live Aid as part of a broader strategy to ‘detoxify’ and dispel an idea that Conservatives were indifferent to post-material concerns such as the environment and global poverty, and steer people towards their idea of a ‘Big Society’.¹⁰⁰ As Cameron wrote in 2012, ‘for years we have been at the forefront of the poverty-fighting agenda. The world's greatest aid agencies – we've got them. Live Aid and Live 8 – we made them’.¹⁰¹

Band Aid was an important signpost for a shift towards consumer-led charity and the more overt integration of philanthropy with business, and these trends have developed and unfolded further in subsequent decades. Numerous fundraising spectacles and charitable mega-events have been staged in the years since Band Aid, many of which have recycled its methods and rhetoric. This includes periodic revivals of the Band Aid Christmas charity single, most recently in 2014 as ‘Band Aid 30’.¹⁰² Events erected on Band Aid's moral ground have consistently proved popular with Western publics, as they exploit the mass appeal of consumer culture, popular music, and celebrity involvement to sell charitable causes. However, like the Ethiopian famine movement, these events have also struggled to advance beyond simplistic notions of charity, instead perpetuating ideas of Western paternalism and benevolence in

relation to Africa and the developing world. This has been the case even for campaigns which have overtly attempted to advance beyond philanthropy towards securing political change, such as the high-profile Make Poverty History campaign (MPH) in 2005.

MPH mobilised hundreds of NGOs and civil society actors to secure policy reforms from the G8 governments in relation to third world debt, official aid levels, and international trade.¹⁰³ MPH also coincided with Live 8, a set of concerts organized by Bob Geldof as a successor to Live Aid, and staged in support of MPH's aims. Through the tagline 'we don't want your money - only your voice', Live 8 was deliberately presented as a positive and significant progression from the simplistic charity of the 1980s. However, Live 8 also attracted sharp criticism from many members of the MPH coalition for diluting its political message with celebrity-charged concerts, which diverted media interest away from the complexities of global poverty to the 'glitz and glamour of a pop event.'¹⁰⁴ Christian Aid's head of policy stated afterwards that the Make Poverty History campaign had been 'too superficial... numbers have been more important than politics and we have placed too much emphasis on celebrities with strong connections to those in power... a serious occasion was turned into a celebration of celebrities.'¹⁰⁵ A recent study of British public engagement with global poverty similarly concluded that MPH's potentially transformative rallying cry of 'justice not charity' was drowned out by 'the noise of celebrities, white wristbands and pop concerts.'¹⁰⁶

The fractious experience of Make Poverty History re-affirms how the form of market-driven philanthropy which Band Aid promoted has been consistently effective at promoting global causes to the public and galvanising philanthropic giving. However, as a form of activism which is articulated from within the market, it is unable (or unwilling) to make sense of more complex and structural causes of distant suffering, especially the role played by the global capitalist system. Instead it is a form of activism characterized by what Chantal Mouffe describes as a 'moralising liberalism', in that it eschews 'any project of real political transformation' in favour of lifestyle identification and ethical consumption.¹⁰⁷ The current practice of individuals showing support for social causes on social media while contributing little beyond the click of a mouse (which some commentators pejoratively describe as 'slacktivism') is arguably an updated form of this passive engagement.

The same trends that drove the rise of consumer philanthropy and corporate social responsibility in the 1980s have now culminated in the phenomenon of 'philanthrocapitalism'. This recently coined term refers to the deployment of market mechanisms on a massive scale to implement aid and development solutions, by wealthy private donors such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Philanthrocapitalism has been praised by its defenders as carrying

the potential to 'save the world'.¹⁰⁸ Philanthrocapitalism can also be interpreted as another stage in an ongoing project to prove the superiority of market-based solutions to social problems, substituting for state responsibility in the provision of global welfare.¹⁰⁹ As philanthrocapitalism inherently works to legitimise capitalism by presenting it as a progressive and constructive force, it also appears to represent another stage in an ongoing depoliticisation of global welfare issues.¹¹⁰ As this article has shown, the 1980s was a crucial historical juncture for the elaboration and acceleration of these trajectories. Further histories of the decade are thus required, not only to add to our understanding of these complex historical dynamics and practices, but to unravel how to articulate a genuinely alternative critique to them.

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¹ For a comprehensive account of how the 1984-85 Ethiopian famine came to be framed as a major news story and political issue in Britain, see: Franks, *Reporting Disasters*.

² *Do They Know It's Christmas?* was released on 3 December 1984, entering the UK Singles Chart at number one and becoming the biggest single of all time with over 3 million copies sold. This record was held until 1997 when it was overtaken by Elton John's *Candle in the Wind 1997*, released in tribute to Princess Diana.

