Backstories / Black Stories

Black Journalists, INGOs and the Racial Politics of Representing Sub-Saharan Africa in Mainstream UK News Media

Omega Douglas

Goldsmiths, University of London

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person, nor material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree of the university or other institute of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

Signed: Date: 18.07.18

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Academic concern with representations of sub-Saharan Africa in Western news media is intensifying. In particular, there is burgeoning interest in how INGOs and black journalists, within and outside the African diaspora, influence the narration of Africa in international news. The positionalities of both actors in the field of reporting on sub-Saharan Africa has far-reaching implications for whether historically rooted, racist Western understandings of the region may be subverted. Yet questions of race exist on the margins of scholarship in this area. Unlike most current research on coverage of Africa, this study inserts issues of race and racism into debate. It is distinctive by linking critical race and postcolonial theories to Bourdieu's (2005) 'journalistic field'.

Through in-depth interviews with journalists of colour and INGO press officers who work for some of Britain's largest news and aid organisations, the concept of *postcolonial journalistic field theory (PCJFT)* is developed. This new interdisciplinary framework, alongside the development of notions such as *quadruple consciousness*, *schizophrenic inclusion* and *life-in-death*, importantly adds to theories of representation, black (British) identity, journalism, race and cultural production studies, by showing how methods and critiques that are part of critical race and postcolonial theories, enable theoretically grounded accounts of how and why mediated racial discourses occur.

PCJFT shows that a contextual study is essential to understanding the racial politics that this research found informs the production and representation of news on sub-Saharan Africa in UK media, by accounting for the complex relations between journalists' experiences and 'standpoints' (Hill Collins, 1998, 2000), institutional culture and the power of news media and INGO sources. As such, this study reveals a historicised, racialised, capitalist, moralising discourse exists in relation to mainstream UK news on black African Others, and proposes a phenomenological approach to race within journalism as a vital means of dismantling such discourse.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Race matters. As I write this introductory chapter, nearly four years after embarking on my PhD in 2014, the varied but interconnected issues and concerns that compelled me to want to research the racial politics of representing black African Others[1] in mainstream UK news, and the involvement of black journalists and INGOs in such representation, have simmered, bubbled and boiled over to become major public debates. My macro concerns included: the marginalisation of race[2] in contemporary academic literature and debate, despite ongoing everyday racism and the continued oppression of black people in the 21st century; a culture of silence vis-à-vis racism in the INGO sector, where work is so heavily focused on the lives of black Others, as well as being a field that's gaining increasing power in the narration of such lives in mainstream UK news; the poverty of racial diversity in that same media space; and the continued denigration of Africa and black Africans in the dominant Western public sphere.

Some key events ignited the flame that led to these issues reaching boiling point. In 2014 Mike Brown, an unarmed African-American teenager, was murdered by a white police officer in Ferguson, Missouri. #BlackLivesMatter, a movement created by three black women activists[3] a year earlier in response to the acquittal of a different white American man who murdered unarmed black teenager, Trayvon Martin, demonstrated how much media matters too by utilising the tools of mass communication to become an international network for anti-racist activism. #BlackLivesMatter catapulted what black people have always known into the dominant public sphere: racism remains a fact that stifles and snuffs out lives. But it took these tragic events for race to suddenly be *seen* in the mainstream Western public sphere in ways it arguably has not been seen, particularly in the UK and north America, since the early 1990s[4].

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[1]By 'Other' I mean groups of people positioned outside dominant discourse because of their race, class, sexuality, gender or religion, for instance. Here, my concern is with those who are marginalised because of their racial origins.

[2]I take race to be a politically and socially constructed category (Hall, 1990) around which racism, a system of socio-economic power and exclusion, has been built.

[3]Alicia Garza, Opal Tometi and Patrisse Khan-Cullors founded Black Lives Matter to create 'a world free of anti-Blackness, where every Black person has the social, economic, and political power to thrive' (blacklivesmatter.com, accessed 01.02.18).

[4]The three decades preceding the 1990s are particularly significant to the history of post-Second World War race relations in Britain and America. The civil rights movement gathered momentum in America in the 1960s and in 1965 the UK's first race relations legislation was passed. Despite advances made by anti-racist activists on both sides of the Atlantic during the 60s and 70s, ongoing racial discrimination and tensions continued. In 1978, Margaret Thatcher, leader of the Conservative opposition, arguably set the divisive tone for race relations in Britain during her time as Prime Minister from 1979-1990 when she said: 'People are really afraid that this country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture'. Conservative support increased following this comment (Hiro, 1992:ix). The 1980s saw Thatcher oppose sanctions against South Africa's Apartheid regime, and grievances related to years of

Come 2014, race was no longer something we are 'post'. No longer was it relegated, invariably by those in privileged positions, to a mysteriously locked away past that, 'we're beyond now,' as an academic dismissively said when I mentioned my interest in studying race and representation some time ago. Suddenly, largely thanks to the power of media platforms and the informal and formal workforces sharing content on them, race was being seen outside the 'intimate' spheres (see also Benhabib, 1992; West, 1993; Bourdieu, 2004b) of the lives of those who are touched by racism.

More fuel on the fire: in the UK, also in 2014, black British actor and comedian, Lenny Henry, demanded media executives address what he called the appallingly low percentage of people of colour in Britain's creative industries. During his delivery of the annual BAFTA Television Lecture (March 18, 2014), Henry highlighted that 2,000 black and minority ethnic (BAME) people left the industry in the three years prior to his speech, despite the industry having grown by over 4,000 during the same period. Fast forward to 2017 and, back in America, after two terms in office, Barack Obama, the country's first black president, was replaced by Donald Trump, a man whose career is polluted with racist practices. Trump actively pushed the racist 'birther' conspiracy about his predecessor; his election campaign was littered with racist rhetoric; his win was celebrated by white supremacists and his time in office to date has seen him, one of the most powerful people in the world, continue to unashamedly tramp down an overtly racist path by, among other things, failing to disavow the support of former Ku Klux Klan leader, David Duke, and describing African nations as 'shithole countries'[5].

Black Panther, a proudly Afrocentric box-office hit released to critical acclaim less than a month after Trump's disparaging comment about African countries, could not have been better timed. The film oozes rich, nuanced, celebratory depictions of a people and a continent that, for generations, have been predominantly represented in grindingly singular, racially stereotypical, needy and desperate ways in mainstream Western narratives. *Black Panther* was also, judging by the relish with which the film's been received by audiences world-wide[6], particularly black audiences, an urgently needed antidote to singular depictions. That a film made in Hollywood, the beating heart of the white hegemonic representative order, provoked so much joy, excitement, debate and global headlines, largely because it features a predominantly black cast and a new Hollywood imagining of Africa, is testament to how far

racism perpetrated against black Britons triggered riots in Britain's major cities. Fast forward to the 1990s and, in 1992, there was rioting in LA after four white police officers were acquitted for brutally assaulting Rodney King, an African-American man. In the UK, in 1993, the racist murder of black British teenager, Stephen Lawrence, renewed focus on race relations.
[5] Smith, D. & Rawlinson, K. The Guardian, January 15, 2018.
[6] Rubin, R. Variety, March 10, 2018.

we've come. But, perhaps more importantly, it also speaks to how far we still have to go to subvert that hegemonic representative order and quench the thirst of people desperate to drink in alternative, multifarious mass media depictions of blackness.

Such thirst, this research contends, is exacerbated by Western development and humanitarian INGOs, whose work is largely focused on the African continent (El Tom, May 7, 2013), and their increasing involvement in the construction of dominant news narratives about the region (see also Franks, 2010; Anyangwe, 2017). A central micro concern of mine, and one of the building blocks for this thesis, is my belief that the INGOisation of news on sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) in the dominant Western public sphere contributes to the amplification of normative racialised, narrow depictions of black African Others. But the 'goodness' of INGO work has led to many within and outside the sector turning a blind eye to racially problematic practices in the field and to the question of race, despite its centrality to development/humanitarian discourse (White, 2002; Kothari, 2006). However, questions regarding the inherent 'goodness' of the INGO sector recently boiled over due to reports of sexual harassment and abuse in some of the UK's major aid agencies[7]. These revelations about serious violations of power have triggered reports of how racism, another chronic abuse of power, is also common, but largely ignored, within the sector (e.g. Aziz, 12 February 2018).

The unfolding of these events during the course of my research make the macro point, race *matters*, that's central to my micro research concerns - the involvement of INGOs and black journalists in reporting SSA for mainstream UK news media and the racial politics of representing the region - even more vital to address *now*. This project is focused on achieving that by illuminating important but overlooked issues, which I hope will enhance understanding of how the 'journalistic field' (Bourdieu, 2005) is generative and reproductive of ideas of race (Hall, 2013), and how such ideas are magnified in the 'subfield' (Marchetti, 2005) of reporting on SSA. Enhancing such understanding is crucial simply because racialised representations inflict harm (see also Couldry, 2013:51; Fanon, [1952] 1986; hooks, 1992), and no practice parading as journalism should in any way administer harm[8]. Not only because journalism is a

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[7] BBC News, February 24, 2018.

[8] The harm done as a result of mainstream Western media representations of black Africans is the focus of numerous studies (e.g. Moeller, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006) that highlight the damaging divisions stereotypical representations create between 'us' and 'them'. News media is of particular concern because of the genre's reach and role in shaping public perceptions of the societies we live in. As Moeller (1999) notes, this vehicle of communication is how we come to know and view Others – our 'global neighbours'. Importantly, as scholars such as Hall (1990), hooks (1992), and Fanon (1986 [1952]) show us, the way knowledge is mediated also impacts how we see and experience ourselves.

tool that's meant to be used to hold power to account and serve the interests of the public as a *whole*, but also because, as Bourdieu (1998) asserts, journalism has a profound effect on all social spheres. Thus, any harm meted out by the 'journalistic field' (Bourdieu, 2005) will have ramifications throughout society.

My research questions, which I contextualise below, focus my macro concerns on the micro field of mainstream UK news coverage of SSA. This is an area where academic research is in ferment, but questions of race are marginalised. To contribute to countering such marginalisation, this thesis asks:

1.What are black journalists' experiences of reporting on sub-Saharan Africa?
2.How do INGOs engage with issues of race and racism, and how might such engagement impact on their media work and related news narratives about black African Others?
3.What are the organisational and production contexts of reporting (on sub-Saharan Africa) by black journalists?
4.What do the above mean for news media representations of sub-Saharan Africa?

<u>Research questions located in academic debate</u>

There has long been substantial scholarly interest in representations of SSA in dominant Western news media (e.g. Hawk, 1992; Moeller, 1999; Brookes, 1995), but research has intensified in the last decade (Scott, 2017). In particular, there is growing interest in how two types of actors - Western INGOs (e.g. Beckett, 2009a&b; Cottle & Nolan, 2009) and, most recently, African and African diaspora journalists (e.g. Bunce, 2010, 2014; Ogunyemi, 2017) - may be able to alter the way Africa is narrated in international news.

The burgeoning academic interest in the participation of these actors in news coverage of SSA is foregrounded by a number of factors, which we must take seriously. The first is the changes to foreign news, specifically cost-cutting and the closure of international bureaux (Utley, 1997; Carroll, 2007; Russo, 2010) in regions like SSA (see also Bunce, 2011). These changes have enabled greater contribution of well-resourced INGO sources (Fenton, 2010) to news on SSA, which has implications for the way black African Others are represented by mainstream UK news organisations (see also Franks, 2010). This is a central focus of my research.

The second factor, and my other key research focus, relates to the positionalities of journalists of colour, particularly African diaspora journalists, who contribute to the construction of news on SSA for mainstream UK media, and suggestions that they may be able to improve such coverage (e.g. Ogunyemi, 2017). There is a rich history of African diaspora journalists, scholars

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and writers[9] who have sought to re-narrate the story of Africa in the West as part of ongoing struggles against racism. The relatively limited academic research that explores such narration focuses on the African-American experience (e.g. Broussard, 2013). There's scarce work, to date, that considers how black British journalists who report, or have reported, on SSA for UK media use the authority of their experiences as raced subjects to negotiate and contest stereotypical representations of black African Others in their work. Nor is there any work in the British context that considers how journalists of colour may be used by the mainstream news organisations they work for to showcase institutional diversity, and apparent progression beyond the frequently stereotypical narration of the lives of black African Others. Such narration is typically produced by a 'white British boys' club' (Bunce, 2010), which has traditionally dominated the field of international reporting on SSA.

As I will show, race is central to the power dynamics at play in relation to the production of news on SSA in the UK journalistic field, as well as representation of the region. Race, I contend, is also at the root of academic concern, which I address more fully below, with whether such coverage is 'positive' or 'negative'. Yet while race is alluded to, it mostly exists on the margins of scholarship in this area, with studies finding that representations of SSA in international news are more 'positive'[10] than they once were (e.g. Bunce, 2017), and discussion thus being moved away from any serious concern with race and racism. In my view, a failure to attend to race as an issue that's central to the field of journalism focused on SSA undermines critical questions about why and how certain actors, journalists of colour and INGOs, are positioned within that field, and how their positionalities may enable or disable the generation, reproduction and/or subversion of racialised[11] ideas in news coverage of SSA.

It's vital to centre race in analysis of mainstream UK news on SSA. This is particularly important in the current climate where cost-cutting in foreign news means coverage of marginalised people and places, such as SSA, one of the least reported regions in Western news (see also Zuckerman, 2004) and mostly only covered as a backdrop to disaster (Franks, 2005; Sambrook, 2010), is at risk of being even more sidelined in the dominant public sphere. At the same time, there is also increasing focus on strategies to counter such sidelining. These include, as highlighted, INGOs having increasing opportunities to insert stories about marginalised Others into mainstream Western media, as well as initiatives to increase diversity amongst media practitioners.

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[9] From Aimee Cesaire and Maya Angelou to Stuart Hall, Howard French, Sean Jacobs and David Olusoga.
[10] Bunce's research highlights that not *all* coverage is 'positive'. None-the-less, race and racism are still not closely considered as significant factors vis-a-vis any coverage.
[11] I borrow from sociologist, critical race and black feminist theorist Hill Collins (1998:280) who describes racialisation as, 'the assignment of a racial meaning to a previously racially neutral event'.

We must ask whether such diversifying strategies, which I argue have race at their heart, are making/can make any difference to the way black African Others are represented in mainstream UK news. If they are/can, what processes are involved? If they are not/cannot make a difference, why not and what might it take for the narrative to change? To be clear, a concern with making consideration of race and racism central to the field of research focused on coverage of SSA in mainstream UK news, underpins and connects my two central research foci.

Research journey

I arrived at thinking about the importance of race and representation in relation to media-INGO relations and UK news coverage of SSA from two distinct, but related, angles. The first relates to my 'standpoint' (Hill Collins, 1998; 2000). Standpoint theory (Hill Collins, ibid) also informs my epistemological framework (see Chapter 4). The second angle speaks to the important gap I feel is missing from current scholarly debate on mainstream Western news coverage of SSA generally, and media-INGO relations specifically. Arguably, I noticed this gap as a result of my standpoint. I shall deal with the first angle, before linking it to the second.

A standpoint research model, which was developed by feminist sociologists (e.g. Smith,1987; Hill Collins, ibid), states that where we're positioned socially impacts on our experiences and thus the knowledge we produce. Hill Collins (1998;2000), who developed the model in relation to African-American women, asserts that lived experience should be recognised as a form of knowledge. Such recognition, it's argued, creates more holistic accounts of the social and political world, which is dominated by white male thought, by incorporating the voices and experiences of marginalised groups.

Given that a standpoint model allows us to acknowledge that our experiences as researchers contributes to our knowledge generation, it offers me, as a woman of colour who has practiced as a journalist for mainstream UK media for many years, a valuable starting point for research. I have mostly been in a glaringly obvious minority throughout my journalistic career in London. Despite being a city where most of Britain's national media organisations are based and only 45% of London's population describe themselves as white British (2011 Census), other people of colour in the buildings I've worked in are normally on the security desk, delivering packages, cleaning, and occasionally sitting at reception. Rarely are we in editorial offices discussing, commissioning and editing stories for whichever section of the national or

global audience is being targeted. Our invisibility at the story production end, also extends to our relative invisibility on the pages of most national publications.

So it came as a pleasant surprise when a few years ago, I was sitting at my desk flicking through the newspapers, taking the temperature of what was going on in the reported world, and came across a prominent article in the main news section of the Guardian which featured black people in an African country. Neither the headline, nor the imagery, conveyed any hint of violence, starvation, disease or any of the other tags we're so used to seeing black people associated with in the mainstream UK press. I can't remember exactly what the story or images were, but I do remember that at first glance they seemed to portray what looked like everyday events – children going to school, adults to work, that kind of thing. And I remember how they made me feel: a momentary sense of excitement and relief that here were some black people featured across a few pages of a newspaper, in a pile of publications I looked at daily and rarely found many stories featuring people who looked like me. Unless they were doing/had done things associated with the tags above. Such stories, as Hall (1997) argues, are bound up with historical power relations and ideological constructs, which enable them to be written and read in an unthinking manner. In a manner where meaning is taken for granted because those are the dominant categories black people have been framed within for so long.

As such, the Guardian's coverage of everyday life in Katine[12], Uganda, was initially refreshing. Then I started reading and my heart sank. This wasn't a story which lay outside expected categories (see also Mudimbe, 1988) about black people from the continent least covered by dominant international news (Sambrook, 2010). It was the launch of a three-year development project that the Guardian was reporting on *and* funding in conjunction with Barclays Bank.

I had several instant reactions. My journalist brain questioned the professionalism of a newspaper reporting on a project it was funding. No reporting is, of course, ever objective and there is much scholarly debate around objectivity[13] as a journalistic norm (e.g. Schudson, 1978; Tumber, 1999; Allan, 1999, 2004). But the Guardian's project struck me as particularly

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[12] The project was launched in October 2007.

[13] As the experiences of BAME journalists is central to this research, it's important to note how objectivity dictates that news journalists' personal histories and views are irrelevant to the construction of news. Neutrality is paramount and the journalists' identity apparently has no bearing on the news making process, including their 'gut instincts' about what constitutes news and which sources are credible (Mahtani, 2005; Allan, 1999). However, multiple studies show that such an argument is flawed, and news is not neutral, democratic or fair (Van Dijk, 1991; Gandy, 1997; Allan, 1999; Khiabany & Williamson, 2015).

problematic in terms of its potential bias. My reader brain was dismayed that the only way incremental coverage of news about black people's lives in Africa can seemingly be authorised is because it's about 'us' helping 'them'. It's about development, another old construct that has long informed representations of black Others. Yet here was this project being dressed up as something new and progressive. Granted, it was novel for a national British newspaper to extend a Christmas charity appeal over three years; then report on that appeal to show readers how projects they're asked to support actually work. Indeed, whether they work. But as a black reader, always hungry for stories which show the diversity of black people's experience is as limitless as white people's experience, and for stories that do not endlessly reproduce racialised histories, I was disappointed that the Guardian hadn't opened up what I'd hoped might be a space for the non-reproduction of such histories.

This brings to me another standpoint informing my knowledge production. I lived in Mozambique for several years as a child, and I traveled a lot then, and continued to as an adult, to many countries in SSA. I have seen that part of the world in ways I rarely see reflected in the mainstream media here. When back in the UK, I've experienced what I'd argue are the consequences of that limited representation. These include returning to England as a teenager to comments, from people of every colour, like: 'so you survived Zulu land?'; 'wasn't it sad seeing all those starving people?'; 'you lived in a flat? I thought everyone lived in huts.'

Fast-forward to now, and my own children are also sometimes surprised to hear of bustling metropolises and nuanced life in Africa. They've yet to visit any African countries but I assumed, because of the conversations we have at home and the types of books on our shelves, as well as the fact that times have supposedly changed a bit, that I may not have to counter stereotypical perceptions with my own children. They've reached an age where it's slightly easier to understand that images they see in school, newspapers, on the television, and so on, represent only tiny, microscopic, often distorted, parts of our world. But it's a job trying to convince someone who is pretty tiny themselves, that what they see and hear around them a lot, isn't necessarily real. Or the *only* real. As children of colour living in a society with limited representations of other people of colour, this is not only important for their sense of the world, but also for their sense of themselves in the world.

My experiences, or standpoint, frustrations and concerns are, in large part, what motivated me to research race and representation in mainstream UK news coverage of SSA, and the involvement of INGOs and black journalists in such coverage. As with any research method, there are limitations to the standpoint model. Indeed, the essentialist idea of *belonging* to a

particular *group*, which implies members of that group are homogenous[14], has rightly been critiqued (e.g. Parmar, 1990 in Ali et al, 2004). When talking of 'social groups', we must be aware that they, and the identities informing a sense of belonging, are multi-faceted, fluid and constructed[15]. Thus, as Ali et al (2004) assert, it's important for researchers to account for who gets to speak on behalf of subordinate 'groups' (see also Spivak, 1988), why and what classes those 'groups' as subordinate in the first place. This assertion is important for thinking through black journalist's reporting on/speaking on behalf of black Others, and how our identities may or may not inform such reporting. The research context for focusing on black journalist's experiences of reporting on SSA is addressed in Chapter 4.

On the other hand, it's also vital to acknowledge that categories that have been socially constructed to *group* people, such as race, have *real* effects on the lived experiences of people deemed to belong to particular 'groups' (e.g. Fanon, ibid; Crenshaw, 1989; Mbembe, 2003). This is important to recognise because there is debate which highlights that post-structuralist attempts to disrupt and dissolve fixed categories of race, in an attempt to break from suffocating homogeneity, make it hard to 'claim the experience of racism' (Alexander and Mohanty (1997:xvii) in Gunaratnam, 2003:6). For me, such a line of argument is nonsensical. Not only because racial constructs have been used to justify the racist treatment of 'groups' for centuries, but also because attempts to dissolve fixed categories of race are done precisely to try and counter racism. In addition, as Gunaratnam (2003) explains, researchers have used post-structuralist critiques of essentialism to demonstrate how racial constructs operate within discourse to have real effects on lived experience. Thus, attempts to undo ideas of race to show they belong to constructed bodies of knowledge, rather than real 'groups' of people, doesn't lessen the impact of those constructs on people; and therefore the ability to name

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[14] It's important to note that I'm not presuming an association between BAME journalists and coverage of SSA in an essentialising way, whereby people of colour are *naturally* expected to relate to/be interested in/expert on any issue/place/subject that's connected to other people of colour. Nor am I suggesting that BAME journalists should be expected to/can somehow *magically* make mainstream news more representative of the world we live in simply by being in certain organisational spaces, and by being involved in the construction of stories about other raced subjects. Simply *being* in certain spaces (Ahmed, 2012) doesn't amount to change if the space you're located doesn't enable you to speak to past/present forms of oppression/domination. However, whilst being black in predominantly white spaces can lead to feelings of suffocation and isolation, it can also amount to possibilities for change. For instance, Puwar (2004) shows that those who are 'space invaders', who work in spaces that they've been historically excluded from, have an archive of knowledge that's not available to those who have always been included in such spaces, and who are assumed to belong because they are the 'somatic norm'. Such knowledge can instigate change.

[15] Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) is a useful way of articulating the multi-faceted nature of our identities. Intersectional theory has it that our identities are made up of intersecting socially constructed categories, to which systems of oppression and discrimination, such as racism and sexism, may be attached.

racism and other *experiences*, thus *knowledge* they have acquired, as a result of belonging to that 'group'.

The second angle that underpins my research motivations is my desire to build on current scholarly work on mainstream Western news coverage of SSA, particularly the involvement of Western INGOs in such coverage, and insert race firmly into the equation.

The *absence of race on the media-INGO research agenda*

Research on the narration of SSA in mainstream[16] international news, from analysis of the politics underpinning representations of Africa to questions of which sources dominate news coverage of the continent, crudely falls into two camps. The first considers whether 'negative' stereotypical framing remains dominant in Western news narratives and distorts the continent's media image in the Western world (e.g. Brookes, 1995; Hawk, 1992; Wainaina, 2005). This concern was articulated by the author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie in her widely shared TED Talk on the danger of the 'single story' of Africa (Adichie, 2009). The second area of research focuses on questions of whether there's been a 'positive' shift (e.g. Ojo, 2014; Bunce, 2017) away from the 'Afro-pessimism'[17] (e.g. De B'Beri & Louw, 2011) that was found to persist in coverage in the 1990s.

The swing from apparently 'negative' to 'positive' reporting on SSA by international news media was exemplified by the Economist's 2011 '*Africa Rising'* cover story, which highlighted economic growth across the continent (see also Bunce, 2017). Broadly, questions of what may explain, increase and sustain 'positive'[18] coverage, or lack there-of, has led to the focus on the role of INGOs and black journalists in reporting. African and African diaspora journalists are viewed by some commentators as agents who can, and are, countering the dominance of white Northern voices in Western media coverage of SSA, and challenging the well documented legacy of colonial discourse in coverage of the continent (e.g. Nyamnjoh, 2012; Bunce, 2010; Ogunyemi, 2017). Media-NGO relations are seen to hold the potential to extend reporting on SSA (e.g. Beckett, 2012, 2009 a&b; Cottle & Nolan, 2009).

The former research builds on newsroom studies of race, particularly in America. Here, as Saha

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[16]See Chapter 4 for a definition of 'mainstream'.
[17]Afro-pessimism 'refers to a sense of pessimism about the continent's ability to overcome pressing challenges related to poverty, health, development or governance. This concept will often be summoned in the discussions around Africa's image in Western media.' (Nothias, 2012:54)
[18]For me, use of the term 'positive' vis-a-vis coverage of Africa is a problematic, 'polite' means of describing coverage that's not deemed racist, without having to utilise the word 'racist', and thus engage with the realities of racism.

(2018) discusses, findings demonstrate that 'negative' representations of people of colour are more likely to be found in news coverage produced by organisations with few or no journalists of colour. Further, Pease et al (2001 in Saha, 2018) found that newsrooms with greater numbers of permanent ethnic minority editorial staff tend to generate more 'positive' representations of people of colour. These newsroom study findings are illuminating but, as Saha (2018) writes vis-a-vis race and cultural production, somewhat limited in their political effects as, due to their focus on the text, they miss the structural relations of power that exist within and outside media institutions and impact on the positions and practice of journalists of colour. Such power relations complicate suggestions that including more journalists from marginalised groups within media organisations will equate to improved representation of those groups. However, not only are such suggestions implicit within newsroom studies of race, they also inform media diversity policies so have real, lived consequences. These issues are explored in Chapter 6.

The latter research (Beckett, 2012 & 2009 a&b; Cottle & Nolan, 2009), which suggests that media-NGO collaborations have the potential to produce fuller coverage of SSA, not only speaks to the fact that well-resourced NGOs (Fenton, 2010) are able to generate content and facilitate journalists' access to their regions of interest. It also speaks to initiatives whereby INGOs fund mainstream Western news organisations, and journalists working for them, to report on development issues in the Global South in a non-stereotypical way. One media organisation, the European Journalism Centre (EJC)[20], headed a call for journalist pitches for development related, non-stereotypical story funding with the line: 'If you want something new, you have to stop doing something old.' (Drucker, November 25, 2013).

The quote has stayed with me since I came across it in 2013. I questioned whether reporting the Global South through a development lens was possible *without* perpetuating stereotypical narratives, which are central to development discourse (Escobar, 1995; Crush, 1995), of 'us' (the 'civilised' West) helping 'them' (the 'primitive' South). In other words, the EJC quote struck me as an invitation, to borrow Ahmed's (2012) words, to give *new* form to *old* ways of seeing and doing and, in the process, maintain 'what is supposedly being redressed' (Ahmed, 2012:8). On the other hand, that organisations like the EJC have called for non-stereotypical

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[20] The EJC is a media organisation based in Holland, which won funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to offer grants to journalists working for mainstream Western news organisations. For the chance of winning a grant, journalists must pitch stories that promise to cover development issues in the Global South in a non-stereotypical way.

development narratives indicates an awareness of the pitfalls involved in development related coverage of distant Others. Indeed, such initiatives can be seen as part of an effort to broaden Western media representations of the Global South, a move that has been long called for (e.g. Paterson & Sreberny, 2004; Moeller, 1999) to engage Western audiences and decision makers in Southern issues, and move away from racially stereotypical reporting of SSA (see also Brookes, 1995; Franks, 2005).

Such direct financial incentives to cover regions like SSA more adequately are also the latest twist in the mutually beneficial relationship between the media and NGOs. As Franks (2010) highlights, this relationship has been particularly strong in relation to reporting on SSA where, since the 1984-5 Ethiopian famine, a precedent has been set for INGOs, whose work is concerned with humanitarian and development issues, facilitating journalists' access to hard to reach areas in exchange for publicity. This had a positive impact on INGO fundraising, growth and influence and:

> 'There is now a close and significant relationship between much journalism and the aid community, which has important implications for the way that Africa is explained to the rest of the world.' **(**Franks, 2010:75)

Franks' work (e.g. 2010) forms part of a vital critical body of research on this relationship, including that from commentators who focus on how dominant Western news media report disasters in the Global South (e.g. Moeller, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006&2012; Kalcsics, 2011; Cooper, 2011), and those who argue that media-NGO relationships are commercially driven (e.g. Fenton, 2010), meaning resource-rich NGOs dominate, reducing the opportunity for more extended coverage (e.g. Beckett, ibid; Cottle & Nolan, ibid).

But an important issue is missing from the current debate. There is scarce explicit interrogation of ideologies of race and 'us' helping 'them' being central to development discourse, and thus journalism that pivots around it. It's largely an arena of silence, just as race and racism in development discourse is (Wilson, 2012; White, 2002). As White notes:

> 'Concerned with economic growth and the 'war on poverty', development is determinedly colour-blind. While privately many admit that race has 'got something to do with it', publicly there is almost total silence.' (White, 2002: 407)

This silence is at risk of being echoed in contemporary reporting, and much academic analysis of such reporting, that is informed by INGO story leads. Due to the access INGOs have to regions like SSA, journalism generated as a result of media-INGO relations may be perceived to

generate 'better'/'good' reporting on Others, than time and resource poor foreign desks can produce alone. A perception of 'goodness' arguably masks racial hierarchies of power and knowledge embedded within such storytelling. A hierarchy where 'whiteness' (donors) is dominant over 'blackness' (beneficiaries) in the relationship of binary oppositions development sets up. These are transferred to:

'Racialised media images in contemporary coverage of […] Africa. These produce what Said (1993) referred to as an 'Africanist' discourse based on Eurocentric representations, attitudes and understandings of the region, upon which development policies are devised and implemented.' (Kothari, 2006:15).

As noted, shifts in media-NGO relations are partly about trying to broaden representations of the Global South. Development and humanitarian[21] INGOs play on the idea that their resources and knowledge of Africa means reporting mediated or produced by them will be more nuanced than standard journalistic coverage. Therefore, questions of race and the politics of representation (Hall, 1997), so central to development discourse (Wilson, 2012; White, 2002; Kothari, 2006), and thus INGOs in the business of development, must be central to research on media-NGO relations. This is an area I seek to open up.

The absence of race on the media-INGO research agenda is also evidenced by the lack of substantive focus, in foreign news research (e.g. Nossek, 2004; Cohen et al, 1995; Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Paterson, 1999), on black diaspora as significant populations in the Western world and thus likely contributors, in one way or another, to the production of mainstream Western foreign news. The international reach of 21st century news also means that local African journalists, in addition to working for media organisations in their countries of origin, increasingly contribute to (and consume) news produced by Western media organisations (e.g. Bunce, 2014). One of the intentions of this research is to contribute to closing this knowledge gap, which is especially prevalent in research on international news coverage of SSA. Here, concern with the 'Western gaze' tends to dominate, and that gaze is overwhelmingly assumed, with the exception of some recent studies (Ogunyemi, 2017; Broussard, 2013; Bunce, 2014, 2015) to be a white European one.

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[21] I link development and humanitarian work because, although in practice the former usually means long-term work, and the latter is about short-term relief, the two often fuse and share similar representational practices to draw attention to their work. In addition, some organisations, like Oxfam, focus on development and humanitarian programmes. Thus, when I refer to development, it's also taken to mean humanitarianism and vice versa.

There are two underlying assumptions about news on Africa being produced via 'the Western gaze' in international media that must be addressed. The first, which Bunce (2015) highlights, is the fact that structural shifts to the way international news is produced in the last two decades, largely due to technological changes to news gathering and cost-cutting (Carroll, 2007; Sambrook, 2010), has seen increasing numbers of local journalists being contracted by Northern news organisations (especially newswires such as AP and Reuters) to produce content. Bunce (2015) finds that local journalists born and raised in African countries that they report from, or near:

> 'frequently disagree with Western correspondents about what news should be produced: they pursue more localised and empathetic depictions of their countries. However, there remain a number of structural and organisational barriers that prevent their views from being included in final news content.' (Bunce, 2015: 43).

Despite such 'barriers', which I contend are raced, Bunce concludes that the substantive postcolonial critiques of the construction of Africa's global image by non-African actors require re-evaluation because, 'international news images of Africa are no longer constructed entirely – or even predominantly – by *Western-born* foreign correspondents' (Bunce, 2015: 58, emphasis added). Local African journalists are managing, in limited ways, to offer:

> 'an alternative […] perspective on news events. However, these journalists are deeply embedded in international news outlets that operate on tight profit margins, and produce news for clients predominantly based in the Western world.' (Bunce, 2015: 59)

Bunce's (2015) research is a very important contribution to scholarly work concerned with Africa's international media image, and foreign news research more generally. But, as highlighted, this work needs to be extended by addressing the other problematic assumption that's implicit in the view that international news coverage of Africa is produced via a 'Western gaze'. That is the assumption that the 'Western gaze' is white, as are 'Western-born foreign correspondents' (Bunce, 2015: 58). Such an assumption does not account for the fact that some 200 million people identifying as being of African descent live in the Americas, with many more millions living in other regions outside the African continent (UN, African Descent Decade, accessed May 28, 2017), including 13%[22] per cent of people living in the UK who identify as having black African/Caribbean heritage.

These individuals may be Western-born, but have lived, spent time or have close or distant connections to the African continent. Alternatively, the reverse may be true of such individuals

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[22] 2011 Census, ONS.

who are African-born. The term 'Afropolitan' (Salami, msafropolitan.com), is a useful way of describing the African experience *within* and *outside* the African continent, rather than just outside (as diaspora connotes) or just within (as local African describes). 'Afropolitan' certainly doesn't describe a new experience. As Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* (1993), and Olusoga's *Black and British* (2016), shows, these flows and counter flows have existed for centuries and disrupt any notion that the West, specifically Britain, is (or ever was) a racially cohesive community from which people of colour stand apart historically and culturally.

For Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic* (1993), and the contributions, histories and experiences of black people in modernity that the concept describes, is integral to British culture and must be understood as such by acknowledging the inevitable and multiple intersections between the local and the global. Olusoga (2016) also intricately maps the African diasporic presence in Britain since the Roman empire. In doing so, Olusoga powerfully makes the case for viewing British history via a global, rather than a national, prism due to the ancient relations between the African continent and Britain.

'Afropolitanism' sits alongside these ways of seeing, capturing how cross-cultural exchanges and the 'habitus'[23] (Bourdieu, 2005) they inform, and are informed by, have intensified in the era of global media. Further, 'unlike diaspora, but like pan-Africanism, Afropolitanism is concerned with social, political and cultural change' (Salami, msafropolitan.com, accessed 28 May 2017). As such, we may also apply the term to describe those journalists of colour who consciously seek to change representations of SSA through their work in mainstream UK news organisations, as well as those who work for alternative media platforms, and push for cultural and political change. Thus, I take Afropolitan as a term that's useful for illuminating the fact that black journalists who cover Africa for Western news media represent an 'in-betweeness' (see also Hall, 1990; Bhabha, 1994), whether they live inside or outside Africa, by virtue of the fact that they are working for organisations that are based outside the continent. However, I use diaspora as an umbrella term here, as it more broadly reflects the position of the majority of my black journalist and INGO interviewees (see Appendices 1 -3), whose standpoints and habitus form the majority of my empirical data, and who have, or do, live and work in the UK and have roots in Africa. As such, they tend to experience a diasporic ambivalence whereby they are: 'seen to look in two directions – towards an historical cultural identity on one hand, and the society of relocation on the other.' (Ashcroft et al, 2006)

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[23]Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' (2005), which this research draws on, describes the personal experiences/histories and socio-cultural status of individuals and how these elements of our background are productive of dynamics within institutional structures and broader social 'fields'.

Returning to scholarly concern with news representations of SSA, if we accept that such concern is ultimately rooted in questions of how to construct representations less stereotypically, and make the journalistic field more inclusive and reflective of the fact that our mass media is supposedly global in reach and content, then I believe we cannot even begin to get close to achieving such an aim without directly tackling the issue of race and racism, as it is generated by, and functions *within*, the field of international reporting on SSA. Only by addressing race, via contextualised explorations of its discursive production, can we begin to conceive of and formulate ways to alter racialised depictions of SSA, and the institutional norms (Allan, 1999) that are generative of them.

Approach and chapters

My research is distinctive by utilising critical race and postcolonial theories of colonial discourse and modes of Othering (e.g. Said, 1978; Fanon, 1986 [1952]; Hall, 2013; Hill Collins, 1998; Crenshaw, 1989; Mbembe, 2003), to explore media-INGO relations in the production of mainstream UK news on SSA. I draw on the work of scholars such as Fanon, Said and Hall who conduct explorations of the inventory of colonial traces that mark people's bodies (Fanon, 1986), inform their identities (Hall, 1990), are threaded through culture and society and expressed via institutions and the texts those institutions produce (Said, 1978). Such work is important for analysing the connections between the standpoints (Hill Collins, ibid) and habitus (Bourdieu, 2005) of BAME journalists reporting on SSA, and the institutions they work in, for and through to do such reporting.

Because of their standpoints as marginalised Others in mainstream British media, where only 0.2% of journalists are black, despite black Britons making up approximately 3% of the UK population[24] (Thurman et al, 2016), I suggest that black journalists have distinct and valuable, but largely undocumented, insight into the racial hierarchies of power and knowledge embedded within the discourses (development, humanitarian, colonial) that often inform the narration of SSA in mainstream UK news (e.g. Wainaina, 2005; Brookes, 1995). I contend that such hierarchies also play out in newsrooms where black journalists form a minority, tend not

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[24]The *Journalists in the UK* report (Thurman et al, 2016) draws on the 2011 UK Census to break down the ethnicity of UK journalists. The report reveals that black Britons account for 3% of the UK population, but only 0.2% of British journalists, and Asian Britons make up 7% of the UK population, but just 2.5% of the journalist workforce. 2.3% of people in the 2011 UK Census identified as 'mixed-race', and they make up 2% of the journalist population. 87% of the UK population is white, whilst 94% of journalists are white. It's also noteworthy that most of the UK's national news media organisations are based in London, where only 45% of the population are of white English, Scottish or Welsh heritage (2011 Census, ONS, 2012-12-11). The Office for National Statistics most recent estimate for BAME, rather than just black, population in the UK is 13.7% (ONS, June 2016)

occupy positions of power and therefore may be unable to speak to/of forms of dominance and oppression, or have the power to practically tackle structural discrimination. These circumstances combine and contribute to creating racialised media representations of SSA upon which Western understandings of (Kothari, 2006), and economic relations with (Schorr, 2011), the region are based. In turn, such hierarchies, understandings and relations may impact on the sense that people of African descent have of themselves and their place in the world.

I link critical race and postcolonial theories to Bourdieu's (2005) notion of the journalistic field. Bourdieu's journalistic field enables a broad spatial conception of the configuration of media institutions and the positionalities of actors within and outside them. However, race, which is central to furthering understanding of the cultural, economic and power dynamics within the 'journalistic field', has not been mapped onto Bourdieu's (2005) conception in any substantive way. This thesis develops a conceptual framework, which I call 'postcolonial journalistic field theory', which serves as a tool for interpreting and analysing the divergent but interconnected strands of my research, as outlined above and below. Crucially, the intention is to enable the development of an understanding of why race is so integral to the field of reporting on SSA, and how the positionalities of black journalists and INGOs within the field are illustrative of that centrality.

To be sure, this research explores whether the positionalities of these actors, as they exist within the field together, can disrupt (and why it's thought they may be able to disrupt) stereotypical, colonial conceptions of black African Others as 'childlike' and 'helpless' (Fanon, 2006; Goldberg, 1993). Theorists argue that news discourse is informed by historical ideological constructs which continue to inform representations of Others, inferring what's already known to convey meaning which, in turn, informs practice (Hall, 1997; Chouliaraki, 2006). Thus, it's pertinent to ask whether, by bringing what is already *known to them* into the field, journalists of colour (who conceivably *know* what it is to be Othered in the West, or via Western institutional structures, due to their raced subjectivities), and INGOs (that *know* about and have direct access to news stories in SSA), can inform practice in mainstream Western journalistic storytelling on SSA in such a way so as to disrupt the 'us' (Western saviours) and 'them' (backward Africans) paradigm that such journalism has arguably been stuck in since colonialism. If these actors can offer this, *how* are they equipped, in the current time and financially squeezed climate, to challenge historical themes that news discourse draws on and which 'have come to define our collective imaginary of the 'Other'' (Chouliaraki, 2006:8)? Or do media-INGO constructed stories, and their development framing, along with the positions of black journalists in the field of reporting on SSA, further entrench and/or mask historically

rooted 'ways of seeing' (Berger, 1972)? These concerns speak to the following debates, which my research draws on:

1. Political economy, specifically shrinking foreign news coverage in mainstream Western news organisations (e.g. Sambrook, 2010; Utley, 1997; Hamilton & Jenner, 2004). This addresses how increased competition and cuts to editorial resources is changing the business model for news and enabling greater NGO insertion (e.g. Fenton, 2010; Cottle & Nolan, ibid; Beckett, ibid). Chapters 2 and 6 explore these debates. Chapter 2 considers how scholarly work focused on media-NGO relations (e.g. Beckett, 2009a&b; Fenton, 2010; Cottle & Nolan, 2009) and post-colonial theory (e.g. Said, 1978; Fanon, 1986[1952]; Mbembe, 2003), intersect to pave the way for understanding how contemporary forms of reporting on SSA for mainstream UK news generate ideas of race. I explore how the work of the aforementioned post-colonial theorists helps make race visible in the media-NGO equation and enables us to extend current thinking on these relations.

Chapter 6 draws on my empirical data, collated via interviews with journalists and editors who work for some of the UKs largest news institutions, to explore the institutional logics that foreground reporting of SSA by black journalists for mainstream UK news organisations. This chapter doesn't seek to offer a detailed analysis of organisational diversity policies of each of the UK's dominant news organisations, and the political-economic and/or ethical reasons informing these. Rather, it draws upon political economic analyses in the field of journalism studies to broadly consider how symbolic commitments to inclusion do and don't correspond with the experiences of those being included, and thus illuminates some of the empirical data from research participants. Because I stress the importance of 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 2005) in countering the economic rationalities (see also Leong, 2013; Saha, 2018) that inform the inclusion of ethnic minorities in mainstream news, the second aim of this chapter is to consider how 'habitus' plays out in practice and takes us beyond symbolic commitments.

2. Journalist-source relations which become more important under pressure and raise questions about who has the power to frame stories, journalists, their INGO sources (e.g. Hall et al, 1978; Kalcsics, 2011; Fenton, 2010; Cottle, 2003) or neither? What impact do such relations have on how news about SSA is represented (e.g. Franks, 2005 & 2013)? These issues are focused on throughout, but especially in Chapters 2 (see above), 7 and 8. Chapter 7 empirically explores, predominantly via interviews with press officers at some of Britain's wealthiest INGOs, the role of INGOs as news sources in reporting on SSA, including how INGOs seek to include/work with black actors in the construction of press material to communicate messages differently and disrupt historical themes that inform representations of black Others.

Chapter 8 utilises **Foucauldian inspired discourse analysis** as a method for investigating race and racism in news, and includes analysis of coverage of the 2014 Ebola outbreak in West Africa that some of my INGO and BAME journalist interviewees were involved in constructing. Indeed, the 2014 Ebola outbreak was selected as a case study as it was a clear news event when both journalists of colour and INGOs helped generate mainstream UK reporting on SSA. Via the lens of postcolonial journalistic field theory which, to reiterate, is developed here to unpack the racialised dynamics between individuals and institutional structures in mainstream UK news, this research attempts to go beyond surface level representations to consider how the habitus and standpoints of those involved in reporting the Ebola crisis helped shape narratives. Further, how the institutional structures individuals were doing the reporting through and within, may have constrained or enabled any attempts to move beyond racially stereotypical reporting.

Public sphere theory (Habermas, 1989) is also touched on in Chapter 7 to illuminate whether greater participation of INGOs and black journalists in the dominant public sphere necessarily equates to broader coverage of SSA. This is important to consider given recent critiques of the public sphere ideal of pluralism which, it's argued, is being eroded by 'market rationality' (Fenton & Titley, 2015) and, crucially, has always been delimited by race (Khiabany & Williamson, 2015). Chapter 6 (see above), which explores the organisational contexts of reporting on SSA by BAME journalists, and racial diversity in mainstream newsrooms more broadly, also focuses on these issues.

3. The use of **Bourdieu's field theory** in journalism studies (e.g. Benson & Neveu, 2005; Phillips, 2015) contributes a vital theoretical foundation to this research, and is discussed in Chapters 3 & 5. In Chapter 5, again drawing on interviews with journalists, I argue that the raced subjectivities, or habitus, of journalists matter in the production of news. With reference to race and the narration of news on SSA for British news media, I contend that just as journalists of colour are positioned by news organisations to report on Africa as a means of activating a 'slide' (Hall, 2013) of meaning, black journalists also position themselves to disrupt meaning. Chapter 5 grounds some of my empirical data in my interdisciplinary framework, which mixes Bourdieu's (ibid) work on the journalistic field with Hill Collins' (ibid) standpoint theory, by focusing on how the habitus and standpoints of black journalists may motivate them to want to engage in such disruption.

Drawing attention to the standpoints/habitus of individual journalists and institutional doxa that can help us explain *why* representations of race appear the way that they do, offers a vital

contribution to journalism studies of race, and cultural production studies more generally (e.g. Saha, 2018), by extending studies of race in the context of Western news beyond a focus on representation. Chapter 9 outlines practical steps for challenging some of the processes which contribute to the construction of mainstream news representations of race, including arguing that a phenomenological approach to race within the journalistic field, and the sub-field of reporting on SSA, would contribute to cultivating a culture where race is seen (see also Eddo-Lodge, 2017), thus enabling racism to be more easily challenged and dismantled. As such, Chapter 9 highlights the value of production-orientated research that goes beyond the text, and is instructive to industry so as to help effect change.

4. Literature concerned with development and humanitarian **INGOs and the media** is key and explored in Chapters 2 and 7 (see above). This work spans debate that addresses how journalists and INGOs work together (e.g. Beckett, 2012, 2009a&b; Cottle &Nolan, 2009; Fenton, 2010; Wright, 2017), and how the media represent suffering and crisis affecting distant Others (e.g. Chouliaraki, 2006; Moeller, 1999). The field of **development studies** is also relevant, particularly research on the intersections between development and colonial discourse (e.g. Crush, 1995; Escobar, 1995; Kapoor, 2008), as well as the silencing of race and racism within development discourse (e.g. Kothari, 2006; Silva, 2014).

5. Post-colonial and critical race theory is central to my research and woven throughout. Such approaches allow us to consider colonial discourse, modes of Othering and the politics of representation (e.g. Said, 1978; Fanon, 1986; Bhabha, 1983; Mudimbe, 1988; Hall, 1997; 2013; hooks, 1992; Spivak, 1998; Mbembe, 2003; Crenshaw, 1989) informing the positionalities and standpoints of raced actors, and contemporary 'representations and institutional practices that structure the relationships between West and Third World.' (Kapoor, 2008: xv). **Standpoint theory** (Hill Collins, 1998, 2000) forms a central part of discussion in Chapter 4, where I outline how this research into black journalists, INGOs and the racial politics of representing SSA in mainstream UK news has been designed to privilege thinking from perspectives that tend to be overlooked in academic debates on Africa's media image. I also discuss Foucauldian inspired discourse analysis (e.g. Said, 1978; Tonkiss, 2004) as a tool for investigating race and racism in news stories.

These divergent scholarly debates are threaded through this interdisciplinary research. Woven together, they illuminate the **historicised, racialised, capitalist, moralising discursive net** which I argue floats over the 'subfield' (Marchetti, 2005) of reporting on SSA in mainstream UK news. This discursive net, which is a conceptualisation of the extent to which race is integral to

the power dynamics at play in the field of reporting on SSA, as well as representation of the region, is discussed in Chapters 7 and 9.

Conclusion

This research attempts to draw connections between: cultural studies' focus on representation and subjectivity (e.g. Hall, 1990, 1992, 2013), the concern of political economy with power and institutions (e.g. Fenton, 2010), journalism studies' increasing interest in Africa's media image (e.g. Brookes, ibid; Franks, 2010; Bunce et al, 2017), and postcolonial and critical race theories as a means of enabling us to trace ongoing colonial legacies in media representations (e.g. Fanon, 1986 [1952]; Said, 1978; Mbembe, ibid; hooks, ibid; Hill Collins, ibid). Such representations, this thesis contends, help sustain racial inequality in contemporary societies. My intention is to offer a holistic account of the difference that cuts to foreign news budgets, opportunities for INGO sources to insert stories about their regions of interest, and initiatives to increase diversity among news practitioners, is making to representations of black African Others in the dominant UK journalistic field.

My hope is that hearing BAME journalists' accounts of reporting on SSA for mainstream UK news organisations, and the increasing means of doing such reporting by drawing on INGO supplied material, with its associated racialised development ideologies, will extend the current debate on media-NGO relations. I also hope to extend thinking on media diversity and what may enable and disable journalists of colour to contribute to broadening representations of black people, particularly black African Others, within the journalistic field. I contend that listening to the experiences of BAME journalists offers invaluable new insight into patterns of racialised news discourse about black African Others, and whether INGO sources, and indeed BAME journalists, can/do help or hinder such discourse.