³ Geldof, *Is That It?*; Franks, *Reporting Disasters*, 72-77.

⁴ McSmith, *No Such Thing as Society*, 3-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁶ Stewart, *Bang!*.

⁷ Hall and Jacques, ‘People Aid’.

⁸ VSO, *The Live Aid Legacy*; Müller, ‘The Long Shadow of Band Aid Humanitarianism’; Lousley, ‘Band Aid reconsidered’.

⁹ Richey and Ponte, *Brand Aid*; Müller, ‘‘The Ethiopian famine’ revisited’.

¹⁰ Tester, *Humanitarianism and Modern Culture*; Kapoor, *Celebrity Humanitarianism*; Hague et al., ‘The Voice of the People?’.

¹¹ Jones, *The Eighties*.

¹² Benthall, *Disasters, Relief and the Media*; Lidchi, ‘Finding the Right Image’; Franks, *Reporting Disasters*.

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- ²³ Geldof, *Is That It?*, 291.
- ²⁴ CAA: CA4/A/16/7: A. Pennington, 'Letter to all members of the Joint Agency Group', 1 August 1985.
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- ²⁹ Cohen, *States of Denial*, 178-195; Dogra, *Representations of Global Poverty*.
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- ³¹ De Waal, *Famine Crimes*, 112-132.
- ³² *Ibid.*, 20-26.
- ³³ Philo, 'From Buerk to Band Aid', 123.
- ³⁴ CAA: CA4/A/16/7: Martin Bax, 'Post Live Aid', 17 July 1985.
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- ³⁸ Black, *A Cause for our Times*, 229.
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- ⁴³ Shah et al., 'Bono, Band Aid, and Before'.
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- ⁴⁵ Robinson, 'Putting the Charity Back into Charity Singles', 408.
- ⁴⁶ Raghavan, *1971*, 142-145.
- ⁴⁷ Shah et al., 'Bono, Band Aid, and Before'.
- ⁴⁸ Mitchell, *History and Cultural Memory in Neo-Victorian Fiction*, 47-53.
- ⁴⁹ Briggs, 'Victorian Values'; Vinen, *Thatcher's Britain*; Saunders, 'Crisis? What crisis?'.
- ⁵⁰ Lankester, *The Politics and Economics of Britain's Foreign Aid*, 12.
- ⁵¹ Burnell, *Charity, Politics and the Third World*, 215.
- ⁵² Wagg, 'When I give food to the poor...', 103.
- ⁵³ Hall and Jacques, 'People Aid'.
- ⁵⁴ Hebdige, *Hiding in the Light*, 220.
- ⁵⁵ Sky, Rick. 'Forty million notes!', *Daily Star*, 15 July 1985, 2-3.