Chapter 2

Journalism studies meets postcolonial theory

This chapter considers how scholarly literature accounts for shifts in media-INGO relations, the impact this has on journalist-source dynamics[26] and reporting on SSA in the dominant public sphere. It also explores how the work of post-colonial theorists, particularly Said (1978), Fanon (ibid) and Mbembe (ibid), helps makes race visible in the media-INGO equation and enables us to extend current thinking on these relations. This discussion lays the foundation for Chapter 3, where field theory (Bourdieu, 2005) is explored as a tool for thinking through coverage of SSA in mainstream UK news. Importantly, how field theory enables us to consider this 'sub-field' (Marchetti, 2005) of journalism more holistically by mapping the positions of INGOs and black journalists within the field. In drawing connections between these academic disciplines, I argue that race demands being situated within the body of research that utilises Bourdieu's theoretical tools (e.g. Benson & Neveu, 2005 Marliere, 1998; Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Neveu, 2007) to analyse the journalistic field.

How mainstream news organisations and INGOs developed closer partnerships

Mainstream news organisations have long turned to INGOs as sources for stories on development and humanitarian issues (Beckett, 2009a&b). However, only recently has there been a growth of scholarly interest in media-INGO relations, particularly the influence INGOs may be able to exert on the media (Deacon, 2003). Prior to this, concern was largely focused on how 'capitalist media values operate systematically to delegitimize non-official sources' (Deacon, 2003:99) such as INGOs. But recent research (e.g. Fenton, 2010; Cottle & Nolan, 2009; Beckett, 2009a&b; Kalcsics, 2011) focuses on the increasing space available to domestic and international NGOs to access mainstream news and communicate their campaign messages.

The same body of literature explores the extent to which NGOs do not simply act as sources, but are now part of mainstream news organisations. For instance, Cottle & Nolan (2009:9) argue that NGO media dependency, coupled with the way NGOs construct their campaign messages to align with 'media logic' (Altheide & Snow, 1979) and maximise their chances of having their messages taken up as stories, creates an environment where NGOs are working *within* mainstream news organisations, rather than just acting as sources for journalists. Cottle

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[26] I draw on and utilise arguments made in my MA dissertation, which explored relations between NGOs and journalists.

& Nolan (2009), alongside Fenton (2010), assert that when NGOs become entangled in 'media logic' (Altheide & Snow, 1979), which requires a formulaic framing of events, they fail to communicate the complexity of their objectives, instead watering them down to, 'give journalists what they want' (Fenton, 2010:154). I address the implications of this argument in due course. For now, it's important to outline how INGOs are managing to gain more space in mainstream news organisations.

The political economy of news

The literature on the political economy of news vis-a-vis NGO insertion (e.g. Fenton, 2010; Cottle & Nolan, 2009; Beckett, 2009a&b) emphasises the economic, and the fact that increased competition and cuts to editorial resources is changing the business model for news. Foreign news, particularly that not about the Occident (Hannerz, 2004), has been hit hardest (Sambrook, 2010). This is partly due to the financial constraints on mainstream news organisations, meaning foreign news, as the most expensive form of reporting (Sambrook, 2010), is the most obvious area to cut. But just as important is the news hierarchy, which generally ranks non-Western international news low on the agenda. Such a hierarchy is evident in the marginalisation of non-Occident related news in UK mainstream news organisations, particularly in an era when technology means gathering international news is easier than ever, so in theory there should be more international coverage. As previously noted, Africa is the continent least reported by dominant global media (Sambrook, 2010:81) and cost-cutting arguably puts the region at risk of further marginalisation.

Some scholars link the lack of commitment to reporting on Africa to decolonisation (e.g. Franks, 2010). During colonialism, Franks (2010) highlights, most UK newspapers had full-time correspondents based in African countries and their regular, incremental reporting reflected Britain's significant economic[27] and political interests in the region. Detailed coverage continued in the immediate post-colonial period when the Cold War replaced colonialism as a means of understanding Africa in the West because the continent was 'an important location in the proxy war between the two great powers' (Franks, 2010:72). Since then, the colonial and Cold War story has been replaced with aid and development as a means of framing Western understandings of Africa.

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[27] It's important to note that Britain continues to have significant economic interests in Africa, where British companies control over $1 trillion worth of Africa's resources – from gold to oil – and land around four times the size of Britain. (Curtis, 2016)

'Parachute journalism' (Pawson, 2007 in Franks, 2010), as opposed to locally based foreign correspondents, has become the most common means for journalists to cover Africa for mainstream Western news organisations. 'Parachute journalism' describes when journalists, frequently with no specialist knowledge of the history and politics of the countries they cover events in, just fly in and out to get the story. This has led to a culture of mainstream Western reporting on Africa feeding off stereotypes (Franks, 2005), rather than being informed by knowledge that may prompt nuanced investigation which pushes the parameters of reporting beyond stereotypes. An overarching theme connecting these stereotypes is that Africa is a dysfunctional continent that is seemingly constantly contending with every horror imaginable, from epidemics to wars. The biggest disasters occurring there are largely deemed the only newsworthy events emerging from the continent (with items linked, for instance, to the 'Africa Rising'[28] narrative providing occasional happy anecdotes to bad news stories).

This disaster narrative, which has been shown to dominate news on SSA (e.g. Moeller, 1999), means INGOs in the business of attending to those disasters (or assisting with the 'development' of areas in the aftermath of disasters, thus providing 'positive' news) are the most obvious sources for journalists covering the region. Indeed, many well-resourced INGOs facilitate journalists parachuting in and out of disaster zones, and feed them story leads as they try to meet the 24-7 demand for content to compete in an increasingly saturated market. Yet, paradoxically, even though development/humanitarian INGOs operate within a specific, ideologically narrow field, some theory suggests that when journalists collaborate with INGOs they're likely to produce more in-depth coverage due to the local knowledge and contacts INGOs have, and their ability to arrange media access to them.

For instance, Cottle & Nolan (2009) assert that one positive development of INGOs adopting 'media logic' (Altheide & Snow, ibid) is 'beneficent embedding' (Cottle & Nolan, 2009:4). This is when journalists immerse themselves in the field with INGOs which, they assert, leads to in-depth reporting. Beckett (2009a&b) sees value in exploiting media-source relations whereby sources with the financial means, openly facilitate coverage of areas they work in. This can be seen as an extension of traditional advertising funding.[29] But rather than NGO-MNO partnerships being akin to commercial advertising, Beckett (2009a&b) sees them as a means of extending news to report on areas threatened by its marketisation.[30] Beckett (2009a&b) refers

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[28] The term 'Africa Rising' has been critiqued for generating a discourse about the continent which is as one-dimensional as 'negative' narratives.

[29] Whereby organisations pay for media slots which cater to their target consumers.

[30] This is complicated by my view that INGOs have become part of that marketisation, not just because they conform to 'media logic' (Altheide & Snow, 1979), but because MNOs require their resources

to this as 'networked journalism'. It describes how media organisations are increasingly open to gathering material from NGOs:

'Journalists have always colluded with NGOs but now […] are positively embracing the surrender of their gatekeeper role in general, and on development in particular.' (Beckett, 2009b).

While Beckett (2009b) notes ways NGOs and journalists can jointly facilitate communication between the powerful and the disenfranchised, he also highlights potential pitfalls of networked journalism.[31] But done properly, he views the openness (see also Hunter, 2010) of networked journalism positively:

'If journalism is more networked […] the premium for authoritative and trustworthy facilitation and filtering will increase.' (Beckett, 2009b)

However, this research contends that constructing higher quality stories depends on who or what organisations journalists network with, to cover what type of issues in which parts of the world. Indeed, in relation to reporting SSA in mainstream UK news, 'networked journalism' (Beckett, 2009b), a term implying expansiveness, may be more accurately described as 'contained journalism'. I'll return to the issue of containment. For now, I suggest Beckett (2009a&b) and Cottle & Nolan's (2009) observations have value as they highlight the lack of nuance in most coverage of SSA (Franks, 2005), demonstrate the power INGO sources have to shape stories (an discussed below), and reveal their role in getting journalists away from their desks and onto the ground. But these observations miss the fact that no matter how much context INGOs provide journalists with to add texture to often rapidly constructed stories, that context is presented through a particular prism – development/aid - which has a particular history: the colonially rooted idea that SSA is backward and in need of Western help. Thus, there may be depth within mainstream news storytelling facilitated by INGOs, but that depth arguably has little breadth and at the bottom lies a deeply problematic history. I shall return to this history.

(Wang, 2017). Thus, arguably, the INGO view that certain regions in the Global South require management and intervention (Crush, 1995) will be recycled and reinforced by media which has a commercial interest in maintaining that perception to keep their INGO partners-in-news construction on side.

[31]Essentially, that news organisations risk losing their reputation for editorial independence, and INGOs risk compromising their campaigning role. I'd add a third risk: that a development news lens narrows communication between the powerful and the disenfranchised.

The heightened demand on journalists to produce content is matched, it's argued, by a frenzied outputting of information which has led to journalists being dubbed 'robohacks' (Hargreaves, 2003) who practice 'churnalism', a term Davies (2008) uses to refer to: 'the rapid repackaging of largely unchecked second-hand material' (ibid:60) sourced from news agencies and PR.

These issues combine to create an environment which enables NGOs, as Cottle & Nolan (2009) assert, to work *within* the media. This is not just because NGOs have, Cottle & Nolan (2009) argue, become embroiled in 'media logic' (Altheide & Snow, ibid), but because NGOs are aware of the gaps mainstream news organisations are struggling to fill, and use this to their advantage to campaign and fundraise:

> 'Aid agencies have become cleverer, turning themselves into reporters for mainstream media, providing cash-strapped foreign desks with footage and words gratis. While there is an increasing void in foreign reporting by the conventional media, there is a hugely competitive compassion market […] major humanitarian agencies have become […] PR-focused media operations.' (Kalcsics, 2011:7)

Media-source relations

Building on these observations, I am interested in how black journalists who report on SSA for mainstream UK news organisations engage with PR from INGOs focused on SSA. Media-source relations are key here. On the one hand, space INGOs are finding in news can be seen to broaden access to dominant mainstream journalism by outsiders, thus disrupting capitalist media values which, as noted, undermine 'non-official sources' (Deacon, ibid:99). Outsiders can also be understood as 'non-elite sources' (Hall et al, 1978). As Hall et al (1978) explain, such sources are those not deemed credible by mainstream media because they don't speak for a powerful institution or from a position of power, such as MPs. They are therefore outside dominant discourse and thus not considered experts on newsworthy issues[33]. As such, space

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[33]Who is and who isn't deemed expert in certain areas is important for thinking about who gets to speak in mainstream news narratives on SSA and the power relations speaking positions signify. Who gets to speak is a long-held concern in postcolonial studies, with theorists like Spivak (1988), hooks (1990) and Hall (2007) arguing that the exclusion of the Other from the production of discourse about him or her contributes to processes of Othering and fuels silencing racial hierarchies of power and knowledge.
To explore the issue of who gets to speak in UK news coverage of SSA, I conducted a pilot study early on in my research where I undertook quantitative analysis of data I collected, via a ProQuest search, from a year's worth of coverage on SSA in all the UK's mainstream national newspapers. 2012 was selected because no major SSA 'news events' - e.g. the World Cup, Nelson Mandela's death, the Ebola outbreak - occurred then, meaning results were less likely to be skewed and unreflective of typical reporting patterns on SSA. I argued that media-INGO relations fuel a racialised developmentalist narrative. This

given to non-elite sources within mainstream news arguably makes for a more pluralistic 'public sphere' (Habermas, 1989), as opposed to one which simply relays, and so helps perpetuate, dominant ideology. NGOs are traditionally seen as non-elite sources (Deacon, 2003), a view which doesn't always hold today.

I agree with Fenton (2010:155) who notes that NGOs with resources to construct their public image clearly are perceived by journalists as 'authorised knowers' on certain issues. Broadly, in the context of INGOs focused on SSA, these issues coalesce beneath an aid/development banner. Development is a highly contested term. I take it to mean intervention in the affairs of so-called underdeveloped countries in the name of progress (Bennett et al, 2005). Further, Crush's definition of development as a 'regime of knowledge and disciplinary power' (Crush, 1995:xiii) employed to construct parts of the world as needing management (Crush, 1995:10), must be underlined when considering journalists' perception of NGOs as 'authorised knowers' (Fenton, 2010). If we accept Bennett (2005) and Crush's (1995) definitions, it follows that NGOs have a narrow agenda in relation to SSA. Part of that agenda is the presentation of SSA as being in perpetual need of intervention by British INGOs. This 'need' narrative justifies the existence of such INGOs.

Thus, journalists' perception of NGOs as 'authorised knowers' (Fenton, ibid) is problematic, because it suggests NGOs have significant influence on how SSA[34] is reported (see also Anyangwe, 2017). This influence equates to the facilitation of media coverage of SSA through a development/humanitarian prism, and a view of this region through such a lens has a colonial backdrop. Indeed, it's generally accepted that development discourse flowed from colonialism (Escobar, 1995), thus raising crucial questions about what shifts in media-INGO relations mean for the representation of black African Others in dominant UK news.

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narrative is characterised by the repetitive use of certain terms that, taken together, form statements (as they're understood in Foucauldian discourse analysis, a method I discuss in Chapter 4 and apply in Chapter 8) and produce 'Africanist discourse' (Said, 1993), which links to colonial discourse (Mudimbe, 1988). I argued that these terms, such as 'primitive' and 'helpless', serve to sustain a stereotypical, naturalised and dominant discourse on SSA in the West (Brookes, 1995; Wainaina, 2005 & 2012; Sachs et al, 2010).
Key findings were that African actors are largely ignored in stories about themselves, only being quoted or paraphrased in 28% of newspaper coverage on SSA in 2012, with Western voices dominating 72% of coverage. INGOs being cited is a highly significant predictor of whether developmentalist terms were used in coverage.

[34]Each of the 55 countries in Africa is of course unique and we cannot talk broadly about the continent. However, I am not conducting analysis of a country specific case study. Instead, I am exploring journalistic practice in mainstream Western media organisations which, it's widely agreed, have long drawn on historically rooted, stereotypical 'ways of seeing' (Berger, 1972) Africa as a homogenous region – more like a country, than a huge, diverse continent (hence the ironically named blog, Africa is a Country: http://africasacountry.com). Thus, when I refer to SSA, or Africa, I am referring to the *Western idea* of Africa (Said, ibid), rather than the 'realities' of any specific African country.

However, as highlighted, sustained engagement with issues of race and racism is an underdeveloped area in academic literature on media-INGO relations. The literature that does wave at issues of race, mostly in the sense that reporting concerned with distant Others lacks nuance and thus fails to enable Western audiences, who are racially identified as white (Nothias, 2017:75), to engage with issues elsewhere, focuses mainly on how mainstream Western news organisations report disasters in the Global South (e.g. Franks, 2013; Moeller, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006&2012; Kalcsics, 2011; Cooper, 2011).

Such work vitally contributes to furthering understanding of media-NGO relations and how the disaster/need narrative such relations generate is prevalent in mainstream news on SSA. But none of the media-NGO research makes explicit the centrality of race to this narrative. Indeed, the literature doesn't investigate how race silently works as a 'criteria in accounting for' (Kothari, 2006:9) disasters and lives and deaths (Mbembe, 2003). But given that the coming together of two distinct disciplines, development and journalism, has become *the* permissible dominant framing for international news on SSA, it follows that consideration of racialised discourse must be central to research into *why* media-INGO relations continue to develop to narrate particular people and places; and *how* the merger of these disciplines to report on SSA is (re)productive of racialised categories such as 'the West' and 'developing countries'.

If we accept the view (Kalcsics, ibid) that INGOs source stories to fit their agenda, take these stories to time and cash strapped journalists who are often not in a position to generate original coverage of the regions INGOs work in, controlling access to interviewees, and sometimes financing coverage of those stories, then the idea that INGOs feel compelled to communicate their aims according to 'media logic' (Altheide & Snow, ibid) is debatable. As Davies (ibid) highlights, constraints on news makes journalists more reliant on PR. This suggests organisations utilising PR have space to exert influence on which stories are told, and how.

Hall et al's (1978) work on media-source relations is useful for thinking this through. They argue that society's dominant structures privilege news access to those in powerful positions, and journalistic practice, including the pressure to meet deadlines, creates gaps for the well-resourced to penetrate news. Hall et al (ibid) labelled these well-resourced people and institutions 'primary definers' of topics. Journalists, it's argued, are subordinate to accredited sources, reproducing their definition of events so that 'primary definers' set the parameters for debate, even though journalistic values of balance theoretically mean a range of opinion gets aired. Secondary definers within this power relationship aren't those on society's margins, only occasionally heard, but media practitioners. Subordinate to accredited sources, journalists

are said to reproduce their definition of events. This counters the suggestion that NGO messaging is second to journalists' demands; if journalists are increasingly reliant on PR (Davies, 2008), the initial definition for that material arguably lies with NGO PRs.

The position of NGOs as news sources, thus their framing power, is related to their altered status (Fenton, 2010). The number of NGOs in developed countries has significantly increased in the past two decades (Albrow et al., 2008 in Fenton, ibid). Further, 'the largest charities in the UK are […] multi-million-pound concerns and make considerable strategic investments in […] publicity' (Deacon, 2003:99). Resource-rich NGOs have become major social institutions (Fenton, 2010). This, I believe, makes INGOs accredited sources (Hall et al, 1978) to which the media turn for authoritative statements on development/humanitarian issues, hence their status as 'authorised knowers' (Fenton, 2010). Because of this, and access they have to Southern networks, they're also tapped for general news about SSA. Arguably this places INGOs at the top of the 'hierarchy of credibility' (Hall et al, 1978). This refers to:

> 'The likelihood that those in powerful […] positions […] who offer opinions about controversial topics will have their definitions accepted, because such spokesmen are understood to have access to more accurate […] information on particular topics than the majority of the population.' (Hall et al., 1978:58)

This complicates Fenton (2010) and Cottle & Nolan's (2009) findings which indicate that NGO sources must simplify their messages to fit 'media logic' (Althiede & Snow, ibid) to gain mainstream news access. This is an important finding which speaks to the way trends in the journalistic field influence how other fields operate due to the way dominant media mediates all social fields. However, the notion that NGOs are pulled towards functioning according to a particular logic by the media, can be re-considered by returning to Hall's et al's (1978) argument regarding the source's role as 'primary definer' (Hall et al, 1978). This isn't to agree with Davies (2008) and suggest journalists reproduce PR material. But, given journalists', particularly non-Occident focused foreign correspondents, working conditions and the reduction of news bureaus in SSA that are funded by international news organisations (Paterson, 2011, in Wright, 2017), well-resourced sources operating in certain contexts arguably have as much clout in the construction of stories as journalists.

That said, Hall et al's (ibid) research has been critiqued (Abercrombie et al., 1980) for concluding news media reproduce 'culturally dominant assumptions of society' (Glasgow University Media Group, 1976:1). Hall et al's (ibid) work doesn't account for media as a site of struggle and a 'public sphere' (Habermas, 1989) theoretically open to all, and isn't simply a channel for the transmission of dominant ideologies. Indeed, the rise of PR has occurred to

manage media-source relations, which studies (e.g. Hallin, 1986; Schlesinger, 1990), since Hall et al's (1978), have shown to be a complex web of different actors seeking to gain definition of 'truth' as competing interests vie for press attention (Cottle, 2003).

Importantly, unlike Hall et al (1978), Fenton (2010) and Cottle & Nolan (2009) do account for media as a site of struggle, highlighting the competition between NGOs wanting media attention. However, they note this site is dominated by solvent NGOs. There isn't much opportunity for less advantaged NGOs[36] to enter the frame because they lack the means to facilitate 'strategic action' (Schlesinger, 1990:7). Thus, with regard to development/humanitarian related stories about SSA, it's resource-rich INGOs that have the opportunity to occupy the position of 'primary definer' (Hall et al, 1978).

Media-NGO relations: extending the frame?

That resource-rich INGOs have increasing opportunities to be 'primary definers' (Hall et al, 1978) of news on SSA doesn't mean journalists, and the news organisations they work for, can be let off the hook. Rather, it points the finger back at these actors and returns us to the question of *why* mainstream news organisations consider INGOs authoritative sources for stories on SSA. Without dismissing the aforementioned economic reasons journalists rely on INGOs for stories on SSA, 'slacktivism', a term used by Leonard (2015) to describe Facebook activism in relation to the Kony 2012 campaign[37], can be drawn on for considering not so much *how* journalists conduct reporting on SSA for mainstream news organisations (to reiterate, the *how* relates to journalists' working conditions), but *why* a particular approach to reporting this region has been cultivated. I suggest that a racialised logic accounts for what can be understood as a 'slack' approach to reporting on SSA, just as Leonard (ibid) uses the idea of 'slacktivism' to explore the way Kony 2012 played out along racial lines.

Leonard (ibid) argues that 'activism' on Facebook, which involves clicking to demonstrate support for campaigns, is a form of disengaged activity that enables users to showcase their

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[36]However, it's worth noting Wright's (2017:148) findings, also referred to elsewhere, that journalists tend to mistakenly assume that small under-resourced African NGOs, as opposed to well-resourced INGOs, are 'less dominated by commercial marketing practices' and are therefore more likely to supply 'empowering', grassroots leads. Wright (2017:155) debunks this idea, asserting that, 'because such organisations are comparatively small and resource poor, […] they may need to rely on more powerful actors […] to achieve media impact'. They're therefore often as embroiled in commercial marketing practices as well-resourced INGOs.

[37]Kony 2012 was launched by Invisible Children, an American NGO. The aim was to focus global attention on Joseph Kony's Lord Resistance Army, which is said to have abducted 60,000 children in Uganda, forcing them to become child soldiers and sex slaves.

political credentials without taking real action or engaging with the complexities of the causes they claim to support. Thus, 'slacktivism' addresses the way technology may disable the ability to affect change. Such disabling speaks to debates on how formulaic Western mainstream news coverage of distant suffering leads to audiences becoming disengaged (Moeller, ibid; Chouliaraki, ibid). It also highlights the importance of INGOs not subscribing to so called 'media logic' (Altheide & Snow, ibid; Fenton, 2010; Cottle & Nolan, 2009) to promote their aims, as was the case with the simplified, racialised Kony 2012 campaign.

Race is central to Leonard's (ibid) argument that the Kony 2012 Facebook campaign enabled 'slacktivism' thanks to the nature of Facebook communities. These communities, Leonard explains, are relatively racially un-diverse and socially isolated meaning issues arising in relation to race and racism can go unchallenged. Leonard (ibid) discusses this in relation to what he refers to as the centrality of whiteness to Kony 2012, and 'the broader saviour-industrial complex' (Leonard, ibid:1). He asserts that the way the campaign played out on Facebook enabled white supporters to be active at a distance, form communities 'defined by a shared belief in doing good, and in doing good 'we' are showing that we are not driven by prejudice and racial animus' (Leonard, ibid:2). Further, he argues, this focus on injustice *elsewhere*, enables a lack of participation in social justice issues, such as anti-racist campaigns, in Western countries, and thus a lack of analysis of the lived privilege of whiteness and the complicity of slacktivists in maintaining it. Ahmed (2012) notes that this gap between the complexities of what's happening on the ground and the symbolism of, in the case of Ahmed's (2012) research on racism in institutions, drawing up diversity and equality policies, or in the case of Kony 2012, clicking to demonstrate support for a cause, can be seen as 'non-performatives' (Ahmed, 2012). In other words, symbolic gestures or processes that don't affect change, but stand in as substitutes for action (Ahmed, 2012).

It's interesting to think of 'slacktivism' in relation to media-INGO relations and the journalism such relations arguably generate. Here is a mode of journalistic practice largely performed and informed by white actors – both on the media[38] and INGO[39] side - who arguably function in professionally isolated bubbles due to the lack of diversity, both racially and culturally, in the industries they work within, thus limiting opportunities to be challenged/think differently. As Moeller (1999:7) notes, 'journalists, like the rest of us, see the world through the lens of their own culture', so if there's no one working alongside you with an alternative cultural

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[38] See footnote 24 (Thurman et al, 2016).
[39] A 2013 UK government review into skills and leadership in the British charity sector concluded the sector had an 'appalling record' on employing BAME staff (Milton, 2014). Figures reveal 66% of NGO governing boards are made up of Western educated male graduates of European origin, and 8% are of African origin, yet 32% of NGO activity is related to Africa (El Tom, May 7, 2013).

perspective, or with whom you have 'intimate' ties (Bourdieu, 2004b; Benhabib, 1992) outside work, the chances of you seeing and representing the world differently are arguably limited.

Such professional isolation is compounded by journalists' perception of INGOs as 'authorised knowers' (Fenton, ibid), an attitude that arguably stems from a view, which Deacon (2003) highlights the media perpetuate, that NGOs occupy the moral high-ground. In addition, journalists *seemingly*[40] not thinking beyond gathering information from INGOs to cover SSA is arguably a form of 'slacktivism' because it cultivates disengaged reporting. But this style of reporting can masquerade as being engaged due to its links with authoritative sources (INGOs), which are deemed to be engaged actors because they have knowledge of the issues (disaster, poverty and so on) that mainstream news organisations frequently use to frame stories about SSA (Moeller, 1999; Anyangwe, 2017). This slack reporting is also enabled by racialised perceptions of SSA. The roots of such perceptions, as addressed below, enable certain people and places to be seen *one* dimensionally, hence the frequent use of *one* type of key source, INGOs, in coverage of this region. Wainaina incisively sums up this approach to Western reporting on Africa:

> 'In this age, all local knowledge is carried by aid organisations. These organisations speak human rights, and because they do […], we know that they are *good*, objective and truthful. So, if a foreign correspondent needs to know what exactly is going on in Sudan, their weekly lunch with the Oxfamy guy will identify the most urgent issues.' (Wainaina, 2012, emphasis added)

This sense that INGOs do 'good', conceivably filters down to journalism done in collaboration with INGOs and enables media practitioners to feel that they, like the Kony 2012 Facebook 'activists', are doing 'good' by reporting SSA in conjunction with those doing 'good' work there, and that their choice of sources is 'not driven by prejudice' (Leonard, ibid:2). Journalists doing work that makes them feel good about themselves, links to Chouliaraki's (2012) theorising on the self-centred nature of Western engagement with causes elsewhere. The idea of doing good for distant Others also speaks to the paternalistic nature of development discourse (Batty, 2000) and how development, by explicitly being about 'good work', air-brushes how race functions as a means of marking out what/who needs to be made good, to make 'ourselves' ((white) Westerners) feel better.

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[40] I say 'seemingly' because, as Bourdieu's (2005) work on the journalistic field helps elucidate (see also Chapter 5), journalists may enter the profession with a level of consciousness that may be constrained by the 'doxa' of the institution they work for, that dictates which sources have 'primary definition' (Hall et al, 1978). Thus, some journalists may want to vary the type of sources they use to construct stories, but find their ability to do so is limited.

It's worth noting that I believe urgent issues coalesce beneath the development/humanitarian banner, and it's in the public interest for journalists to tell those stories and scrutinise the powerful development/humanitarian industry. But my interest is not to judge the work of development/humanitarianism. Rather, I seek to illuminate what processes are at work within the journalism which springs from media-INGO relations and how they may 'maintain what is supposedly being redressed' (Ahmed, 2012:8) by seeking to do 'good'. In other words, we must question what histories are informing these relations, and why mainstream news stories about SSA are frequently fitted into a development/humanitarian frame.

Ahmed (2012:39) discusses the idea of 'fitting in' in relation to the perceived employability of people, and how a sense of who's considered to 'fit in' to certain social spaces frequently boils down to colour. We shall see how such notions play out in relation to journalists of colour reporting on SSA. For now, we can transfer this to thinking about why black African Others are so readily fitted into development/humanitarian narratives, over and above infinite others. Indeed, how does this fitting of black African Others into certain narrative spaces (Said, 1978; Fanon, 1986[1952]), rather than there being a leisurely sinking into spaces (Ahmed, 2010) which enables fluid movement, stunt, rather than extend, perceptions of black African Others?

Media-INGO relations in a post-colonial frame

Post-colonial approaches to modes of Othering are key here. Said's *Orientalism* (1978) provides a vital means of understanding how histories and ideas intersect to produce conditions whereby certain people/places are perceived to 'fit in' (Ahmed, 2012) to particular narrative frames, and not others. Further, *Orientalism* (1978) is a critical text within postcolonial studies because it helped enable lines of enquiry into how the West constructed its Others and to what effect.

Orientalism is concerned with how the West constructed the Orient as a category which can be *known*. Importantly, Said (1978) asserts, it can be known because it's a geographical region which, like all named regions, is man-made. As such, the histories, thinking and power relations that constructed the region can be exhumed to explain why it's thought about and represented in particular ways. Said's (1978) starting point, that regions are man-*made*, thus enables understanding of how places can be *made* to *fit* (Ahmed, 2012) certain ideological spaces.

Indeed, Said's (1978) concern is with how the distinction between 'East' and 'West', which dates back to colonialism, is persistently taken up by authoritative Western producers of

knowledge to construct texts which span a range of fields – from poetry to politics – but pivot around the theme of the West's relationship with its Oriental Other. Said calls this body of knowledge Orientalism, and identifies it as a mode of discourse which operates within societies culture and institutions and is 'brought to bear on (and therefore always involved in) any occasion when that peculiar entity "the Orient" is in question' (Said, 1978:3).

To establish *how* this happens, Said (1978) delves into those histories by examining a body of texts and maps the connections between them to show how they feed off one another to keep constructed truths in circulation. Said uses Foucault's notion of discourse as a method to understand the network of ideas which arose to construct 'truths' about the Orient so that it, and they, became given, and enabled the West's management of this region and, in turn, itself. Because ultimately the Orient, like all the West's Others, is less reflective of an actual region, and more revealing of what the West thinks it is and isn't in relation to that constructed place. Indeed, as Said argues, the Orient is integral to European culture and its centrality to Europe, as opposed to any 'real' place called the Orient, is expressed through 'supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines' (Said, 1978:2) within the West.

Importantly, whilst Orientalism is a construct, Said (1978) argues it's a construct that sustains a nexus of institutions which disseminate knowledge that had, and continues to have, real, felt ramifications that serve the relationship of power and domination which the Occident acquired over the Orient. These *real, felt* ramifications can be traced in the work of other post-colonial critics. For instance, Fanon (1986 [1952]) uses psychoanalysis to explore his personal experience as a black man in the West to convey the felt effects of colonial discourse on his being; and Mbembe (ibid) explores how constructed racial categories are used as a *real* technique for distributing power and, in the process, life and death so that 'race is ultimately linked to the politics of death' (Mbembe, ibid:17). I shall return to these scholars to consider how their work, alongside Said's (1978), helps develop an understanding of the way media-INGO relations intersect with, and generate, ideas of race.

For now, I stay with Said's work to consider how he explored the way ideas come to dominate, so that notions of truth become ingrained within society to such an extent that these 'truths' become given. Further, the more they circulate, the more stereotypical these 'truths' become. This helps illuminate understanding of how media-INGO relations nourish a racialised developmentalist narrative, which is characterised by the repetitive use of certain terms, and these serve to sustain a stereotypical, naturalised and dominant discourse on SSA in the West (Brookes, 1995; Wainaina, 2005 &2012;). Said asserts that the media is one of the main purveyors of these 'truths' – constructing ever narrower frames for certain 'truths' to 'fit in' to

(Ahmed, 2012). Indeed, the media reinforce stereotypes by forcing information into 'more and more standardised molds' (Said, 1978:26) so that 19th century colonial ideas about Others maintain their hold today. Said uses Gramsci's theorising of hegemony to argue that such ideas, and the relations of power they reflect and perpetuate, stick due to consent. This speaks to Said's contention that the idea of European superiority is so embedded in dominant styles of thought that it occupies a normative, common-sense position which overrides differing views and in so doing produces the effects that it names – that Europe is superior to its Others.

This taken-for-granted sense of superiority is arguably enacted by dominant Western news organisations in their use of Western INGOs as authoritative sources for stories about SSA, rather than primarily using SSA actors (see footnote 33). This superiority, and paradoxical dismissal (intended or not) of non-Western sources, or 'primary definers' (Hall et al, 1978), in the construction of news about non-Western centric events, can also be understood by highlighting Said's (1978) analysis of the way texts refer to each other, building webs of knowledge about the Other. Through this inter-referencing, texts become increasingly removed from the place/people they claim to refer to, whilst simultaneously reinforcing 'truths' about them. This can be seen in the way media-INGO relations cultivate a journalistic practice whereby journalists acquire 'knowledge' and impart information about SSA not by independently going, talking, and connecting with the people/place their stories claim to represent, but by gathering information mediated by Western institutions (INGOs) that work within a field which confirms a hegemonic view that Europe is superior to SSA, because SSA needs 'our' help. This inter-referencing contributes to a form of journalism that zooms further in, narrowing ways of seeing, as opposed to networking (Beckett, 2009a&b) outward and extending them.

In addition, Said's (1978) use of Gramsci's concept of hegemony can be usefully transferred to thinking about the uptake of leads by journalists from INGOs to cover SSA. By this I mean the idea of SSA as a region requiring instruction from the West has been in circulation since colonialism, and development/humanitarian discourse has arguably helped keep this idea in circulation – embedding it as an accepted 'truth' within Western culture (Bennett, 2005; Crush, 1995). As Said might have it, these taken for granted 'truths' proliferate out from development discourse into general culture and, thanks to the increasingly close relationship between journalists and NGOs (Franks, 2010), dominant UK news organisations can be seen as one of the cultural purveyors of such 'truths'. Hegemony helps explain how those ideas, which are circulated by powerful INGOs and, in turn, powerful news organisations, come to be seen as 'common sense' not through force, but consent. In as much as journalists *seemingly* willingly use INGOs as authoritative sources for stories relating to SSA, because it's an accepted 'truth'

that SSA is constantly in need. Thus, sources that articulate that need in ways that confirm this common-sense Western idea of Africa are cited repeatedly.

Said's (1978) use of Gramsci's hegemony can also help explain that the treatment of stories about SSA in UK international news, and the racialised power relations they reflect and perpetuate, stick not just as a result of force due to cost-cutting, but the consensual (arguably slack, in Leonard's (ibid) sense) idea that stories on this region are deemed newsworthy depending on the extent to which the story fits 'what is already known, as a present or absent structure' (Hall, 1973:183) about SSA. This is because, as Hall (1973) argues, news is part of ideological discourse with operational values that produce familiar recognitions within the reader. What's already 'known' about SSA, as noted, is that it needs Western 'help'.

How development can be understood as racialised

Parallels between development and colonialism have been made by many theorists (e.g. Crush, 1995; Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1994). Building on the work of Foucault (1982) and Said (1978), such theorists suggest development is, 'a discursive formation whose instruments of objectification and control prove as powerful (and as concealing of power) as their colonial antecedents' (Mosse, 2005:12). Crush argues that 'conventions of representation lodged deep within colonial discourse flowed easily into post-World War II development discourse' (1995:21). As Said's (1978) work shows, the encounter between Europe and its Others during colonialism spawned the desire for Europeans to frame, know and exert power over Others. Bhabha (1983) asserts that discourse emerged in support of colonial power to depict the colonised as degenerate to justify their domination and establish systems of instruction. Others, it was argued, 'found happiness only when under the tutelage of a white master' (Hall, 1997: 243).

Africans were identified with nature; symbolising 'the primitive' in contrast with 'the civilised world' (Hall, 1997). Such binary oppositions are a reductionist way of imposing meaning, and, as Derrida (1974 in Hall, 1997) argued, involve a relation of power, one being dominant and including the Other within its 'field of operations'. During colonialism, clearly, the dominant pole was occupied by white Europeans, 'us', with 'them', black Africans here, framed within colonialisms 'field of operations'. These operations straddled the cultural, political and economic, but as Said (1978) asserts, it's the cultural which narrated and strengthened them. Thus, the prolific construction of representations of the Other in 19th century European culture, and their distribution and analysis in metropolitan centres, was central to colonialism just, as I suggest, they are to development discourse.

Given that development is a project that was born from historical processes that shaped Europe's ideological Othering of Africa to justify colonialism, it's difficult to see how journalism 'networked' (Beckett, 2009a&b) or 'embedded' (Cottle & Nolan, 2009) with development/humanitarian INGOs, can extend reporting on SSA. Even if SSA is marginalised by mainstream UK news organisations and the marketisation of news (e.g. Beckett, ibid; Sambrook, 2010), it doesn't stand that the facilitation of *more* coverage of SSA by sources with a specific agenda, and racialised historical ties to that region, will make coverage less marginalised.

Arguably, more coverage of SSA sourced via INGOs risks becoming suffocatingly containing. Wainaina captures the issue of the narrative containment of Africa in his 2005 & 2012 satirical essays, *'How to Write about Africa'* and '*How not to write about Africa in 2012 – a beginners guide'*. Both powerfully highlight the extent to which Western discourse contains Africa, and black African Others, within a reductive frame. His 2005 essay shows how this containment is enacted through the repetitive use of stereotypical terms, such as 'death' and 'helpless' which, Wainaina asserts, are invariably used by Western writers, including journalists, when they construct stories about Africa. Said's (1978) work helps us see how histories and power relations are embedded in the textual repetition of such categories, and how those categories constituted colonised people as objects of knowledge, shaping the ways Westerners came, and often still come, to 'know' Others. This textual containment produces an idea of Africa (Mudimbe, 1994) which, like Said's Orientalism (1978), functions as a mode of discourse which fixes stereotypical representations (Bhabha, 1983) of SSA, and sustains their reproduction in Western society to such an extent that they become normative ways of thinking and talking about the region. The media, as Brookes (1995:462) highlights, is the 'primary location and most powerful means of dissemination' of such representations which, Said (1978) shows, are never innocent reflections of reality, but reflections of particular *perceptions* of reality. I suggest that when development focused INGOs become entangled in media coverage of SSA, a racially stereotypical 'help' narrative becomes explicit.

This is not to suggest that the 'help' narrative is a falsification of some 'truth', a point Said (1978) urges awareness of vis-a-vis Orientalism. Rather, the 'help' narrative draws on a set of powerful ideas which limit/contain those representations, creating a lens through which Others are seen in a stereotypical manner. Bhabha (1983) builds on Said's (1978) argument that stereotypical representations of Others are neither real, nor false, arguing:

'The stereotype is not a simplification because it is a *false* representation of a given reality. It is a simplification because it is an arrested, fixated form of representation.' (Bhabha, 1983:27. emphasis added)

I emphasise the word 'false' because it underscores the complexities of what is at stake within, and as a result of, representation. By this I mean if we accept Bhabha's contention that stereotypes are not false, but arrested, simplified representations of reality, it becomes vital to consider *what* is being arrested, and *how*, producing a lack of representations available for 'us' to imagine 'Other' people, places and, in turn, ourselves. This is because if we're always dealing with repetitive representations about certain people and places (or ourselves as those racially depicted as belonging to certain groups or places), rather than limitless representations which create numerous spaces we can 'sink into' (Ahmed, 2012) to extend our sense of ourselves and Others, that has real, felt effects on the *realities*, the lived experience, for those whose bodies and places in the world are arrested by, and entangled within, 'fixated' (Bhabha, 1983) representations.

The felt effects of networked containment

Fanon's seminal text, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1986 [1952]) remains foundational for thinking through the ways black Others are fixed in dominant discourse and its representational practices. In one chapter, *'The Fact of Blackness'*, Fanon draws powerfully on his experience as a black person whose sense of himself is stunted by white people's perceptions of him. Perceptions attained not by knowing *him*, but by knowing the racialised stories which are part of the cultural fabric of Western societies.

As previously noted, Fanon (1986 [1952]) uses psychoanalysis to explore the lived realities of this racialised containment. Whilst Said (1978) uses texts as his archive to explore how they, and the institutions which produced them, constructed racialised narratives that contain the Orient, Fanon (1986 [1952]) uses the archive of his own experience to show, on a visceral level, the effects of colonial discourse on his being. These different approaches allow us to understand how two ends of the same spectrum connect – how the Othering done at the level of discourse is felt and becomes real. So that, although Fanon writes about his experiences as a black man in the West, and the experiences of other people of colour in white worlds, and Said writes about the construction of the Orient in texts and the institutions which produce them, the sense of containment Said (1978) evokes when he refers to a network of interests being brought to bear on any occasion the Orient is in question (Said, 1978:3), is comparable

to the sense of containment Fanon feels drawing in around his being through the gaze of white people who have come to 'know' him via colonial discourse; a discourse which constructed 'facts' about his blackness. These 'facts', as Fanon puts it, objectively cut away slices of his reality (1986 [1952]:116) so that it becomes simplified and fixed (Bhabha, 1983). This sense of already being known, thus pre-determined and contained, is powerfully conveyed when Fanon writes:

> 'The white man had woven me out of a thousand details, anecdotes and stories […]. I discovered my blackness […] and I was battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects, slave-ships, and above all: "Sho' good eatin'." (Fanon, 1986 [1952]: 111-112)

Not only does this speak to the stifling singularity of mainstream media representations of SSA, this 'thematization' (Fanon, 1986 [1952]:113) of who and what Fanon is leads to a sense of imprisonment[42], limiting his perceived ability to function as an equal in the West[43]. This lack of equity can arguably be seen at play in media-INGO relations which arguably lead to the narrow, frequently thematised space allocated for SSA stories in mainstream UK news. An equitable treatment of stories, not necessarily in terms of actual space allocated to coverage of SSA (most national media do, after all, primarily focus on issues at home), but in terms of the *plurality* of themes covered in relation to this part of the world, would suggest that the persistence of stereotypes which fix black Others in simplified forms of representation (Bhabha, 1983) is perhaps ebbing away. Instead, the persisting humanitarian/development theme running through much mainstream UK news coverage of SSA, fueled by INGOs

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[42]Said's (1978) use of the term 'grid' is another useful way of thinking about how containment works. He employs this term to describe how knowledge of Others is sieved through a structured frame of reference that enabled 'them' to be 'known' in specific ways in the West, and so dominated. The idea of having a structure in place which people and places are imagined to fit into, links with Foucault's (1977) use of Bentham's Panopticon to illustrate how power operates. Within this imagined structure, the subject is visible and controlled through surveillance by an anonymous observer at the centre. Importantly, the subject, 'is the object of information, never a subject in communication' (Foucault, 1977: 200). The Panopticon is thus a useful notion for highlighting the connection between the mechanisms of knowledge and power and their control of Others. In this way, stereotypical representations can be viewed as Panoptic instruments – apparatuses which frame people not as subjects to be heard, but objects to be observed and categorised to fit certain discourses. When individuals are silenced within discourse, representations become the central means by which they are known within that framework of power. Hence Fanon's (1986 [1952]) sense of being imprisoned by stories about his blackness.

[43] Usefully, Saha (2018) highlights the fact that although Fanon isn't well known for his interest in media, in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1986 [1952]) he references the way popular culture contributes 'to the […] damaging effects of Western cultural goods upon the black psyche.' In turn, Fanon highlights the necessity of black cultural practitioners constructing oppositional narratives to counter the containment and alienation felt by black subjects confronted with racist representations of themselves. In light of the negative impact of such representations on racialised minorities, Saha (2018) argues for the ongoing importance of engaging with ideologies of race and racism in cultural production. I concur.

increasingly working *within* MNOs (Cottle & Nolan, 2009), means Fanon's (1986 [1952]) assertion that we still have to prove there are multiple stories to be told about SSA and black African Others (outside *and* within the diaspora) to contest such fixing, still stands and, as discussed in Chapter 5, leads some black journalists today to engage in what I call 'protectionist journalism'.

Whilst Fanon (1986 [1952]) and Said (1978) work in different ways, both conduct deep explorations of the inventory of colonial traces which are threaded through culture and society (Said, 1978), and mark people's bodies (Fanon, 1986 [1952]). Mbembe's (2003) work on necropolitics builds on this by showing how these colonial traces affect the treatment of bodies not just in life, but also in death. Such treatment is too easily transferred onto representations of black African Others in mainstream UK news, and media-INGO relations, underpinned by development discourse, fuel this.

Development discourse, race and media representation

Mbembe (2003) developed his concept of necropolitics, or death politics, by using Foucault's work on biopolitics to address how race was, and is, used as a technique for distributing power and life and death so that, as Mbembe writes, 'race is ultimately linked to the politics of death' (Mbembe, ibid:17).

Foucault (1975 – 1976 in Mbembe, ibid) inscribed race in the order of power, which he called biopower, as a means of categorising bodies which fulfill 'the condition for the acceptability of putting to death' (Foucault, 1975 – 1976 in Mbembe, ibid:17). Mbembe's necropolitics builds on this by exploring 'new and unique forms of social existence in which […] populations are subjected to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of living dead' (Mbembe, ibid:40). The forms of social existence that Mbembe argues confer upon people the status of the living dead are slavery ('death-in-life'), colonialism ('savage life') and modern-day Palestine ('state of siege').

Life-in-death

I propose extending Mbembe's concept of 'death-worlds' to thinking of development/humanitarianism as an administrator of 'life-in-death'. Further, that this administration of life in death-worlds (worlds which are overwhelmingly represented in mainstream UK news as residing in the Global South), seems to represent a shift away from the 'death-in-life' of slavery or the 'savage life' of colonialism. Indeed, by offering an invitation

to *life*-in-death (we can take death to refer to stereotypical labels associated with SSA: poverty, disease and so on which are represented as equating to a dead existence, as well as actual death), development discourse is able to position itself as seeking to nurture black African lives, to make them 'good', as opposed to disallowing them 'to the point of death' (Foucault, 1975 – 1976 in Mbembe, 2003). In this way, development is able to distance itself from necropolitics, which Mbembe shows us is intrinsic to racism, because development/humanitarian discourse purports to be about *living*. In its pro Others living stance, development/humanitarian discourse silences the racially infused necropolitics running through its practice and the fact that, in playing a powerful role in who has a right to live, it's necessarily part of a politics of death.

By positioning development as life, rather than death, politics we can see how race and racism remains implicit within development discourse. This is because the work of development is premised on saving and improving the lives of Others, and can be seen as an invitation to 'what the good life is all about, how to achieve it, and, in the process, to become a fully moral agent' (Mbembe, 2003:13). Because of this seemingly positive invitation, which may be further emphasised through 'positive' representations, development is able to obscure how it inscribes racialised bodies in a hierarchy of power. In this hierarchy, those doing the developing (predominantly represented as white Westerners, though this is arguably changing as we will see in Chapter 8), and offering the invitation to live like 'them', sit at the top of the order of power; and those being developed (overwhelmingly represented as black Others) are at the bottom. However, these black Others have the possibility of moving up the hierarchy should they accept the invitation to the 'good life' which development offers.

Therefore, on a generic level, development discourse arguably functions to construct conditions to enable people to move away from death (metaphorically and literally) into life (from 'bad life' into 'good life'). In the process, this discourse disguises its part in a racialised politics, which prescribes who has the right to live, and what deaths are permissible. I suggest the centrality of life and death politics to development discourse, informs mainstream news organisation's representational practices that contain certain groups in an undeveloped death or near-death frame. This framing of Others validates the goal of development to set the parameters of the 'good life' Others should aspire to. It also informs the representational treatment[44] of bodies-near-death within that frame (whether they're near-death

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[44] A relatively old example of how racialised criteria enable the bodies of Others to be represented in particular ways in life and death is the news coverage of the 1984-5 Ethiopian famine which was dominated by stark images of black bodies near death. The most famous footage is Michael Buerk's televised BBC reporting (facilitated by aid agencies). Here was a white British journalist flanked by voiceless, dying black bodies, as he reported the crisis. This footage has long been critiqued for

metaphorically because they need to be developed, or literally because of illness they're contending with).

The idea of development fostering 'good lives' highlights how development functions as a moralising and ethical discourse. This is because, at its simplest, ethics is about how to live a good life and central to this are moral ideas about what's 'good' and 'bad'. Further, because race often operates through ethical, hierarchical categories of good/bad, higher/lower, with 'them' (black Others) occupying the negative half of such binary oppositions, a conception of development as an ethical discourse helps make the centrality of race within it visible. It also enables a view of development as a form of ethical governance which seeks to administer the lives of racialised Others by producing 'them' as 'good' subjects, or, as Mbembe (ibid) may have it, 'fully moral agents', transporting 'them' from the 'bad' side of life/death, to the 'good life'.

The idea of the good life is clearly important then for thinking about what development presumes to be doing in relation to the lives of Others. Mbembe explains the good life refers to subjects having full autonomy and control of their lives, having full agency, enabling them to live well. This, Mbembe asserts, is integral to modernity and conceptions of subjectivity, which necessitate people being equal, self-limiting subjects, as opposed to having their limits decided and imposed by others. It also refers to the capacity for societies to self-create.

Transposed onto development discourse, which at its base is about bringing Others into modernity, it highlights a troubling paradox. Because on the one hand, development equates to helping Others attain good lives and all that comes with it (agency, autonomy, control) because we are all human, born, by virtue of our humanness, with the *equal* right to live well – a principle which we can assume drives development work. On the other hand, in 'helping' Others attain what Westerners have apparently acquired, and Others apparently lack, development frames Others as unequal. I'll return to this point on equality.

First, it's useful to note that Rose (2004) stresses a similar paradox in his work on Western ideas of freedom and how the notion of freedom, and its actualisation, comes with a requirement to govern lives in ways which entail 'specific modes of subjectification' (Rose, 2004:95). In this way, Rose argues that the possibility of freedom can be seen as a, 'politics of life' (Rose, 2004:95). These politics, he contends, define our ethical systems which inform how

reproducing a colonially rooted narrative whereby white Westerners journey to unchartered territory to save black Others. But it's crucial to ask whether current media-INGO relations produce representations any less problematic than apparently 'old' racially stereotypical ways of representing black African Others. I do this elsewhere by considering whether mainstream UK news of the 2014 Ebola outbreak did anything different.

social structures that have been constructed to control our lives so we can operate as free subjects, renders the freedom we think we have 'a total sham' (Rose, 2004:10).

Yet this sham, and the ethics underpinning it, arguably operates at the heart of development. This is not only because the politics of life that define our ethical systems also define our interventions into the lives of Others. It's also because the developed state we're depicted as having fully achieved in the West is a myth. In her critique of development as a catching-up myth, Mies (1993) argues that the conception of development as being about showing Southern Others how to live the 'good life' that we in the North have apparently acquired, is based on a fraudulent linear understanding of history[45]. This understanding, Mies asserts, has it that some (usually white men) have reached the pinnacle of evolution, living 'good lives' in fully developed countries where no real work remains to be done to move up the evolutionary scale. Meanwhile, Others (usually brown and black women, Mies argues) need more 'development' to catch up. Yet the Western idea of 'development' (unlimited scientific and technological growth, which has resulted in an apparent abundance of choice and 'good lives') that Others need to catch up to acquire, obscures the fact that the quality of life for those of us living in the North is deteriorating. Thus, Mies argues, 'developing' countries seeking to 'catch-up' are playing a losing game.