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- ⁵⁶ 'Live Aid souvenir issue', *Daily Mirror*, 15 July 1985, 1.
- ⁵⁷ Street, *Music and Politics*, 108.
- ⁵⁸ Graham, *Bill Graham Presents*, 473.
- ⁵⁹ McSmith, *No Such Thing as Society*, 4.
- ⁶⁰ Graham, *Bill Graham Presents*, 466-467.
- ⁶¹ Lucy Robinson makes a similar argument about charity singles in the 1980s: Robinson, 'Putting the Charity Back into Charity Singles'.
- ⁶² McSmith, *No Such Thing as Society*, 186.
- ⁶³ Lankester, *The Politics and Economics of Britain's Foreign Aid*, 32-33.
- ⁶⁴ BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham (hereafter BBC WAC): T41/482/1: Band Aid Trust, 'Trustee's Meeting', 7 March 1985.
- ⁶⁵ See, for instance: BBC WAC: T41/482/1: Band Aid Trust, 'Minutes of Meeting of Band Aid Trustees', 21 January 1985.
- ⁶⁶ Korten, *Getting to the 21st Century*.
- ⁶⁷ Brooke, 'Historicizing 1980s Britain', 25.
- ⁶⁸ quoted in Lynskey, *A History of Protest Songs*, 382.
- ⁶⁹ Lousley, 'With Love from Band Aid', 14.
- ⁷⁰ Hall and Jacques, 'People Aid', 10-11.
- ⁷¹ Putterford, *Phil Lynott: The Rocker*, 320.
- ⁷² Graham, *Bill Graham Presents*, 466-467.
- ⁷³ Geldof, *Is That It?*, 284.
- ⁷⁴ Band Aid had seven trustees: Bob Geldof; Midge Ure (musician and co-writer of the Band Aid single with Geldof); Michael Grade (BBC executive, and Controller of BBC1 during 1984-85); John Kennedy (specialist lawyer and agent within the music industry, later President of Universal Music); Maurice Oberstein (famous music business executive and Chairman of CBS Records UK); Harvey Goldsmith (renowned concert promoter); and Chris Morrison (who managed many prominent artists). See: BBC WAC: T41/482/1: Band Aid Trust, 'Minutes of Meeting of Band Aid Trustees', 21 January 1985.
- ⁷⁵ Wheeler, *Celebrity Politics*, 153.
- ⁷⁶ For more on Rock Against Racism, see: Frith and Street, 'Rock Against Racism and Red Wedge'.
- ⁷⁷ Geldof, *Is That it?*, 286.
- ⁷⁸ Tester, *Humanitarianism and Modern Culture*, 9.
- ⁷⁹ Dunn, Martin. 'How I pulled off the impossible', *The Sun*, 12 July 1985, 15.
- ⁸⁰ Chouliaraki, *The Ironic Spectator*, 124.
- ⁸¹ Collins, *Billy Bragg: Still Suitable for Miners*, 161.
- ⁸² Marquand, 'The Paradoxes of Thatcherism'; Kuehn, 'Compassionate Consumption'.
- ⁸³ For more on neoliberalism as a 'governing rationality', see: Payne, *The Consumer, Credit and Neoliberalism*; Brown, *Undoing the Demos*.
- ⁸⁴ Littler, *Radical Consumption*, 23.
- ⁸⁵ Davis, 'Compassionate Consumerism'.
- ⁸⁶ This chimes with Anthony Giddens's suggestion that 'life politics' has displaced 'emancipatory politics' in late modernity. See also Jeffrey Weeks's account of the 'new individualism': Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*; Weeks, *The World We Have Won*.
- ⁸⁷ Lilie Chouliaraki describes this as a move towards 'post-humanitarianism', which is more ironic, more self-focused, and more rooted in lifestyle choices: Chouliaraki, *The Ironic Spectator*.
- ⁸⁸ Littler, *Radical Consumption*, 30.
- ⁸⁹ Richey and Ponte, 'Brand Africa', 137.
- ⁹⁰ Žižek, *First as Tragedy, Then as Farce*.
- ⁹¹ Scott and Street, 'From media politics to e-protest?'
- ⁹² Hicks, Hilary Clay. 'Superevents and Mega-Audiences', *Billboard*, 26 April 1986, 4.
- ⁹³ CAA: CA4/A/16/7: Mary Galvin, 'Bandaid', 22 February 1985.
- ⁹⁴ Ponte et al., 'Bono's Product (RED) Initiative'.
- ⁹⁵ For more on Corporate Social Responsibility, see: Littler, *Radical Consumption*, 50-68.

⁹⁶ Hicks, Hilary Clay. 'Superevents and Mega-Audiences', *Billboard*, 26 April 1986, 9.

⁹⁷ This echoes an argument recently put forward by Stephen Brooke: Brooke, 'Historicizing 1980s Britain'.

⁹⁸ Scott and Street, 'From media politics to e-protest?'.

⁹⁹ Huq, 'Labouring the Point?', 91.

¹⁰⁰ McAnulla, 'Liberal Conservatism: Ideological Coherence?'.

¹⁰¹ Cameron, David. 'Combating Poverty at Its Roots', *Wall Street Journal*, 1 November 2012.

<http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970204712904578090571423009066> [accessed 11 November 2016].

¹⁰² To date, *Do They Know It's Christmas* has been re-recorded and re-released three times by Band Aid since 1984: in 1989, 2004, and 2014. All three of these versions reached number one in the UK, although none came close to matching the original version for the number of copies sold.

¹⁰³ Cottle, *Global Crisis Reporting*, 157-160.

¹⁰⁴ Hilary, John. 'The arrogance of Saint Bob', *Guardian*, 5 April 2010.

<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/apr/05/geldof-arrogance-poverty-agenda-starsuckers> [accessed 11 November 2016].

¹⁰⁵ quoted in Hodkinson, Stuart. 'G8 –Africa nil', *Red Pepper* (2005). <http://www.redpepper.org.uk/G8-Africa-nil/> [accessed 11 November 2016].

¹⁰⁶ Darnton and Kirk, *Finding Frames*, 6.

¹⁰⁷ Mouffe, 'Which Ethics for Democracy?', 85-86.

¹⁰⁸ Bishop and Green, *Philanthrocapitalism*.

¹⁰⁹ Edwards, 'Why "Philanthrocapitalism" Is Not the Answer', 237.

¹¹⁰ Holmes, 'Biodiversity for Billionaires'.