Returning to the point on inequality, I contend that by cultivating 'slack' (Leonard, ibid) reporting on SSA, media-INGO relations maintain a lack of nuanced analysis of the causes of inequality in mainstream news representations *of* that inequality. This serves to naturalise the inequality between 'us' and 'them'. Thus, the right to a 'good life' isn't automatic because we all enter the world as humans, but something which has come more naturally to 'us', than 'them'. Foucault's conception of biopower shows how such logic, which positioned people socially based on biological markers, operated in 19th Century Western sciences which were used to justify slavery and colonialism (Mbembe, ibid).

This naturalised unequal status is too often transferred to the treatment of Others within mainstream UK news representations. Representations which often denote the unequal/poor treatment of Others in their *home* countries, but closer readings may reveal 'our' perception of

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[45]A linear understanding of history has important links with post-colonial theory because a significant part of the European conception of Others as 'primitive' was their apparent lack of history; beings frozen in time, compared to 'civilised' Europeans whose progression was formulated as ongoing and linear. Considered vis-a-vis contemporary representations of Others in transnational news, arguably a correlation can be made between the nuanced reporting of Western news – forward moving but rooted in reason and history and thus requiring analysis; versus simplistic, static modes of covering Others (see also Moeller, ibid).

'them' as unequal in relation to us. The positioning of 'them' as unequal, arguably imposes limits on individuals, and the societies they live in, to be seen as already existing self-limiting subjects with the ability to self-create (Mbembe, ibid). In turn, these represented limits are presented as being in need of being externally lifted by 'us' to bring Others into modernity and equality. In addition, this naturalised inequality has stark material implications – as stark as what's deemed acceptable in demarcating who gets to live and die, how we live and die, and how our lives and deaths are represented.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how connecting the work of post-colonial theorists (e.g. Said, ibid; Fanon, ibid, Mbembe, ibid) with research concerned with media-NGO relations (e.g. Fenton, 2010; Cottle & Nolan, ibid), media-source studies more generally (e.g. Hall et al, 1978) and critiques of development discourse (e.g. Crush, 1995; Escobar, 1995), makes race visible in the media-INGO equation. Weaving together thinking within these academic fields is vital for developing understanding of the histories, ideologies and processes that help cultivate a dominant UK news environment where the unequal status of black African Others vis-à-vis 'us' is an accepted norm.

In Chapter 8 I consider how such status played out in relation to mainstream UK news representations of the 2014 Ebola outbreak in West Africa, the roles of Western INGOs and black journalists in constructing news media narratives of the crisis, and how/if racialised discourse was considered and negotiated by these actors. For now, I turn to field theory (Bourdieu, 2005) and discuss how it enables us to consider the subfield of contemporary reporting on SSA in UK news media more holistically than has been done to date, by mapping the positions of INGOs and journalists of colour within the field, and the centrality of race to the way this field functions.

Chapter 3

Mapping race onto the journalistic field

'In Britain and elsewhere, 'race' matters in the negotiation and 're' production of cultural capital.' (Wallace, 2016:14)

The journalistic field, as Bourdieu's (2005, 1998) work demonstrates, is structured around two forms of interconnected power: cultural and economic capital. Race, as Wallace (2016) states, and as postcolonial scholars (e.g. Said, 1978) have long highlighted, is entwined with cultural capital and the economic capital it's generative of and which it generates. This chapter argues that mapping race onto Bourdieu's conception of the journalistic field is necessary to further academic discussion on coverage of SSA in mainstream UK news.

Bourdieu's field theory is influential in journalism studies (e.g. Benson & Neuveu, 2005; Phillips, 2015), utilised as a conceptual interpretation of how power works in newsrooms and the fields that journalism intersects with and mediates. However, race, though vital to the 'negotiation and 're' production' (Wallace, ibid) of forms of capital, including those that structure the journalistic field, is largely absent from academic work on the journalistic field. A general reading of scholarly work within journalism studies that engages with Bourdieu's field theory (e.g. Marliere, 1998; Neveu, 2007; Couldry, 2003; Hallin and Mancini, 2004), and its associated concepts of 'habitus', 'capital', 'doxa' and 'illusio', may lead one to conclude that race, and the violent histories that informed the construction of this mode of categorising people, did not feature in Bourdieu's oeuvre. Thus, it may be deemed a theoretical leap (Wallace, 2016; Puwar, 2009) to apply Bourdieu's conceptual tools to any study that's concerned, as mine is, with centering how race functions and is operationalised within the social world, and the patchwork of 'fields', including the news media, that structure society, and the position of actors within it. However, Bourdieu's personal experience of, and research on, the colonial regime and race in Algeria, informed some of his key concepts, *including* field theory (Puwar, 2009; Go, 2013; Wallace, 2016). Therefore, the absence of theorisation regarding the significance of race in the journalistic field is surprising.

I address the omission of race in relation to scholarly work on Bourdieu and the journalistic field, by arguing that race must be theorised as a category which is central to the UK journalistic field, particularly reporting on SSA. I take international news reporting as a 'subfield' (Marchetti, 2005) within the journalistic field. Whilst much journalism is generalist,

subfields describe how the field is also split into thematic specialisations. Acknowledging this enables us to identify properties that play out across the whole field, but may work in particular ways in 'subfields' (Marchetti, 2005:64). Race is one such property, ideologies of which, as media scholars have long argued (Saha, 2018), work at a general, often silent (Gilroy, 1987; Van Dijk, 1991 & 2000) level, shaping and being shaped by the news media's 'norms, structures and practices which condition what is represented and how' (Allan, 1999:159).

SSA and her people, both at home and in the diaspora, have been subject to racial distortions in the British press since the 'booming newspaper industry of the 1860s and 1870s', thanks to the racist observations of explorers and journalists like Henry Morton Stanley, who wrote the bestselling *In Darkest Africa* (Olusoga, 2016:403). Due to the way racial discourses maintain coherence and permanence by virtue of the fact that they're layered through time (Stoler, 2002b), notions of race remain fundamental to the narration of SSA in UK news media today and the positionalities of journalists of colour and INGOs within the field are illustrative of the ways race is operationalised within contemporary journalistic practice.

As outlined, an overall aim of this research is to suggest that Bourdieu's field theory, intersected with the work of critical race and postcolonial scholars on colonial discourse and modes of Othering (e.g. Fanon, 1986 [1952]; Said, 1978; Hall, 2013), as well as black feminist academic work on standpoint theory, enables the development of a concept I term 'postcolonial journalistic field theory' (PCJFT). Such a concept seeks to offer a broad theoretical foundation for my overriding research concern: how can we account for the 'raced' structural ('doxa') and subjective ('habitus') elements that may enable or disable the possibility of change to news media representations of SSA?

Here, I outline field theory and critiques of the concept. I then consider how race has been read in Bourdieu, before discussing how Hall's work on representation (2013) and cultural identity (1990), coupled with Bourdieu's conception of the journalistic field (2005), offer a foundation for the development of PCJFT.

Field theory

For Bourdieu, the social world is split into distinct fields, each with their own rules, but all overlap, influence and exert pressure on one another. As Benson & Neveu explain (2005:3), relations between structure and agency and cultural and economic power define human action within fields, and are therefore central to Bourdieu's concerns (Bourdieu, 2005:42; Phillips, 2015:65). Media scholars, most prolifically Benson (e.g. Benson & Neveu, 2005; Benson, 2006;

1999; 2002; 2004), have built on Bourdieu's work in *On Television (1998)*, which critiqued the commercialisation of French television, utilising the concept of field to map the processes and constraints that exist within news production.

As Phillips (2015:65) explains, Bourdieu conceives of fields lying across a vertical and horizontal axis. An autonomous pole sits on the left of the horizontal axis and a heteronomous pole on the right. The closer an organisation or individual is to the autonomous pole, the less tied they are to market forces; whereas those at the heteronomous end are more dependent on economic rationalities that shape news production, such as advertising and audience share. The vertical axis signifies cultural and economic 'capital', or power, with organisations and individuals at the top of the axis possessing the greatest amount of 'capital'.

Bourdieu's field theory offers a theoretical toolkit which enables race to be mapped onto the UK journalistic field and reporting on SSA within that field. This is because 'field theory provides a means of incorporating history into the very heart of media analysis' (Benson & Neuveu, 2005:18). The way field theory allows for the incorporation of history into media analysis, means it enables us to illuminate how historical reporting and understanding of SSA (e.g. Olusoga, 2016), remains important to contemporary media analysis of the region.

In addition, if we don't address race in Bourdieu's conception of the journalistic field, not only do we miss a vital opportunity to adequately consider the complex ways news continues to shape and inform how groups are racialised (e.g. Van Dijk, 1991; Law, 2002:76; Entman & Rojecki, 2000:64), but also an opportunity to do justice to the basis of Bourdieu's scholarly work, particularly field theory. This is especially so given the concept of field theory is based on an idea proposed by Kurt Lewin who argued that: 'instead of abstracting one or another isolated element from a situation, the theory of the field starts with a characterization of the *whole* situation' (Vandenberghe, 1999:51-2 in Go, 2013. Emphasis added). It follows that the journalistic field, particularly subfields focused on the narration of raced Others, such as international reporting on SSA, cannot be fully theorised without accounting for how certain 'elements', which are integral to the ways SSA is covered in contemporary UK news, combine to characterise 'the *whole* situation' (Vandenberghe, 1999:51-2 in Go, 2013. Emphasis added).

The interconnected elements that require consideration via the concept of field theory are: legacies of empire and key actors (INGOs and black journalists) involved in the narration of SSA. In developing PCJFT, my research aims to show how colonial logics and effects play out at three interconnected levels in mainstream UK news: 1) Institutional rules and culture ('doxa'). 2) The experiences, socialised subjectivities ('habitus') and standpoints of journalists of colour -

actors who may seek to influence, are positioned to influence/or be seen to be influencing, coverage of SSA. 3) The cultural, economic and racialised rationalities that influence the degree of 'capital' INGOs have in the field of reporting on SSA.

Race and racism are clearly social factors that complicate the position(ings) of journalists of colour within mainstream British newsrooms. Therefore, I pay particular attention to Bourdieu's concepts of 'habitus' and 'capital'. Both enable a layered, non-essentialist approach to race in the journalistic field; an approach which allows for acknowledgement of how race operates as a containing category within newsrooms, as well as a category in which raced journalists are positioned, and position themselves, depending on their 'habitus' and the varying degrees of 'capital' they may possess. Indeed, Bourdieusian field theory, and its accompanying toolkit, enables a conceptualisation of the contradictory and nuanced ways race functions within mainstream UK news media.

'Field' as a research tool

Bourdieu states that his 'concept of field is a research tool' (Bourdieu, 2005:30) that 'can serve in a very general way to analyze social phenomena and, in particular, phenomena of cultural production' (Bourdieu, 2005:29). Bourdieu used the concept to analyse the worlds of art, literature and religion, and applied it to journalism in *On Television* (Bourdieu, 1996). A relatively short book, *On Television* addresses the commercialisation of French television, and its increasingly depoliticised, sensationalist news output, following the privatisation of France's largest television channel in 1986. Bourdieu's main thesis is that fields that constitute the social world must be understood relationally because, while they are specialised spheres, they interconnect. As journalism mediates between fields, it influences them. This is,

> 'because of the homogenizing effect of competition and [...] because of the high level of diffusion of commercial television. Television [...] sets the agendas for what comes to be understood and treated as the news by newspapers [...], which severely restricts what can and can't be thought and discussed' (Webb et al, 2002:190).

Thus, one of Bourdieu's central concerns is with what he viewed as the homogenising effect of the journalistic field.

Critiques of field theory

Homogeneity is also important, as discussed, for thinking through how race often operates as a containing (Bhabha, 1983; Said, 1978; Fanon, 1986 [1952]) category within mainstream news. But despite the usefulness of Bourdieu's conception in terms of explaining how logics within fields spill into others, a phenomenon highlighted by many communication scholars who emphasise relations between seemingly distinct social spheres in the construction of cultural products (Schudson, 2005:214), Bourdieu has also been critiqued for tackling journalists as a homogenous category (Marliere, 1998). I refute such categorisation, which, paradoxically, Bourdieu's conception of 'habitus', as we will see, contradicts.

In addition, Bourdieu's suggestion that shifts within the journalistic field pull other fields in the same direction has been critiqued. For instance, as Schudson (2005:215) explains, Hallin's 1986 study of US news coverage of the Vietnam war showed that official American government sources were privileged in reporting. For Hallin, these circumstances meant the press did not have the upper hand and serve as a 'watchdog'. Darras (2005) shows the same is true in his research on French television news, where political sources are found to have greater power, being selected for interview according to the position of the interviewee within the political elite, rather than the journalist's view of which guest may best contribute to the story (Schudson, 2005). These media-source study findings speak to my assertion in Chapter 2 that well-resourced INGOs have the power to be 'primary definers' (Hall et al, 1978; also see Anyangwe, 2017) of topics in relation to dominant UK news coverage of SSA. Media-source studies (e.g. Hallin, 1986; Hall et al, 1978) also underline the fact that:

> 'news is never just the product of the specific logic of the journalistic field. To avoid this […] "media-centric" bias, […] research should always examine journalism in its complex relations with the other social spaces with which it relates.' (Marchetti, 2005:75)

As highlighted, because UK journalism on SSA is embroiled in a complex relationship with Britain's INGO sector it's crucial to consider, as much research does (e.g. Anyangwe, 2017; Franks, 2010, 2013; Wright, 2017), the role of INGOs in reporting on this region. Whilst the social 'fields' (Bourdieu's, 2005) of journalism and international development/humanitarianism have their own logics, racial logics rooted in 19th Century Western sciences (e.g. see Goldberg, 1993), are woven through the journalistic and INGO fields. This creates degrees of homogeneity whereby attitudes towards race in one field filter into the other and vice versa. Thus, whilst I concur with the above critiques that Bourdieu's conception of the journalistic

field in somewhat homogenous terms is problematic, his concern with homogeneity produced as a result of the influence of one field on another is useful. Put simply, it offers a means of thinking through how ideas on race in one field may be mirrored by and/or circulate in others.

Scope for change in the journalistic field?

Whilst Bourdieu conceived of the journalistic field as a relatively contained space, his conception of the journalistic field as a 'weakly autonomous field.' […] best understood as a microcosm set within the macrocosm' (Benson & Neveu, 2005:5) enables a conceptualisation of the dispersed manner in which contemporary forms of journalistic practice function. A view of the journalistic field as 'weakly autonomous' offers scope for understanding that, whilst power continues to reside within the newsrooms of dominant media organisations, there are multiple other forms of journalism happening around the centre, including in other fields, such as the INGO sector. The opportunities for these other forms of journalism have increased exponentially with the rise of new communications technologies (Fenton, 2010). Field theory enables acknowledgement of these circumstances, even if Bourdieu did not engage with the changes instigated by new communications technologies (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017). This is not only because Bourdieu views fields as interlinked and open to influence from one another, but also because,

> 'fields are arenas of struggle in which individuals and organisations compete, unconsciously and consciously, to valorize […] forms of capital […] they possess.' (Benson & Neveu, 2005: 4)

Such individuals and organisations may be 'native' to the journalistic field, in as much as they are professionally contained *within* it, or, as in the case of INGOs, they may be native to other fields, contributing to the journalistic field on an ad-hoc, or regular basis. Furthermore,

> 'Bourdieu posits that influxes of new agents into the field can serve either as forces for transformation or conservation.' (Benson & Neveu, 2005: 4)

We can conceive of black journalists and INGOs as 'new agents' in the subfield of reporting on SSA, exerting different degrees of influence. Referring to such actors as 'new agents' is not to suggest they weren't present before, but their presence is arguably greater than it was. As such, it's vital to understand why this is the case and how their presence, both separately and alongside one another within the journalistic field, may serve as a force 'for transformation or

conservation' of the subfield of reporting on SSA. I discuss this further in relation to my call for the development of PCJFT. For now, I stay with Bourdieu's conception of field theory, how race has been read into it, and how we may apply such readings to the journalistic field.

Reading race in Bourdieu

The sub-concepts of field theory - 'habitus', 'doxa', 'capital' and 'illusio' - are useful to this project as: 1) They offer a means of elucidating the positions ('habitus') of journalists of colour who participate in news coverage of SSA. 2) They illuminate how institutional rules and culture ('doxa') may cultivate, constrain or enable such participation and/or the participation of INGO sources, as well as shape the behaviour of those participants who contribute to the reproduction or contestation of the structure of the field. 3) 'Illusio' offers a means of understanding why actors involved in any field, but especially those who may, due to their raced, classed or gendered 'habitus', experience overt and/or covert discrimination within the field, remain engaged with the field because they believe 'the game is worth playing' (Benson & Neveu, 2005:3). To be sure, 'illusio' refers to a belief in 'the game' and speaks to how individuals 'tend to share a 'doxa,' that is, a 'universe of tacit presuppositions that organize action within the field.' (Benson & Neveu, 2005:3).

The above concepts play out in specific ways in the journalistic field when race is mapped onto it. For instance, journalists of colour obviously believe 'the game is worth playing' (Benson & Neveu, 2005:3), which is why they're in the game. However, the idea that they 'share a doxa' with all their peers in 'the game' is too totalising a suggestion and needs to be interrogated via concepts such as 'double consciousness' (Du Bois, 1994 [1903]) and 'standpoint' theory (Hill Collins, 1998,2000). Both concepts can illuminate how BAME journalists may participate in 'the game' with a set of shared presuppositions, but also how such journalists may come to the game with their own script, or standpoint, which doesn't necessarily comfortably marry with the 'universe of tacit presuppositions' (Benson & Neveu, 2005:3) brought into by dominant groups.

Newsroom studies of race (Allan, 1999; Saha, 2018) show how black journalists frequently experience the culture of mainstream Western media organisations differently to their white colleagues. However, such experiences remain to be mapped onto field theory, which provides the tools required to explore the complexities of such experiences.

Habitus, race and class

The concept of 'habitus' lends itself perfectly to such an undertaking. Bourdieu describes 'habitus' as 'a socialised subjectivity' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:126). It can be conceived of as the embodiment of cultural capital - that is perspectives individuals may acquire due to belonging to a particular socially constructed group. As we'll see, the notion of 'habitus' ties in with a principal claim of standpoint theory - that knowledge is socially situated.

Scholars (Puwar, 2009; Go, 2013; Wallace, 2016) who have read race into Bourdieu, argue that Bourdieu's thinking on colonialism informed his concepts of 'habitus' and 'field'. Thus, the same scholars assert that the lack of academic work that extends Bourdieu's theorisation to issues of race, place and domination, means critical issues that informed Bourdieu's thinking are not as well understood as they should be.

'Habitus' refers to how people's actions and experiences are shaped by, and shape, the society they live in and the institutions they come into contact with. Importantly, whilst 'habitus' is subject to change,

> 'early experiences and practices, shaped by one's location in the social class structure, shape those that follow […] any explanation of attitudes, discourses, behaviour, etc. must draw on an analysis of both structural position (within the field, the field's position vis-à-vis other fields, etc.) and the particular historical trajectory by which an agent arrived at that position (habitus).' (Benson & Neveu, 2005:3)

Whilst class is highlighted in the above quote as fundamental to one's 'habitus', recent research shows how dominant academic focus on Bourdieu as a theorist of class, detracts from the 'colonial and post-colonial textures of his work' (Puwar, 2009:371). Puwar (2009) asserts that Bourdieu's early work on colonial structures and the inequality embedded within them, informed his later work. Go (2013) builds on the assertion that Bourdieu's work stems from a critique of colonialism, which Bourdieu saw as a 'racialised system of domination, backed by force, which restructures social relations and creates hybrid cultures' (Go, 2013:49). Like Puwar (2009), Go (2013) is concerned with making the case for applying Bourdieu's work to the study of colonialism and racial difference because they are hugely significant to developing understandings of the social world.

Go (2013) highlights that, as with Foucault and other prominent French intellectuals, Bourdieu was 'profoundly shaped by colonial experiences' (2013:51). Along with Fanon, Algeria's anticolonial struggle and the collapse of the French empire influenced Bourdieu's thinking.

For Go (2013:55), race takes precedence over class in Bourdieu's theorisation of colonialism, which he conceived of as a 'caste system' structured along racially segregated lines, and legitimised by racist ideologies. It's important to note, as Go (2013:56) does, that Bourdieu's work around race and the violence of the colonial system, which he witnessed during his military service in Algeria in the mid-1950s, was closely aligned with Fanon's work. In particular, Fanon's work on identity and social psychology overlaps with Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' and agency. Before Bourdieu, Fanon wrote explicitly about the violence embedded within the colonial apparatus (in *A Dying Colonialism* (1965 [1959]) and *Black Skin, White Masks* (1986 [1952]), and mapped the visceral effects of racism on one's being. Bourdieu, Go (2013:56) notes drawing on Haddour (2010), 'probably drew much from Fanon regarding the racial character of colonialism, the nature of violence, and colonialisms impact.' Given the context of Bourdieu's theorising, there is a clear theoretical foundation for reading race in Bourdieu and how race shapes and informs 'habitus', just as class does (see also footnote 85, Chapter 7).

Race at the intersection of 'habitus' and institutional 'doxa'

In the colonial context, 'habitus' refers to tensions that arise in the process of individuals mediating between 'the colonial past and the postcolonial future' (Go, 2013:62). My data suggests that such tensions continue to play out for black journalists who cover the continent for mainstream Western news organisations. Not in the sense that such journalists are looking to a 'postcolonial future', but colonial pasts inform the 'historical trajectory' by which such 'agents' arrived at their 'habitus' (Benson & Neveu, 2005:3). Therefore, sediments of that past shape their positionalities in the journalistic field to differing degrees, as well as attitudes of some in the dominant group towards them.

Past sediments also influence how stories about marginalised groups (e.g. Hall, 2013; Said, 1978; hooks, 1992), with whom black journalists may associate or be associated with, are represented by the organisations they work for. Thus, for black journalists tensions may arise in the process of mediating between their 'habitus' as individuals who are socially situated in ways which mean they are likely to have different perspectives to non-marginalised individuals in relation to issues pertaining to race, and the construction of stories about raced Others. I discuss these tensions in Chapter 5.

Whilst the seeds of Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' were clear in his early work, it wasn't until his work *Algeria 1960* ([1963] 1979), that he addressed how the realities of colonial structures necessitated consideration of the relationship between historical circumstances and 'habitus'. For Bourdieu, this was essential to developing an understanding of the 'discrepancy' between people's 'dispositions' and the 'world in which they had to act' (Bourdieu, 1979:vii in Go, 2013:63). Discrepancies between our 'dispositions' and the world in which we have to act are a powerful theme in the work of many postcolonial and critical race scholars, and are echoed in concepts such as double consciousness (Du Bois, 1994 [1903]) and standpoint theory.

Race, difference and cultural capital

The 'acting' that has to be done within the journalistic field is further illuminated if we place the notion of cultural capital alongside 'difference', both of which are important to Bourdieu's conception of field theory. Joint consideration of the notions of difference and cultural capital has particular ramifications when race is mapped onto them.

Just as race can be significant to the process of individuals' accumulating cultural capital in certain social realms (Wallace, 2016), it's also significant in the cultural realm, where media organisations may use the different ethnicities of staff by ensuring they are visible and/or visibly assigned to particular stories. This may be done so such institutions can be seen to be meeting the requirements of diversity policies, as we'll see in Chapter 6, differentiate their news offering, or make certain content appear more 'credible' by attaching a journalist to it who's perceived to possess the required ('raced') cultural capital to lend the story more authority. Via this process of capitalising on racial difference, the media institution acquires more cultural, and potentially more economic, capital. As Saha (2018:65), drawing on Duggan, (2003:xii) writes of the culture industries:

> 'Under racial neoliberalism, race […] can carry a value, as long as it is explicitly in terms
> of market goals and is compatible with the continued upward redistribution of
> resources.'

It's vital to stand out to compete, and maintain the 'upward redistribution of resources', in the journalistic field. Thus, Bourdieu, who conceives of modernity as a process of differentiation, underlines the way institutions and individuals operating within the field distinguish themselves from one another, positing that 'to exist socially is to mark one's difference vis-à-vis others' (2005:3). However, when seen through the lens of postcolonial theories on colonial discourse and modes of Othering (e.g. Said, 1978; Fanon, 1986 [1952]), which identify the way

raced Others had, and have, their difference marked for them, this assertion may be more accurately put thus: 'to exist socially is to have your difference, vis-à-vis others, frequently marked *for* you.'

Racialised histories, during which Others were objectified via the process of constructing racial differences, are integral to modernity (Goldberg, 1993:7). The irony of modernity, Goldberg contends (1993:7), is that whilst it declares itself open to difference, 'the more dismissive of difference it becomes and the more closed it seeks to make the circle of acceptability'. These circumstances lead to racist exclusions, which are rationalised via the very idea of (racial) difference. Notions of difference and acceptability also lead to forms of inclusion which are *limited* by race in as much as race is frequently operationalised to, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 5, contain/homogenise ethnic minority staff, so that their working for mainstream news organisations makes no difference to institutional structures and practices, increasing tensions for them in the world in which they act. However, degrees of tension shift depending on the amount of capital individual journalists possess within the field.

As we'll see in Chapter 6, the employment of black journalists to report on SSA may also carry value in explicitly economic terms for media organisations engaged in cost-cutting. This is because such appointments can be more cost effective for media organisations due to the lower salaries reported by some of my journalist interviewees, their residence in countries they report from meaning travel costs are reduced, and/or their freelance status.

The chapters that follow reveal that the subfield of reporting on SSA is a realm where racial 'capital', 'habitus' and inequalities that exist within the journalistic field come into full view. The concept of postcolonial journalistic field theory (PCJFT) offers a means of framing this view.

The building blocks of postcolonial journalistic field theory

Hall's work on representation (1973, 2013) and cultural identity (1990), coupled with Bourdieu's conception of the journalistic field (2005), offers a foundation for developing PCJFT. What Hall's work on representation (2013) misses at the level of media production, Bourdieu (2005) offers, and what Bourdieu misses at the level of representation, Hall, along with theorists of race (e.g. Fanon, ibid; hooks, 1992), who developed powerful accounts of how ideologies of race and racism take place at the level of representation, provides.

Hall's (e.g. 1978, 1990, 2013) work on the media's role in the construction and reproduction of ideologies of race and racism is critical to understanding how deep rooted, and often invisible,

processes of Othering are. Further, how images circulating in mass media are inscribed by racialised relations of power, which play out in wider society. In *Representation* (2013), Hall asks 'how do we represent people and places which are significantly different from us?' (2013:215). He draws on a range of academic disciplines, including semiotics, Barthes' theorising on myth, Foucauldian discourse analysis and Fanon's use of psychoanalytic theory, to deftly unpack how and why black people are racially stereotyped in representational practices. Via his use of these theoretical frameworks, Hall offers a comprehensive account of how images, language, history and subjectivity must all be accounted for in attempting to answer the aforementioned question.

However, in attending to how we deconstruct meaning at the level of the text, Hall (2013) doesn't offer detailed consideration of relations between subject and object: between *who* is involved in constructing texts and *what* is constructed. In addition, in asking the question, 'how do we represent people and places which are significantly different from us?' (2013:15) in relation to racial stereotyping in representational practices, there's an implicit assumption that those involved in the construction of media texts are racially different to those represented by the text. Admittedly, Hall (2013) does reflect on how black cultural practitioners contest 'racialised regimes of representation' (2013:2262) via various processes including 'transcoding: taking an existing meaning and re-appropriating it' (2013:259), and producing representations that try to 'construct a positive identification with what has been abjected' (2013:262). However, he addresses these contestations in relation to texts themselves, rather than via attending to the mechanics of their production and how disruption may occur *within* organisational structures and practices as a result of black practitioners working within such structures.

To be sure, whilst Hall does point to how organisational norms and structures influence media representations, and he first explored such norms and structures in *Policing the Crisis* (Hall et al, 1978), linking news media representations of race to state interests, he has been critiqued for focusing too much on media texts themselves. This oversight, as Saha (2018:31) asserts, means Hall misses how ideologies of race 'are actually produced by the media'.

In addition, despite Hall's vital and influential work on cultural identity and diaspora (1992; 1990) where he describes how diaspora in post-colonial societies engage in the production of identity with the aim of re-telling the past, particularly Afro-Caribbean diaspora re-constructing the ways Africa has been constructed in 'visual representation of the West' (Hall, 1992:26), in other work Hall is dismissive of the part journalists' subjectivities (or 'habitus')

play in representation. He states that: 'what defines how the media function is the result of […] complex, often contradictory social relations; *not* the personal inclinations of its members' (Hall, 1990:20, my emphasis).

It's paradoxical that Hall did not attend to 'the personal inclinations' of those who work for mainstream media and consider these inclinations in his analysis of mainstream representation of racialised Others. I say this because, given Hall's concern with how 'we represent people and places which are significantly different from us' (2013:215), the subjectivities of those involved in representing 'difference' surely becomes important to consider simply because, as Bourdieu's field theory demonstrates (2005), the media doesn't operate in isolation from the individuals who participate within it. Therefore, it's important not to just consider representations of 'difference' in terms of how difference is *read* by us, and how such readings shape our subjectivities, as Hall does with reference to psychoanalytic arguments that 'the 'Other' is fundamental to the constitution of the self' (Hall, 2013:227); but to also consider how the subjectivities of those involved in the business of narrating other people's lives informs such narration.

In contrast, Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' emphasises the importance of accounting for the personal inclinations of the members of a field when mapping how it functions. Marchetti underlines this point in relation to journalistic subfields, noting:

> 'Relations that the specialised journalistic sub-universes maintain with the different social spaces that they mediatise should take into account […]: the social characteristics of social actors. In some social spaces, there may be strong proximity.' (Marchetti, 2005:78)

An aim of this research is to map the assumed, as well as the actual and/or felt, proximity between black journalists, as *social actors*, and their mediation of spaces within SSA during the process of constructing stories for British news organisations. This is so we can attempt to reach a fuller understanding of how this journalistic sub-field functions, and how the characteristics of social actors within it may be brought to bear on its mode of operation and content produced.

Both Hall (1990) and Bourdieu (in Puwar, 2009) explore how social spaces are mediated in particular ways by diaspora actors. Hall (1990), as noted, highlights the felt proximity between Afro-Caribbean diaspora and Africa, and how this is expressed in alternative forms of cultural production. As discussed below, the Algerian diasporic experience influenced Bourdieu's early

work (Puwar, 2009). But despite their interest in mainstream media, neither Hall nor Bourdieu consider the notion of proximity between actors and social spaces in relation to its possible impact on the production and content of news journalism. This is a gap I seek to bridge via developing PCJFT. Hall's work on representation (2013), diaspora and cultural identity (1990), combined with Bourdieu's field theory (2005), and the influence Bourdieu's interest in migration had on his concept of 'habitus' (Puwar, 2009:375), will help in this regard.

As discussed in Chapter 5, Hall makes the important observation in *Cultural Identity and Diaspora* (1990:23) that black diasporic identity is partly informed by a sense of 'oneness' that people with a shared history and ancestry in common hold, and this conception of identity was vital to postcolonial struggles and remains a potent force in the representational practices of marginalised groups[48]. As mentioned, recent academic work (Bunce, 2015; Ogunyemi, 2017) finds such identity is significant to the construction of news on SSA. However, these studies don't consider *why* this may be the case. As such, these valuable recent findings demand being extended so we can consider the significance of such subjectivities, in all their complexities, to understanding the experiences and representational practices of black journalists engaged in narrating mainstream news on SSA. I do this is in Chapter 5.

Puwar (2009:375) explains that Bourdieu's research in Algeria was concerned with the forced dislocation of Algerians as a result of French colonial policies. Thus, what it means to be displaced, voluntarily or forcibly, played an important role in Bourdieu's research, particularly his concept of 'habitus'. Even in the absence of knowledge about the development of the concept of 'habitus', it's an incredibly useful idea to employ to frame the importance of considering the standpoints of people within the journalistic field, and how their 'habitus' may influence their work. But an understanding of how issues of migration shaped Bourdieu's development of the notion of 'habitus', makes the concept particularly relevant for thinking through how African diaspora, with their multitude of migratory stories, are positioned, and attempt to position themselves, within the journalistic field concerned with coverage of Africa. Further, how their diasporic sensibilities do and don't play out in relation to such coverage.

To be clear, Bourdieu's reflection on 'affinities of habitus', in relation to how his work in Algeria and the friendships he made there, influenced his ability to 'elaborate a representation of Algerian reality that was at once intimate and distant' (Bourdieu, 2004b:433 in Puwar, 2009:). This speaks to the aforementioned feelings of 'proximity' (Marchetti, 2005) between subject (black journalists) and object (SSA). Bourdieu's obituary to the Algerian intellectual

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[48] But, to reiterate, Hall does not discuss such a force in relation to mainstream news media.

Mouloud Mammeri, demonstrates his appreciation of how migration forges a common path for people vis-a-vis their country of origin.

> '…the history of the relation of Mouloud Mammeri to his originary society […] can be described as an odyssey, with a first movement of distancing towards shores unknown and full of seductions, followed by a lengthy and slow return dotted with traps, towards his native land. This odyssey is […] the path that all those who are issued out of a dominated society or a dominated class or region inside dominant societies, must tread […] to find or recover themselves.' (Bourdieu, 2004:618 in Puwar, 2009: 376)

It's important to note that Mammeri was a first-generation immigrant with lived experience of his country of origin, unlike many belonging to diasporas. There's also a sense of romantic nostalgia in Bourdieu's obituary, in that there's an assumption that treading a 'path' back to one's 'native land' will lead to recovering oneself. Such recovering may or may not happen. Indeed, some 'odysseys' have the opposite effect, which should come as no surprise because there's no singular way of experiencing a journey to one's ancestral 'home'. Nor should there be an assumption that one's view of their 'native land' will necessarily be more enlightened than the view of someone who doesn't have intimate ties with the land.

Despite the multiplicity of our experiences, the 'path' Bourdieu describes in relation to Mammeri's work is one that will be familiar, to greater or lesser degrees, to most post-colonial subjects engaged in representational practices focused on their 'native land' for Western media organisations. Bourdieu builds on Fanon's (1986[1952]) observations, which I discuss elsewhere, of the motivations for researching one's place of origin when he writes that he sees Mammeri's research as a: 'work that leads to a re-appropriation of one's culture of origin, through a victory over cultural shame' (Bourdeiu, 2004: 619 in Puwar, 2009:376). Such victories 'over cultural shame' is also what Broussard (2013) speaks to in relation to African-American's covering Africa for American news organisations. My findings, as we'll see, also demonstrate that some black journalists seek such victories. This is not always because they felt 'shame' (though some did), but simply because it's either not what they'd seen/known first hand, and/or their experiences growing up and being aware that there are two scripts – the dominant script and their script, as one journalist interviewee put it – led them to suspect the same was true of what they'd learnt/knew, via media or first hand, of SSA.

If we accept that postcolonial theory is essentially aimed at de-stabilising Western ways of seeing, by giving postcolonial subjects space to speak in dominant discourse, then PCJFT is ultimately about decentering dominant voices in, and ways of analysing, mainstream Western news journalism.

Conclusion

Despite field theory being premised on seeing social phenomena holistically and contextualising them within their 'larger systemic environment' (Benson and Neveu, 2005:18), research that applies field theory to the study of journalism lacks consideration of how the dynamics between institutional and individual ideologies within the journalistic field may impact on representational output.

My intention is for PCJFT to enable us to account for the postcolonial configuration of newsrooms and the implications of such a configuration for output. In other words, connecting field theory with postcolonial theories on modes of Othering and colonial discourse, should help illuminate why we must consider how race helps inform the position INGOs occupy in the field of reporting on SSA. Further, how the habitus and standpoints of black journalists, may or may not influence their desire to contribute to coverage of SSA and shape it in particular ways. Finally, how institutional doxa may impact on the positioning of journalists of colour within the journalistic field, and affect whether they find themselves in abject or enabling positions vis-a-vis contributing to the possibility of systemic change to news media representations of SSA.

Chapter 4

Standpoint theory as method

This chapter argues that utilising standpoint theory (Hill Collins, 1998; 2000) as an epistemological framework is particularly well suited to an approach situated in postcolonial journalistic field theory. This is because standpoint theory enables us to uncover the racialised context within which news on SSA is produced, by privileging accounts of reporting on SSA by those who know what it is to be raced: black journalists.

My research reveals that black journalists' experiences of being Other in mainstream UK news organisations, largely dominated by white men (Allan, 1999; City University Survey, March 2016), gives such journalists vital but overlooked insight into issues surrounding the reporting of raced Others. The standpoint research model shows us that the outsider-within experiences of marginalised groups illuminate patterns of thought and ways of *seeing* and *doing* that members of dominant groups may not recognise. As Harding asserts:

> 'The experience and lives of marginalised peoples, as they understand them, provide distinctive problems to be explained or research agendas that are not visible or […] compelling to the dominant groups. Marginalised experiences and lives have been devalued or ignored as a source of important questions about […] social relations […]. It is valuable new questions that thinking from the perspective of such lives can generate.' (Harding, 1998:151)

This chapter outlines how this research has been designed to unearth answers to 'valuable new questions', and privilege thinking from perspectives that are largely overlooked in academic debates on Africa's media image.

As noted in Chapter 1, **the research questions** my approach is based on are:

1. **What are black journalists' experiences of reporting on sub-Saharan Africa?**
2. **How do INGOs engage with issues of race and racism, and how might such engagement impact on their media work and related news narratives about black African Others?**
3. **What are the organisational and production contexts of reporting (on sub-Saharan Africa) by black journalists?**
4. **What do the above mean for news media representations of sub-Saharan Africa?**

To answer these, I conducted 37 interviews (see Appendices 1-3 for a list of anonymised interviewees), engaged in analysis of relevant texts, and immersed myself in the field by attending conferences, events and networking. Interviewees included 26 journalists, 6 people who work for mainstream media organisations who are able to influence who's employed and/or commissioned by those organisations and how stories are framed, and 10 individuals who work in the INGO sector. Some interviewees work across different areas of expertise so were able to talk from their perspective as journalists in relation to question 1, as well as their role as editors in relation to question 3. Others have worked for mainstream media as journalists, as well as in INGO press teams, hence the total number of interviewees and the breakdown of those in the journalist, organisational and INGO segments does not equate precisely. This is described in detail below.

In addition to interviews, to answer question 4 I undertook content analysis, using Foucauldian inspired discourse analysis as a method for investigating race and racism in news. I identified the 2014 Ebola outbreak in West Africa as a news event to focus on because it was covered extensively by mainstream UK news outlets, and INGOs and black journalists were involved in the coverage. Thus, it was a critical moment when elements central to this research dovetailed.

Following a discussion of standpoint theory, I define key terms within my research: 'black journalists', 'INGOs', 'politics of representation', 'sub-Saharan Africa' and 'mainstream news media', before discussing the process of selecting interviewees and conducting semi-structured, in-depth interviews, which form the bulk of my data collection with journalists and INGO staff. Next, I discuss Foucauldian inspired discourse analysis, specifically how post-colonial theorists (e.g. Said, 1978) use it as a method for conducting genealogical research of categories and terms, as a tool for investigating race and racism in news stories. I address methodological issues that arose due to using standpoint theory to centre the experiences of black journalists, and the difficulties of maintaining their anonymity when discussing examples of news events they've covered.

Finally, I reflect upon 'the personal dimension' (Said, 1978:25) to research, and how this may have influenced my experiences in the field. Specifically, how my standpoint and insider-outsider status as a black woman who practiced as a journalist for mainstream UK media organisations for almost two decades, as well as someone who's lived and worked in SSA, and had personal and professional experience of INGOs, meant my standpoint as researcher intersected with those of my research participants in certain key respects. These personal factors must be acknowledged as important elements informing my research interests and

approach to generating knowledge. As such, just as I argue that standpoint theory is important for framing black journalists' experiences of reporting on SSA, this research model is also useful for understanding my own research motivations.

Standpoint theory as epistemological framework

As noted in Chapter 1, a standpoint research model was developed by feminist sociologists (e.g. Smith, 1987; Hill Collins, ibid). Such theorists contend that:

> 'To survive within social structures in which one is oppressed, one is required to understand practices of oppression, to understand both oppressed and oppressor […]. The double vision afforded via the social location of marginalized groups, can provide the epistemic advantage of insights into social relations that are unavailable to the non-marginalized.' (Bowell, T. IEP, accessed 23.07.2017)

The holistic nature of accounts of the social and political world that standpoint theory demands, especially the way it's been designed to incorporate the experiences of black people in knowledge production (Hill Collins, ibid), make it well matched to field theory, which calls for a holistic mapping of societal fields. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, race is absent from Bourdieu's conception of field theory and its application to journalism. As such, standpoint theory compliments an approach grounded in the concept of PCJFT. This is because using standpoint theory as an epistemological framework explicitly enables us to generate new knowledge claims within an existing body of knowledge, by privileging accounts of the social world by marginalised groups, such as black people who work for mainstream British institutions.

By giving postcolonial subjects who operate within the dominant UK journalistic field space to 'speak', be heard and thus, as Young (2003:7) asserts of postcolonialism, force 'alternative knowledge into the power structures of the West […] to produce a more just and equitable relation between the different peoples of the world,' standpoint theory lends itself well to a project of mapping the journalistic field via a postcolonial lens. During the research process, giving such subjects space to 'speak' was done via conducting semi-structured interviews, as discussed below. First, I define the subjects and objects of this study.

<u>**Key terms explained**</u>

Throughout this research I refer to 'black journalists', 'INGOs', 'sub-Saharan Africa', 'mainstream news media' and 'politics of representation'. These terms must be explained methodologically because each was used as a means of filtering interview subjects and/or interpreting data.

'Black journalists'

As well as 'black journalists', I use the terms 'BAME', 'journalists of colour', 'African diaspora journalists', 'African heritage' and 'local African journalists'. The majority of my journalist interviewees are black people of African descent, though a few are of South Asian descent. South Asian journalist interviewees were included either because, like the black journalist interviewees of African descent, they have experience of reporting on SSA, and/or because they became known to me, sometimes via the process of 'snowballing' (Seale, 2012), (the advantages and disadvantages of which I discuss below), as individuals whose experiences of being Othered within mainstream UK news organisations provided additional enriching context for this study.

My intention is not to conflate the differences of radically diverse people within and across either group. Rather, because my focus is on the way Western ideas of race, and the racism such ideas inform, impact on the representation and experiences of non-white people in the UK, I use the terms 'black', 'BAME', and so on to group those who are at the receiving end of racism in Britain. I use the terms interchangeably when discussing race related issues generally in mainstream UK news media not only to refer to people of African descent but also, as previously highlighted, in the way 'black' is sometimes used as a politically unifying term by people of African and Asian descent to describe the common experience of racism in the West[50].

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[50]Of course, our experiences of racism are also radically different. For instance, Islamophobia disproportionately affects Asians, whereas black people are more likely to be stopped and searched by the police than other ethnic groups (Morris, 6 August 2015). But whilst the different ways we may experience racism must be accounted for and taken seriously, such differences do not, I contend, lessen the effects of racism and how it impacts on our sense of ourselves, our place in the world, the power relations that structure and inform that sense of self and place in certain geographical and institutional locations, and therefore the way recognition and understanding of racism can be shared across differences. Thus, I was open to hearing accounts of reporting on SSA from black journalists of African descent, and of Asian descent, on the basis that our postcolonial identities have been constructed, in part, due to similar struggles with racism in the West, and those identities position us as outsiders in dominant regimes of representation. It's vital to hear how our positioning in the 'national discursive context' (Mirza, 2015) of the UK, influences how we may engage with, and attempt to tell stories about, Others whose race locates them on the margins of mainstream discourse. However, when discussing the

My interviewees described themselves using a range of the aforementioned terms, which altered depending on what was being discussed, underlining the complexities, intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; Phoenix et al, 2004, 2006) and ambivalence of identity. But importantly, all journalist interviewees described themselves as people of colour and believe their ethnicity impacts, in a range of ways, on their perspectives, reporting and/or stories that news organisations ask them to cover, or they seek to cover.

'Mainstream news media'

The decision to focus on news emerged from the previously discussed literature on Africa's image in Western media, much of which is concerned with mainstream news as a site for the generation of ideas about Others (see also Wright, 2014), but where there's little substantial and sustained recent focus on race and racism as important factors informing such ideas. It's vital to close this gap and keep debate on race, in relation to coverage of Africa, live. This is because, as Husband and Downing (2005:5) assert, news is an essential platform to explore when researching the media's role in processes of racialisation, 'for it is precisely in the definition of the situation offered by news media that a racialisation of events may be transmitted more or less uncritically to audiences'.

The constantly evolving nature of the news ecosystem[51] means it's difficult to define 'mainstream' news. Further, as Phillips (2015:9) writes regarding news accounts of the same story in different regions, ''mainstream' changes depending on where you happen to be standing.'

Using the singular term 'mainstream' isn't intended to iron out the significant differences between dominant news organisations, and the way such differences position organisations and journalists differently in relation to economic and political power (Bourdieu, 2005). For the purposes of this research, I took 'mainstream' to mean UK based news organisations with the largest audiences, therefore those news outlets that arguably have the greatest chance of influencing public perception of people and places featured in news stories[52]. I focused on

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standpoints of black journalists in relation to Africa in Chapter 5, I mean black journalists of African descent.

[51]'News ecosystem' refers to the origins of news most people get and the role of new media in our news consumption (Pew Research Centre, January 11, 2010)

[52] Recent figures (The Media Reform Coalition, April 2014) show the dominant news providers in radio are the BBC and Sky; the dominant television news providers with the highest consumption among UK adults are the BBC, ITV, Channel 4, Channel 5, Sky, Al Jazeera English and CNN respectively; and the major daily newspapers (by circulation, from largest to smallest) are The Sun, Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, Daily Telegraph, Daily Star, Daily Express, The Times, The I, Financial Times, The Guardian, The

interviewing journalists employed, on a permanent and freelance basis, by mainstream television and print outlets, where journalists also contribute to online news offerings as well as social media sites.

Both print and television, unlike radio, carry visual representations of news stories on SSA, which is important for the representation aspect of my enquiry. That said, a number of journalist interviewees have also contributed to radio news, so their general reflections on being Othered in their places of work also incorporate experiences in this medium.

'Sub-Saharan Africa'

I focus on sub-Saharan Africa, rather than Africa as a whole, for two reasons. First, because I draw from Said (1978) whose guiding principle for his work on Orientalism was 'the European idea of the Orient' (Said, 1978:16), as well as Mudimbe (1988 & 1994) who builds on Said's principle to inform his work on the idea of Africa as understood by Europeans. A principle guiding my concern with the way mainstream UK news media report SSA is the European, particularly 'Britain's', *idea* of Africa.

Britain was one of the largest colonial powers in Africa and all its colonies lay south of the Sahara. Thus, the UK has its strongest ties with this part of the continent and it's widely agreed (e.g. Mudimbe, 1988 & 1994; Hall 1997) that these historical ties *still* inform the European idea of Africa. Second, in the Western imaginary, Africa north and south of the Sahara tends to be perceived differently – with the north associated more with the Arab world, and the south with black Africans (e.g. Nugent, 2004; Hargreaves, 1988). My concern is with the Othering of black Africans. I'm aware that each of the 48 countries in SSA is distinct, not all were British colonies and we risk contributing to racialised discourse by thinking about the region as a homogeneous whole. However, for the purposes of this research, it makes sense to consider SSA as a whole, because this is in keeping with the *European idea* of the region.

Independent (The Independent and The Independent on Sunday ceased print editions in March 2016, and are now online only). The top five online news websites with the greatest reach are BBC News, DailyMail.co.uk, Guardian.co.uk, Telegraph.co.uk and Yahoo News respectively. However, much of Yahoo's 'news content is sourced from the major, traditional news brands.' (Media Reform Coalition, 17:2014). This is also the case with social network sites, such as Facebook and Twitter, which stream news from other sources, rather than generating original content. As such, I have not included these platforms in my research.

'INGOs'

Because I'm interested in the 'British' idea of Africa, when using the term 'INGO' I follow scholars for whom 'INGO' means large, well-resourced Northern-based INGOs, that work in SSA and are involved in the production of news on the region (e.g. Cottle and Nolan, 2009).

I acknowledge, as Wright (2014) highlights, that focusing on large Northern INGOs potentially limits opportunities to engage with news produced in conjunction with smaller and/or Southern-based NGOs, and potentially more diverse forms of 'networked journalism' (Beckett, 2009a&b) they may be involved in producing. However, similar to the way mainstream Northern news media tend to dominate global news flows, resource-poor NGOs tend to be reliant on major international organisations, including INGOs, for funding and for achieving media impact (Wright, 2017). This makes it difficult to separate the work of 'grassroots' NGOs from monied INGOs. Thus, I focus on resource-rich[53], UK based INGOs where power lies.

Finally, I consider the important, but overlooked, intersection between increasing calls for greater diversity in mainstream UK media *and* the INGO sector. I argue that racial logics underpinning such calls in both sectors inform the politics of representing SSA in dominant UK news media. Enhancing understanding of how racial logics emanating from different sub-fields within the journalistic field overlap to enable, or disable, more pluralistic representation of raced Others, is vital to engineering more equitable media spaces.

'Politics of representation'

It is working towards a goal of more pluralistic forms of representation that makes the act of representing political because, as highlighted, acts of representing orchestrate our cultural and social worlds, so have *real* effects on lived experience (Kothari, 2006; Fanon,1986[1952]; Hall, 2013).

In using the term 'politics of representation', which must be taken seriously as part of the struggle against racism, I emphasise not just the importance of analysing texts, but also the experiences of those involved in the production of texts. Many of my journalist interviewees feel and have witnessed levels of inequality that don't match the diversity policies and commitments espoused by the institutions they work for, nor with the sometimes varied representations produced by outlets they work for. Their experiences illuminate the extent of

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[53] By resource-rich I mean those with a clear public image (Fenton, 2010), marking them out as having enough funds to invest in branding. I borrow The Global Journal's definition of NGOs as operational or advocacy focused non-profit organisations, which are active at the national and international level, with their international operations in SSA being my concern. (The Global Journal, January 22, 2013)

work that needs to be done to re-engineer the politics of representation, which extend below the surface of representations and often aren't recognised by those who occupy privileged social locations. As one white interviewee, 'Jade', a press officer for an international aid and development charity, said in response to a question about what some black journalists felt was racist coverage of the 2014 Ebola outbreak: 'I do not see it'. This short statement speaks volumes about how seeing is filtered through the lens of our experiences, many of which are racialised. An important means of unpacking marginalised ways of seeing then, is to look beneath representations by talking to those involved in the production of media texts, who see and experience racism in institutional locations.

The relevance of standpoint theory to interviewing

Semi-structured qualitative interviewing, where questions were open-ended and flexible, was my central research tool as this was an effective means of enabling informants to speak to their experiences as openly as possible.

I interviewed 26 journalists (see Appendix 1), 21 of whom have experience of reporting on SSA for mainstream UK news organisations, as well as other media organisations. During the research process I identified 30[55] black journalists as having reported on, or currently reporting on, SSA for mainstream UK media, though this is by no means an exact figure[56]. I was not

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[55] I approached 28 of these journalists, 20 of whom agreed to be interviewed. Of the 8 I didn't interview, 4 initially agreed to participate but 2 proved impossible to pin down, 2 backed out (as explained below), 1 had a family crisis so was unable to take part, and 3 didn't respond to my requests. One journalist interviewee with extensive experience of covering SSA is white, hence the total number of journalist interviewees who've covered SSA is 21. My first priority was on securing interviews with those who'd covered the 2014-16 Ebola crisis, and only 10 of the 30 had in some capacity. I secured interviews with 6 of the 10 journalists who'd covered Ebola. It's notable that 1 of the 2 journalists who backed out didn't feel able to contribute as they'd left journalism partly due to work related stress, and the other was taking a break from the profession largely due to the traumatic assignments they'd been posted on, racism they'd experienced in the field and the lack of support they'd received from their employer (a commercial broadcast organisation). As such, they didn't feel up for reflecting on issues they were still processing.
The total number of journalists approached for interview, either via email, in person at events or via phone, was 33. This figure includes 12 journalists who haven't reported on SSA, but whose participation was sought due to their experiences of being people of colour in the dominant UK journalistic field. As noted elsewhere, such experience provided important additional context. After about 12 interviews with journalists, I began noticing patterns and themes, as well as interesting differences. By the time I'd completed 26 interviews, I didn't feel it necessary to gather additional interview material and continue chasing those approached who I'd been unable to pin down, as I'd already collated a huge amount of rich data.
[56] In addition, this number doesn't reflect those working for the BBC World Service as, although some research participants have experience of working for BBC Africa and content produced by the service is sometimes picked up by the domestic news service, as was the case with coverage of the 2014-16 Ebola outbreak, I was more concerned with mainstream news targeted at domestic UK audiences, than that aimed at overseas audiences. This focus is in keeping with my concern regarding the 'British' idea of Africa and, in turn, British ideas of 'blackness'. It's also worth noting the distinction between the BBC World Service and the BBC's domestic offering because, as Lenny Henry recently highlighted (Ellis-

concerned with constructing a scientific sample, but with gaining a range of views and experiences. Those included who don't have experience of reporting on SSA, provided additional vital insight into the realities of working for mainstream news organisations as an ethnic minority. This was important context and revealed how certain themes that emerged during the process of data analysis cut across the experiences of minority news journalists. It also highlighted issues that are specific to the experience of black journalists who report on SSA, such as what I term 'quadruple consciousness' (see Chapter 5).

I elaborate on the process of selecting interviewees and conducting interviews below. First, it's important to note that standpoint theory was mapped onto interviewing to carve out an epistemic process which enabled an overlooked standpoint to emerge, and for those who occupy that standpoint to acquire a degree of power over what's known about their experiences, and the lives of others who occupy a similar dominated social location (see also Harding, 1993:56) along race lines.

By extension, whilst journalist interviewees were not asked, expected or able to speak about the lives of black Africans whose stories they've told across different news platforms, I sought to build from their accounts, in relative terms, a non-dominant perspective on the racial dynamics that inform such reporting. Both in terms of their experiences as raced professionals in the field, their approach to constructing stories about raced Others, and their feelings, as raced Others, on the representation of black African Others in the news organisations they work for. In turn, a central research intention was to broaden what's known about the place of race, being black, and representing black Others in mainstream UK news media.

Standpoint theory wasn't appropriate for mapping onto all interviews, including some with INGO employees and with people in news organisations who have influence over who's employed and how stories are framed. However, as the emergence of standpoints is a collective process, collating individual accounts to make obscured elements of *broader social relations* visible, using standpoint theory as an epistemic starting point for research on reporting of SSA necessarily points to and connects other key actors involved in such reporting, such as INGOs.

Petersen, 19 July 2017), whilst the BBC claims 14% of its staff are from BAME backgrounds, this figure includes administrative staff and those working for the World Service which gives a false impression of inclusion. As Henry said of the need to make UK media produced primarily for UK audiences, particularly our tax payer funded public service broadcaster, more diverse, it's 'a fight about who is, and who isn't, considered British, a fight about whose voices do and do not matter'. I concur.

Journalist interviewees

As noted, the majority of my interviewees are black journalists, employed as staff and freelancers, who report or have reported on SSA for mainstream UK news organisations. However, one journalist interviewee was white. Another interviewee recommended I talk to them due to their experience of reporting on SSA during a period where the news organisation they work for has been found (Bunce, 2017) to have significantly shifted the tone of their coverage on SSA, becoming more 'positive'. As such, this white journalist's insight provided useful context regarding the debate on 'negative' and 'positive' coverage of SSA which, as highlighted, is informed by racial politics of representation.

Most journalist informants were not, however, contacted using this 'snowballing' (Seale, 2012) technique, whereby interviewees recommend others to interview. Although many interviewees suggested people to talk to, these suggestions were unprompted and mostly not pursued as they didn't necessarily fit the criteria of people I wanted to talk to. I was also wary of sampling from a group with similar views, which personal recommendations can lead to, limiting the ability to cover people 'across a range of differences' (Byrne, 2012:218). Such an approach is also in keeping with standpoint theory which, as Elmore (2009:235) notes, seeks out the standpoint of multiple marginalised participants whose experiences, social locations, and characteristics vary. As such, journalist interviewees represented a range of ages, levels of seniority, experience, gender, class background and employment status. Between them, they also work for, or have worked for, all the UK's mainstream national news organisations (see footnote 52) in some capacity, from commercial and public service broadcasters to tabloid and broadsheet newspapers.

The pool of journalist interviewees (see Appendix 1) includes 13 women and 13 men, ranging in age, from 20 to 50 plus, and levels of seniority, from junior writers to editors. 13 were staff at the time of interview, 13 freelance, and 10 have been staff and freelance during their career. Most journalists were second generation, born of immigrant parents from working-class backgrounds in terms of their economic circumstances, but often their parents had high levels of education (the one white journalist interviewed also described their background as working class, which they believe gave them a particular perspective on African coverage). 5 of those whose parents had emigrated to the UK from African countries, or still live on the continent, described their background as middle to upper class. Whatever their background, most journalist interviewees may now be described as middle class due to their professional status. 4 were privately educated, all were educated to degree level, and 5 entered journalism via schemes designed to improve diversity in mainstream UK journalism. 5 interviewees work

in broadcast news, 10 in print, 7 for both mediums at one stage or another, and all online. All were granted anonymity, an issue I discuss below. Journalist interviewees were either contacted cold, through connections I have due to my journalistic background, or approached at events attended during the course of research.

For instance, one broadcast journalist proved difficult to pin down but was high on my list of journalists to interview because they have extensive experience of covering SSA. I had no means of contacting this journalist other than via the standard routes – telephone, email, social media – none of which proved successful. In the end, an event came up that they were attending so I organised access and approached the journalist for an interview. Fortunately, they, along with all my interviewees, were willing participants and incredibly generous with their time.

Most interviews, which were conducted face-to-face with participants based in London[58], or via Skype and phone with those based elsewhere in the UK or in African countries, lasted at least an hour, and one ran across two days. The latter interview was with a seasoned newspaper journalist who was full of insightful anecdotes and gave rich answers. In keeping with my method of gathering data via qualitative interviews to draw upon individual discourse in the analytical process to find commonalities and differences across multiple standpoints, I didn't place rigid time restrictions on interviews so as not to foreclose on potentially important information. I've also opted not to refine my interviewee's quotes too excessively in the empirical chapters so as not to curtail their voices.

Locations for face-to-face interviews were mutually agreed, and mostly didn't take place in people's work places. Instead, we met in informal public spaces such as cafes, libraries, and sometimes people's homes. One interviewee who, at the time of the interview, was dealing with the fall out following a public racist attack against them in their capacity as a journalist, took me to a North African run café to do the interview because, the journalist said, 'I won't get hassled there, we can relax.'

Those interviews that did take place in people's workplaces were done in private meeting rooms, which the interviewee took it upon themselves to book, or in quiet corners, again of the interviewee's choosing. It's notable that of the two interviews that did take place in busier areas of the journalist's workplace, one was with an experienced, senior journalist, clearly confident in their position and therefore comfortable airing their opinions within earshot of colleagues. That said, they still selected a corner table furthest from everyone in the

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[58] I'm based in London.

organisation's cafeteria. The other was with a more junior journalist, and this interview was perhaps the most constrained because we were within earshot of white colleagues whilst discussing my black interviewee's experiences within the organisation.

Race can be a difficult subject to address, whatever your ethnic background, particularly when so much of what's problematic about race is unsaid or invisible. Thus, I wanted to avoid making my interviewees feel uncomfortable or defensive about the institutions they work for, be they INGOs or news organisations. Friere (1972) wrote of a 'culture of silence' that can inhibit cooperation if there's fear of criticism. My hope was that the issues I raised would resonate with my interviewees and their practice, and they'd be less inclined to take difficult questions as criticism, and more as an opportunity to reflect on their experiences. When I approached interviewees to participate in research, I wanted to be as transparent as possible about where I stand in relation to the topics addressed, as I believe such an approach helps balance the power in the interviewer/interviewee relationship. Black journalists approached were very receptive to talking about the issues I wanted to address. INGO employees were slower to respond and some were more reticent about participating, with the exception of black INGO employees approached and white employees with whom I had a previous connection, or who were actively working on diaspora engagement.

Fielding (1993) suggests the interviewer has control. Other commentators (e.g. Ball, 1993) counter that the interviewee is dominant as it's only with their cooperation that the interview holds meaning. In my view, a shared sense of control makes for the most satisfactory outcome. As such, I was led not only by my questions, but also by subjects raised by interviewees. I was struck by the openness of most of my journalist interviewees, and the amount they shared, including personal anecdotes and raw feelings in response to certain questions. I'd hoped my research would resonate, but the length, depth and flow of most interviews indicate that topics addressed struck more of a chord than I'd anticipated.

This finding speaks to the emphasis placed, in both standpoint theory and postcolonial theory generally, on giving individuals who belong to marginalised groups space to speak about their experiences and validate them as knowledge claims. Particularly powerful were responses in relation to coverage of SSA and felt degrees of connectivity with the continent, as well as the impact of race on career progression, accounts which I believe were easily shared with me due to my 'insider' status as researcher and/or related assumptions about my standpoint. I will return to this point of being epistemically privileged, and the methodological issues that accompany such privilege.

All journalist interviewees were asked the same key open-ended questions, such as: 'tell me about your background and why you became a journalist'. Questions were themed to relate to my main research topics: 'diversity and race', 'sub-Saharan Africa and INGOs', 'newsroom practices and pressures'. However, each set of questions was also tailored to the individual journalist, their background, the institution(s) they work for and examples of their work. This was an important means of prompting them to reflect on their experiences as deeply as possible.

Journalist informants were based in the UK, bar one who is based in the USA but reports for a national British newspaper, or in various SSA countries, including Kenya and Nigeria. My overarching criteria for contacting journalist interviewees was that they are black, and either report/ had reported frequently or intermittently on SSA, or have done one off reports for mainstream UK news organisations. I also approached black journalists who covered the 2014-16 Ebola outbreak in West Africa, for reasons explained above and below.

Allowing for flexibility in terms of the extent of reporting participants had done on SSA was important because the nature of journalism means most journalists are generalist, rather than specialist correspondents, thus do not focus on single areas of coverage. In addition, foreign correspondent positions in mainstream Western news organisations are conventionally elitist and the preserve of white men (Broussard, 2013), meaning just targeting specialist correspondents would have severely limited the pool of interviewees.

Organisational and production contexts

My main focus was primarily (and necessarily) on black journalists, not their institutional location. However, I found that the institutional realities of their experiences were also relevant and required explanation. Thus, I drew on political economy in the field of journalism studies to make sense of some of the data my interviewees provided, but I didn't do a political economic study per se. Mapping how the political and economic dimensions of specific UK news organisations shape the experiences of BAME journalists is an area that requires more research.

Here, situating journalist accounts of their experiences of reporting on SSA within organisational and production contexts was an important means of considering general organisational approaches to diversity and representation, and how this influences the content journalists produce and their experience of producing it. Qualitative consideration of

organisational and production contexts would, I hoped, help foreground relations between key actors (journalists and INGO sources), their working practices and texts (Fenton et al., 1998). It would also contribute to the theorisation of 'the important forces that both condition and constrain, as well as facilitate and enable, ethnic minority media involvement in the production of representations' (Cottle, 2000:16).

Interviewing journalists offers insight into their deliberative processes *and* the structures shaping them (Cottle, 2003). But to paint a broader picture of the institutional structures journalist rationalities are situated in, I also interviewed 6 individuals (from a list of 13 drawn up thanks to my insider knowledge of the industry, research and recommendations) within news organisations who have influence over who is employed by their organisation and/or how stories are framed. These included editors, managing editors and individuals in HR (see Appendix 2). The remaining 7 either declined to be interviewed, politely stating they were too busy (despite the long lead-time), or they didn't respond to requests. I originally planned to interview one person occupying one such position from every organisation my journalist interviewees worked for. However, this proved unnecessary as some of my journalist interviewees were senior and in positions of influence within their organisations, so interviewing junior staff within the same organisation or freelancers was more revealing of power structures than conducting additional interviews with senior figures. I also foregrounded the experiences of journalist interviewees via consideration of organisational diversity and equal opportunities literature, and field notes recorded during events related to media diversity and/or reporting on Africa where senior news figures were present.

What was most revealing about such events was not what these senior figures expressed regarding approaches to diversity and/or representations of Africa at their news organisations, but the informal discussions among attendees following talks. Many were journalists who felt strongly that these senior figures were simply upholding expected norms for fear of negative repercussions should they not (Elder-Vass, 2010 in Wright, 2014). Their expressions of the importance of diversity and pluralistic representation at their organisations did not match attendee's experiences of working for these organisations. This gap between public expressions of commitments to diversity and 'better' representation made by senior figures, and people's insider experiences within the institutions some of these senior figures work at, was closed most starkly during a face-to-face interview I had with a white broadcast editor. I met this interviewee at an event where they and one of their senior white journalist employees were publicly uncritical of their organisation's record on diversity. But in private,

and in the knowledge that their interview with me was done on the basis of anonymity, the same editor was very critical.

It's possible my identity as a black researcher, a factor I consider in due course, influenced what this, and other interviewees, felt they ought to say, or felt comfortable revealing. Due to tensions between what interviewees feel is expected of them by the interviewer, their employer, themselves or their peers, or because they may have forgotten certain details (Anderson and Jack, 1991), there's a risk of interviewees lying or omitting information (Wengraf, 2001) during interviews (Wright, 2014). As such, field notes written post interviews where I attended to pauses, laughter, body language, as well as notes collated during events from informal chats, were a rich means of contextualising my data.

My research is not limited to one type of news organisation, but considered, as previously explained, any mainstream news organisation that journalists interviewed have worked for, or currently work for (e.g. newspapers, online, television). Each of these mediums is distinct in terms of how news is presented; competition means news organisations invest heavily in trying to be distinguishable from one another (Bourdieu, 2005), and the culture of each organisation varies.

However, journalists are 'interpretive communities' (Zelizer, 1993), meaning the profession, particularly mainstream UK news, is united by a shared discourse and collective interpretations of key news events. Thus, there's crossover in the field in terms of the newsgathering process and the types of stories covered. Although I'm principally concerned with dominant 'mainstream' news coverage of SSA, some journalist interviewees have also worked for 'peripheral' outlets – such as the black press or for small NGO press teams. It's beyond the scope of this research to consider how/if these 'peripheral' platforms enabled oppositional interpretations of news events to those of the dominant 'interpretive community', but that's an important issue that warrants further study (e.g. see Ogunyemi, 2017).

INGO interviewees

The focus of this research meant it was vital to illuminate the dynamics informing the inclusion of INGOs in the production of news on SSA, and logics influencing calls for greater diversity in the development/humanitarian sector. Such logics reflect, intersect with and cross-fertilise those in mainstream UK news due to the nature of the way the sub-field of reporting on SSA works. Thus, furthering understanding of these intersecting dynamics and logics offers crucial

additional insight into the racial politics of representing SSA in mainstream UK news. I sought to interview key INGO press officers[61] about the difference they feel having more diverse actors involved in the construction and narration of news on SSA may make to representations and understandings of the region, and their attempts to engage with and feature actors of black African heritage to this end.

I approached 9 of the major UK based INGOs, via email and phone, that are actively involved in development work and humanitarian aid in SSA. Individuals from 6 of these organisations agreed to participate. Two – an organisation with a focus on children and another with a long history of working to alleviate humanitarian crises - ignored repeated interview requests. The ninth organisation, which works on equality for girls and children's rights, responded but their news editor had recently left and their replacement felt unable to participate as they were new to the role. I also contacted 5 organisations that are closely associated with the development sector, such as the Department for International Development (DFID), as well as smaller UK based NGOs. The latter organisations were relevant due to their involvement in initiatives highlighting diaspora involvement in development. I secured 10 interviews (see Appendix 3) with people who do or have worked in or with INGO media teams in some capacity. 4 interviewees are of black African heritage, 4 are white European, 2 of Asian heritage, 7 work for organisations listed among the 50 wealthiest NGOs in the UK[62], which is significant in terms of media coverage they're likely to be able to generate, 3 for less well-resourced organisations that were founded with the aim of highlighting and formalising diaspora involvement in development.

Semi-structured interviews with informants focused on three themes. First, due to the push from some development actors for there to be greater acknowledgement of the role diaspora play in development/humanitarian aid, I wanted to talk to INGO interviewees about how this push may transfer to working with diaspora actors to communicate messages differently. Second, it was important to address the extent to which those involved in communicating INGO messages about work in SSA to the mainstream media consider how race and racism may or may not factor in such communication. All interviewees were open to discussing race and racism, topics I believe I approached honestly and sensitively so as to open dialogue

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[61] All my journalist interviewees who report/have reported on SSA expressed views on INGO involvement in such reporting and their relationships with these organisations. Therefore, obtaining the perspectives of INGO employees on their relationships with journalists covering SSA was also an important means of holistically mapping (Bourdieu, 2005) the sub-field of reporting on SSA, as well the social world (Hill Collins, ibid) of actors operating within the field. Interviewing INGO actors added a vital layer to my efforts to develop the concept of PCJFT.

[62] The Guardian, 24.04.2012

(Byrne, 2012). However, INGO interviewees of black African heritage offered fuller responses to questions in this regard, than informants of white European heritage who, with the exception of one interviewee, acknowledged race and racism as significant issues in the sector but were less able to add depth to their answers by way of examples or feelings. Arguably, they were less able to draw on a discourse of 'race cognizance' (Frankenberg, 1993 in Byrne, 2012) and there was a strong sense that, whilst they didn't dismiss these issues and gave related questions thought, it wasn't high on their list of priorities. Black interviewees enriched their responses with multiple anecdotes about their lived experiences and, arguably due to their standpoints as minorities in the development sector, had more to say on the issue of race and racism than their white peers. The third theme my INGO questions focused on was mainstream news coverage of the 2014-16 Ebola crisis in West Africa (see below). All INGO interviewees (see Appendix 3), bar one, were directly or indirectly involved in coverage of the crisis and questions focused on how they sought to communicate related issues to UK news media.

Interviews with two of my INGO respondents were done in person, the rest by phone. All INGO interviews lasted an hour or more, and those with black informants lasted two to three hours. Two of my BAME phone interviewees asked about my ethnic background and there was a shift in tone when they became aware of our shared 'minority' status. None of my white interviewees asked.

Analysing interview data

All journalist and INGO interviews were transcribed, either by me or with Trint software. Each interview had a rough format, due to the way questions were broken into themes, but the interview text was analysed to establish patterns in initial key themes, as well as to find new ones. I annotated each transcription, as well as adding observational notes I'd recorded by hand immediately after each interview. This process was time consuming but produced valuable material. Certain themes generated a great deal of data and clear patterns emerged, such as the emotion related to the experiences of black journalists as well as black INGO employees, whilst other themes became less significant during the analysis. I was interested in my informants' qualitative narration of their views and experiences, as opposed to a variable-led quantitative analysis which risks 'smoothing out' rich detail (Miles and Huberman, 1994:174 in Wright, 2014) and, crucially, standpoints.

This fluid analysis was considered, via the concept of PCJFT, and related theory, in relation to three of my key research foci: black journalists' experiences of reporting on SSA; the role of INGOs as news sources in the reporting of SSA; the organisational and production contexts of reporting on SSA by black journalists. My final research question (what do the above mean for the news media representations of SSA?), was unpicked in light of the aforementioned analysis, as well as Foucauldian inspired discourse analysis, which I now outline.

Discourse analysis of news stories

I combined analysis of interviews with journalists and INGO employees with discourse analysis to consider UK news coverage of the 2014-16 Ebola crisis in West Africa. The aim was to illuminate difficulties that arise in assumptions/assertions that coverage may be 'better' due to the involvement of black journalists and/or INGOs, as well as how content *can* be better.

Although, as Wright (2014) notes, crisis moments are the classic way scholars have engaged with Western media coverage of Africa, these moments have not been extensively explored through a postcolonial lens. Nor have they been considered within an epistemological framework that privileges accounts of black practitioners involved in such coverage. In addition, because crisis moments throw the everyday into disarray, they can offer good opportunities to reflect on organisational norms and values which crisis may throw into sharp focus. The 2014-16 Ebola outbreak, which seemingly fulfilled multiple racial stereotypes of SSA as a 'primitive', 'dangerous' corner of the world, is a good case for considering how/if racialised discourse was considered and negotiated by actors - both journalists and INGO sources - involved in constructing media narratives of the crisis. I explain how the sample of coverage was constructed, why and my epistemological approach to the analysis below.

Selecting news stories

My standpoint as a consumer and producer of media, unused to seeing many people of colour involved in the narration and construction of UK news, factored in my selection of Ebola as a case study. Not only was I deeply saddened, as many were, by the harrowing images and accounts of people's suffering in Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia, the three countries worse affected by the 2014-16 outbreak, I was also struck by the prominence of people of colour involved in the narration of the type of crisis we're traditionally used to seeing white journalists and aid workers mediate for mainstream Western media. Further, how a number of BAME people involved in the narration called attention to race and racism as important factors

in coverage. I strongly *felt* this to be the case too, both in terms of the inclusion of black people (journalists, aid workers) in some of the storytelling, as well as in the problematic *and* refreshing ways some of the stories about the crisis were told.

My hunch was that dynamics playing out in relation to Ebola coverage were a micro reflection of the macro story I wanted to unpack in relation to the place of race in mainstream UK news coverage of SSA, and the involvement of black journalists and INGOs in that coverage. Whilst fleshing out ideas at the beginning of the research process, I undertook discourse analysis of an Ebola story that was led by a BAME narrator and aid worker. I delivered the analysis as part of a conference paper and it provoked such heated discussion I felt compelled to focus on Ebola as a case study. Crucially, I wanted to explore, among other things, whether black practitioners involved in coverage had set out to tell a different story; if they felt they'd been positioned to do this/give the impression of narratives being 'different' due to their involvement; whether they felt their/ that aim was achieved; relations between INGOs and mainstream media during coverage and what consideration, if any, may have been given to mitigating against racial stereotypes in coverage.

Just as there are black-stories that need to be brought to bear on mainstream UK news coverage of SSA, so too is there a backstory. The need to uncover both go hand-in-hand. Foucauldian inspired discourse analysis, which I discuss further here and in Chapter 8, enables us to get at that back-story. As I argue elsewhere, collating the standpoints of black practitioners involved in the production of stories about raced Others which rely, as all stories do, on backstories to be understood, gives us new insight into such narratives. Thus, I wanted to talk to as many of the black journalists, as well as black and white[63] INGO practitioners, who were involved in UK news coverage of the crisis to get as broad a range of standpoints on reporting of Ebola as possible.

I constructed my sample of Ebola coverage from my knowledge of the reporting as a news consumer, and by doing internet searches of coverage across all the mainstream UK news platforms. From there, I drew up a list of 10 BAME journalists who had reported on the 2014-16 outbreak, some of whom were already on my general list of journalists to approach. I contacted them, specifying that I wanted to discuss their coverage of the crisis, in addition to generally focusing on their experiences of being a black journalist working for UK news organisations. I secured interviews with 5 of the 10 journalists approached (see Appendix 1). Again, via an internet search, I drew up a list of all the major UK based INGOs that responded

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[63] Collating the standpoints of black INGO employees wasn't my central research aim, hence race not being a factor in my selection of INGO interviewees.

to the crisis, established which press officers had dealt with coverage of the outbreak, and approached them for interviews. 9 of the 10 press officers interviewed (see Appendix 3) worked on the 2014-16 Ebola relief effort. This process effectively made the final content analysed a 'volunteer sample' (Seale, 2012) in that those interviewed voluntarily responded to a request for research participants. However, it's worth underlining that individuals involved with this specific news event were directly approached, rather than respondents being recruited via a generic advert or request.

During interviews with journalists and INGO press officers who covered Ebola, I asked questions about their stories, 4 of which are included in the content analysis in Chapter 8, but also more general questions about their experiences of reporting on Ebola in order to avoid omitting potentially important information. In addition to discussing content I pointed to, most interviewees also discussed other examples of stories they'd done about the outbreak, or entirely separate SSA news stories they highlighted as interesting examples of their work in the region. Whilst these other examples, which touched on issues such as FGM and Boko Haram, didn't form part of my content analysis (which explores print, online articles and televised reports), interviewees' discussion of other stories enriched my understanding of the field, as did their discussion of the general context of covering the 2014-16 Ebola crisis for mainstream UK news platforms.

 The 4 stories included in the final content analysis were selected because they fulfilled the criteria of being narrated by reporters of colour who'd worked with INGOs in some capacity to construct the coverage for mainstream UK news platforms. The interviewees who helped construct the content analysed had also done substantial enough reporting on the 2014-16 Ebola crisis to have a view on the coverage and, importantly, could articulate their intentions in detail vis-à-vis the storytelling. Two of the reports analysed were selected because, during interview, the journalists behind the reports ('Emerson' and 'Billie', see Appendix 1) highlighted them as examples of content where they'd tried to subvert racially stereotypical reporting. I selected the other two reports as important examples to discuss with the journalist ('Jamie', see Appendix 1) and INGO press officer ('Hilary', see Appendix 3) who'd been involved in their construction, because these reports featured black narrators/experts and seemed to be attempts to activate a 'slide' (Hall, 2013) of meaning.

The World Health Organisation declared the 2014 Ebola outbreak over in January 2016. The content analysed here was aired/published at the height of media attention in late 2014 to early 2015.

Foucauldian discourse analysis as method

Due to the often-silenced nature of the racism I'm interested in, I take it to belong to what some scholars refer to as the 'new racism' (Gilroy, 1987; Van Dijk, 2000). This is not about overtly racist statements or political economic systems, such as colonialism. Instead, it refers to subtle, often obscured forms of racism that are woven so tightly into certain discourses they become invisible, normative ways of thinking about certain people and places. Further, as Van Dijk (2000:34) explains, the 'new racism' is discursive because it's 'simply' expressed in talk and text. Such expression doesn't make it less damaging than 'old' forms, which, as Foucault's model of discourse analysis is able to show us, it's not disconnected from. But problematically, such 'narrative constructions of 'race' […] can […] place it 'beyond investigation' (Gunaratnam, 2003:115).

Foucauldian inspired discourse analysis, coupled with the way standpoint theory enables the knowledge of marginalised groups involved in narrative constructions of race and/or raced Others to be validated, is an effective method for getting beyond such barriers. Unlike the ahistoricism of methods like semiotics (Hall, 2001), Foucault's historicisation of discourse enables exposure of racialised meanings subsumed by terms like 'development' when it's used in relation to black African Others. Discourse analysis can help show why development, for instance, is not a transparent term, but is burdened with historically rooted, stereotypical meanings of black Africans as 'backward' (Hall, 1997).

In addition, Foucauldian discourse analysis is valuable for my purposes as it enables inquiry into fields of knowledge and practice within and across texts (Tonkiss, 2004). This includes media texts, which serve as sites for the production and reproduction of social meanings. Discourse analysis allows close textual reading of such sites, enabling us to ask *how* Western knowledge of SSA has been framed by development discourse to such an extent that many have difficulty thinking about Southern regions outside developmentalist terms (Escobar, 1995).

Although discourse is a slippery concept in Foucault's work, broadly he used the term to refer to the historical legacies of statements and terms, which enable them to have meaning. Foucauldian discourse analysis has been identified as a developing subdiscipline within qualitative social research (Diaz Bone et al., 2007). It describes methods that are informed by Foucault's conception of discourse, which he mapped in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault, 1972), a work that was hailed as a methodological accompaniment to *The Order of Things* (Foucault, 1970). Although discourse analysis is rooted in linguistics' concern with single

speech acts (e.g. Fairclough, 2003), it has developed into a method used in many disciplines, including media studies. This breadth of use, it's argued (e.g. Diaz Bone et al., 2007), is due to Foucault's conception of discourse as a system that doesn't just frame speech acts, but orders social structures and discursive practice. As opposed to the approach to discourse analysis within linguistics, which focuses on the technical use of language (Tonkiss, 2004), I'm interested in discourse analysis as a socio-historical approach to 'how social categories, knowledges and relations are shaped by discourse' (Tonkiss, ibid:373).

The way statements come together to form a discursive system was Foucault's concern. Discursive systems are conceived of as a linking together of statements that carry meaning due to sets of rules for organising and producing knowledge within specific contexts. New statements within a discursive system build on already established rules so they can be understood. It's Foucault's theorisation of discourse as 'a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – i.e. […] representing – a particular kind of knowledge about a topic' (Hall, 1992:290 in Tonkiss, 2004: 373) that enables researchers to investigate how discourses set parameters for discussing and understanding certain topics. Further, Foucault conceived of discourse not just as setting parameters, but as helping to produce 'the very categories, facts and objects they claim to describe' (Foucault, 1972:49 in Tonkiss, 2004:373).

When thinking about silenced racist expression within statements, the intentions of individuals who *enact* statements must be accounted for, hence my method of interviewing those involved in the construction of news reports I analyse on Ebola. However, it's the discursive systems individuals function within that's constitutive of statements, rather than just the individuals enacting them (Diaz Bone et al., 2007). Thus, it's crucial to locate statements within socio-historical contexts to understand why and how particular discourses emerged as fields of knowledge, and the role institutions, such as news organisations and INGOs, play in keeping statements in circulation. As Diaz Bone et al. (2007) outline, for Foucault the process of discourse analysis involves: asking what knowledge or object is being discursively produced; what logic is informing the way the terminology is constructed and who authorised such construction; finally, what's the purpose of the discourse. I applied these questions during my content analysis, always trying to remain mindful of my standpoint, and the standpoints of the journalists who constructed the stories.

Foucault's conception of discourse has made discourse analysis particularly useful to postcolonial scholars (e.g. Mudimbe, 1988; Escobar, 1995; Said,1978). It's Said's (1978) work on Orientalism which arguably turned Foucault's model into a method for attending to discourse as a tool that mediates power; producing people and places as objects of knowledge

within the context of colonialism. In this way, discourses are theorised as producing dominant representations of reality, and 'truths' about Others, which involve a complex power play with different institutions and actors working to establish dominant representations.

In the case of mainstream UK news coverage of SSA, such an approach to discourse analysis as a methodological tool enables us to identify historically rooted terms woven into such coverage, and show how histories informing its construction enable meaning making today. Further, this approach allows us to show that it's discourses, not the things-in-themselves, which produce knowledge (Hall, 2001).

That discourses are productive of dominant representations of reality, also highlights the usefulness of discourse analysis as a methodological approach for analysing news as a site that purports to be a factual representation of reality. I agree with theorists (e.g. Hall, 1973; Hartley, 1982; Webb, 2009) who stipulate that the trouble with news lies in this claim to truth, and the fact that consumers of news acquire knowledge of Others via the mediation of those truths. Thus, it's crucial to highlight theories which point to the constructed nature of news. This is so we understand that what we come to know of Others through representations in news are not neutral facts but, as Hall (1973) contends, part of an ideological discourse with operational values which produce familiar recognitions within the reader. In other words, whilst news at its most base level – its name – suggests it simply imparts information grounded in nothing other than the fact that it's new, theorists (e.g. Hall, 1973) assert that news, and our reading of it, is rooted in what we already know of the world and Others. As such, there's always a back-story, which is old, rather than new, and embedded within the discourses that underpin society.

Understanding how these back-stories function can be extended by highlighting Foucault's limited but significant thinking on racism in his 1976 lectures ('*Ill faut defender la societe'*), in which he emphasised the mobility of racial discourses through time and place (Stoler 2002b). Racial discourses are thus repeatedly reinscribed beneath different themes. Discussing Foucault's 1976 lectures on the centrality of race to 'biopower'[64], Stoler explains:

> 'Foucault alerts us to a […] complex process. This […] includes the simultaneous "reinscription", "encasement", and "recovery" […] of older racial discourses as they are reshaped into new ones, understood as a layering of sedimented hierarchical form.' (Stoler, 2002b:149)

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[64] Foucault's concept of biopower (1976 in Stoler 2002b) refers to how he conceives of bodies caught in webs of power. Their position within those webs is determined by categories such as race.

Here we can see how theorising around racialised, colonially rooted discourses, such as development (Escobar, 1995), is informed by Foucault's (1976 in Stoler 2002b) assertion that racist ideologies are reused. Thus, even though the terms beneath which they are used change, racial discourses maintain a coherency and permanence by virtue of the fact that they are layered (Stoler, 2002b) through time. Indeed, they could not meaningfully exist without the themes, images and opinions (Foucault, 1972) that preceded them.

Whilst the notion of layering and the power of discourse to re-attach itself to new ideas is useful for understanding how racism is sustained, it's also problematic as it suggests it's impossible to escape racialised discourse. And my content analysis is precisely concerned with how racism is sustained, as well as the possibility of escape from racist discourse. Usefully, Foucault's assertion that discourse is marked by 'different possibilities that it opens of reanimating already existing themes […] of making it possible, with a particular set of concepts, to play different games,' (Foucault, 1972 in Stoler, 2002a:379) suggests a unity of systems of statements which sustain racism, as well as the opportunity for disrupting them. To be clear, even though this conception of discourse indicates different modes of thinking are central to it (therefore open to disruption), the new 'games' such thinking informs, depend on 'already existing themes' thus unifying them with old discourses. It's the job of the discourse analyst to uncover such unity. This also enables questioning of whether 'old' racialised themes operate, or not, in 'new' forms of discourse and their representational practices. However, in undertaking discourse analysis of racism, it's important to be aware of the risk, through the uncovering process, of reproducing the forms of racism we seek to undo (Gunaratnam, 2003: 19). I explore how these issues play out in Chapter 8.

Conducting the research as outsider-within: messiness, issues and solutions

Through her concept of 'outsider within', Hill Collins (ibid) asserts that black women benefit from an epistemic privilege of operating within the academy as professionally recognised insiders and as outsiders who are doubly decentred as women and black people. As Brown (2012) explains, researchers who situate their work partially or fully in black feminist epistemology, like standpoint theory, as I do, may encounter resistance to their findings 'by a system predicated upon a Eurocentric masculinist framework. As agents of knowledge, Black women draw from their lived experiences, placed within a particular set of material, historical, and epistemological conditions, to anchor specific knowledge claims' (Brown, 2012: 21).

There are clear advantages and disadvantages, then, to my main epistemological framework. The disadvantages include the possibility of having to justify the validity of my research within an academic system where white male thought dominates. Further, my methodological approach raises issues with regard to my being able to contribute generalisable or 'objective truths' to knowledge due to my 'insider' status that meant I was subjectively close to the majority of my respondents because of our shared racial backgrounds and professional experience in the case of my journalist interviewees; and in the case of INGO interviewees, due to the fact that I have personal experience of the sector because my mother worked for an INGO. I have also had dealings with a range of NGO press officers during my journalistic career.

My 'closeness' to my research subject also meant I lay myself open to the aforementioned potential critique regarding a perceived lack of objectivity and/or robustness such 'closeness' may bring. However, it's crucial to highlight, as Brown (2012) does, a common double standard regarding academic legitimacy whereby white scholars who research minority groups, or groups with similar backgrounds to theirs (e.g. white male academics researching fields dominated by white men), rarely have the objectivity of their identity questioned. Further, I follow black feminist scholars like Brown (2012) in my contention that I'm not seeking to reveal generalisable truths, but the partiality of *all* truths which are facilitated by, and contingent upon, our identities and experiences, to take seriously the experiences of black journalists and contribute valuable *different* data to scholarly work on coverage of SSA in mainstream Western news. Therefore, a significant advantage to my epistemological framework was, to borrow hooks' (1984) phrase, that I could capture a reality from 'the outside in and from the inside out.'

Although my research focus has shifted along the way, questions of race and racism have always remained central to my concerns. I was aware from the outset that this had pros and cons attached. My research interest certainly arose from my lived experiences as a person of colour, rather than as a black woman specifically as I'm not focusing on the experiences of women alone. That my research stemmed from my lived experiences imbues it, as standpoint theory underlines, with authority. My racial identity and status as a journalist also, I believe, gave me a degree of epistemic privilege - enabling ease of access to many interviewees, either because I had some form of connection with them, or because I was able to use words like 'we' in my written approaches to journalist interviewees who I didn't know. Such phrasing came naturally, but I was also aware that I used it to try and put potential informants at ease, particularly in relation to talking about a subject – race and racism - they may have been more reticent of talking to a white researcher about. Putting myself in the frame also suggested I

would be a sympathetic listener, which was my intention as I wanted to 'give voice' to their experiences. Back (2007:7) argues that, 'our culture is one that speaks rather than listens […] Listening to the world is not an automatic faculty but a skill that needs to be trained.' I believe my training and experience as a journalist make me a skilled listener.

During the interview process, the fact that I was not seen by most interviewees as researcher-as-stranger (Clifford, 1986), became apparent in a number of ways which had benefits and drawbacks. The drawbacks were mostly due to assumptions made by some interviewees that I shared or implicitly understood their experiences and perspectives. Such assumptions produced 'gaps' in conversations that were often peppered with knowing glances and comments like, 'you know how it is…'. I mitigated against my temptation to nod in response, often feeling I do 'know how it is', and instead prompted interviewees to articulate their views as fully as possible by returning to my semi-structured questions. The semi-structured interview format helped sustain my themed line of questioning, rather than slipping into conversation led by uncritical assumptions based on shared commonsense understandings, that I felt I had with many of my interviewees, of institutions, practices (Bryman, 2004 in Wright, 2015: 139 – 140) and the place of race within them.

However, my views also differed significantly from some interviewees, revealing the complexities of the insider/outsider status. Even though belonging to a particular racial group is salient for your sociopolitical identity in the UK, insider/outsider status is also predicated upon multiple other factors (see also Crenshaw, 1989; Phoenix et al, 2004, 2006), such as class, gender, education, sexuality, accent, that may make race of secondary importance (Brown, 2012:22; Winddance Twine, 2000:9). Thus, I was conscious that my shared racial background with many interviewees, shared professional background, or 'insider' knowledge of INGOs, was no guarantee I'd be able generate more data from interviewees than other researchers (Few, Stephens & Rouse-Arnett, 2003)[65].

However, my concern wasn't with connecting with my informants at every key intersection of our identities, which was fortunate because we didn't, nor should we be expected to. As

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[65] I found connections and differences with all my interviewees who were often as keen to learn about me as I was about them. Intersectionality (Crenshaw, ibid) formed a spontaneous part of my interviews with black women journalists who often connected gendered forms of oppression with racial discrimination. Education, age, politics and class also featured to differing degrees in interviews with journalists

Moffatt (1992:207) asserts, 'identifying with 'them' does not necessarily mean you are like them, or that they are like one another, or that they all trust or identify with you.' Nor was my aim to produce more data than other researchers interested in the narration of SSA in Western news just because I shared racial background with most of my informants, and race is at the centre of my research interests. Instead, my focus was on producing *different* data due to my insider/outsider status.

The question of anonymity

It was vital to protect the identity of interviewees to ensure they were able to speak openly without their participation in research impacting negatively on their professional lives. However, a promise of anonymity gave rise to immediate concerns for me. First, due to the relatively small number of BAME journalists working for mainstream UK news organisations, and because some discussed specific news events they've been involved in, they may be potentially identifiable. Second, the issue of whether the journalists will be identifiable was problematised by my research question which required discussion of the organisational contexts of the media outlets the journalists interviewed work for. As such, I decided not to name these organisations as it may have exposed the journalists' identities. Instead, I refer to organisations generically as 'a national newspaper' or 'a public service broadcaster' and so on.

Although I never intended this to be a study of media organisations, and I'm mainly interested in these organisations to contextualise the experiences of the journalists interviewed, not naming the organisations felt slightly constraining when analysing the journalist's experiences and writing the chapter on institutions. For instance, one of the BBC's stated purposes is that it has a 'global outlook'[67]. No other UK news media organisation operates under such an obligation with regard to international news coverage and there were differences between journalists' experiences of reporting on SSA for the BBC compared to those working for commercial organisations. However, there were also similarities in terms of the use of INGO sources and experiences of racism across all organisations. But these experiences were felt differently due to expectations journalists had of liberal versus conservative institutions, as

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[67]The BBC's global outlook means: 'BBC viewers, listeners and users can rely on the BBC to provide internationally respected news services to audiences around the world and they can expect the BBC to keep them in touch with what is going on in the world, giving insight into the way people live in other countries.'
(http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/insidethebbc/whoweare/publicpurposes/world.html,accessed 08.04.2015).

well as support structures for minority journalists in some institutions. Defining institutions in general terms, as I do in Chapter 6, was enough to get at these differences and similarities.

Finally, I choose not to name INGOs for similar reasons. Again, I'm not doing an institutional study of INGOs, but am interested more generally in INGOs as actors in the sub-field of reporting on SSA.

Conclusion

This chapter argued that standpoint theory offers a valuable epistemological framework for illustrating the centrality of race to the production of mainstream UK news on SSA, by beginning with the experiences of those who report on the region and know what it is to be raced: black journalists. Such a framework compliments an approach situated in postcolonial journalistic field theory because it inserts alternative knowledge into Western power structures (Young, 2003:7), illuminating one such structure – the mainstream UK journalistic field and the sub-field of reporting on SSA – in new ways.

Crucially, centralising race in the sub-field of reporting on SSA will help map the field more holistically. The positionalities of INGOs within the sub-field, as well as institutional views on and approaches to diversity, inclusion and more pluralistic representation in the mainstream news media and INGOs , is also vital to this mapping.

My research design, which involved interviewing black journalists about their experiences of reporting on SSA, INGO staff about their involvement, as well as broadly considering the organisational and production contexts of such reporting and undertaking content analysis to explore news coverage some interviewees discussed, is multi-layered and complex. But I suggest this reflects the complexities of what I'm seeking to unravel. Indeed, there are difficulties attached to designing a project that's trying to get at the *difficulties* of investigating race and racism, and the way it's constructed and experienced on an individual and institutional level, is both lived and symbolic, as well as being simultaneously overrepresented and unsaid. My hope is that this research will weave these complexities together to convey a rich and valuable story about the racial politics of representing SSA in present day mainstream British news media.

Chapter 5

'Standpoint' and 'habitus' in the journalistic field: black journalists' experiences of reporting on sub-Saharan Africa

As studies of journalism show, the raced, classed and gendered subjectivities, or habitus (Bourdieu, 2005), of journalists matter in the production of news (e.g. Mahtani, 2005; Broussard, 2013). This chapter explores how the habitus and standpoints of journalists of colour may motivate them to want to engage in disrupting stereotypical modes of reporting produced by a 'white British boys club' (Bunce, 2010). In addition, I discuss how hearing the experiences of black journalists, who find themselves as 'outsiders within' (Hill Collins, 1998) both in the field in SSA countries, as well as in UK newsrooms, is revealing of ongoing racism within the journalistic field, even though racism may not always be seen at the level of the text in the form of 'negative' representations (e.g. Bunce, 2017). Racism that journalists of colour experience in the field and in newsrooms 'back home' in the UK, leads to forms of difficult internal conflict (Fanon, 1986 [1952]; Du Bois, 1994 [1903]; West, 1993). This conflict has material consequences, as highlighted elsewhere, such as black journalists leaving the field of reporting on SSA, or leaving the journalistic profession all together.

These matters must be taken seriously. A failure to do so will prohibit long called for systemic changes from occurring in relation to the treatment of race in mainstream UK news media, and in turn, to representations of SSA, which understandings of race are integral to. To reiterate, there's no point discussing the extent to which Africa's media image may or may not remain stuck in racially stereotypical tropes in mainstream Western news media (the UK here), as is the focus of much discussion in academic and practitioner circles (e.g. Scott, 2017; Wainaina, 2005), without considering the racialised dynamics that float beneath the text at the level of news production. Further, how these dynamics impact on the experiences of journalists of colour, by sustaining 'normative whiteness' (Law, 2002) and, as highlighted elsewhere, frequently 'fixing' (Bhabha, 1983) the 'difference' journalists of colour may seek to bring to coverage of SSA.

Africa and the 'habitus' and 'standpoints' of black journalists

Brothers, sisters, countrymen,

You'd better get on board.

Six steamships want to sail away,

Loaded with a heavy load.

It's gwina take us all back home,

Yes, every native child.

And when we get there,

What a time…

Flying home on the Black Star Line.

'Black Star Line,' 1924 (in Grant, 2008:184)

The African continent has always featured in the politics, culture and identity of the black diaspora. From Marcus Garvey's pioneering vision of establishing the Black Star Line, a fleet of black owned ships that the Jamaican born organiser of the Universal Negro Improvement Association envisioned sailing across the Atlantic in the early 1920s, re-connecting the descendants of slaves in the West with Africa, and all the opportunities the continent was seen to offer them and them to it; to the Afrocentric fashions popularised in Europe and America by African-American artists like Queen Latifah and KRS One in the 1980s and 90s. As Hall writes (1990:224), Africa is at the historical centre of the identity of black people whose ancestors were chained, transported, sold, and who also freely migrated across, and traded with, Europe, the Americas and other regions centuries before, as well as during, slavery, colonialism, and in the post-colonial era. As a result, the continent is woven through the history of black identities, even though those identities are 'far from […] eternally fixed in some essentialised past', and 'are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power' (Hall, 1990: 225).

To be sure, Africa is a region with which black people within and outside the diaspora have imagined and actual connections; are associated with in racially reductive as well as consciously emancipatory ways; and engage with at the level of cultural production, be it film, photography, literature, music or journalism, to re-narrate the story of Africa in the Western world as part of the struggle against racism. In turn, many have sought to make sense of the

complex, contradictory and ambivalent contours of their identities, re-narrate their stories as African descendants, and challenge racist perceptions of black people.

As we will see from the data discussed here, such identities, and the differing ways connectivities to, and associations with Africa feature in them, inform the habitus and standpoints of the black journalists interviewed. We recall habitus (Bourdieu, 2005) refers to the socialised subjectivities that individuals take into fields with them. These subjectivities are constrained, to greater or lesser degrees, 'by structures of power and ideology' (Phillips, 2015:7) that people encounter within institutional fields, the journalistic one here. In turn, ideas and experiences of Africa, both lived and imagined, and acquired through family, the education system, professional life and other structures, including the media, that contribute to long-term socialisation, are threaded through the habitus of black journalists, and inform their standpoints to differing degrees.

The concept of standpoints, as discussed, refers to positions we occupy in the social world, and thus in the journalistic field, from which knowledge of the world, and the journalistic field which mediates it, must be built. Standpoint theory (Hill Collins, ibid) emphasises the raced (and gendered) individual and their political stance/action they may engage in due to their experiences as marginalised Others, whereas habitus is more explicitly about the generic subject's relationship to structures. Considering the two concepts in unison enables us to develop a textured sense of the dynamics between agency, experiences and practices shaped by one's raced location in social structures (Benson & Neveu, 2005:3), including the journalistic field.

Thus, it's pertinent to map the experiences of journalists of colour who report on SSA, particularly given the desire expressed by some organisations (news media and INGOs, see Chapters 6 & 7) to have journalists of colour cover African news stories as a means of activating a 'slide' (Hall, 2013) of meaning, and seemingly break with stereotypical modes of reporting. This is so we can understand this desire from the perspective of journalists who seemingly fulfill it, thereby creating a more holistic account of the field of reporting on SSA and the centrality of race to it. How do black journalists feel about Africa and their relations and/or association with the continent? Did they enter journalism, in part, with the aim of countering racial stereotypes, including those perpetuated about the African continent? Do they mostly feel, as some interviewees state, that they cover the continent differently to their white Western colleagues?

Research participants, unsurprisingly, offer an array of responses to these questions. But there are clear, dominant themes. These include a strong sense from those who grew up in the

West, that they were directly and indirectly associated with Africa by white people, even before they'd perhaps made those associations themselves. As 'Harper', a freelance journalist who reports for print and broadcast media, recalls:

'I remember growing up in the 80s in Europe. It was […] the famine in Ethiopia and an old lady ran up to me with some bread because she'd read about starving Africans (laughs). I was so confused and my parents were so upset. I was too young to make the connection that this woman was linking me, as a black kid, to what she'd seen in the media, but looking back […] it just shows how news can limit people's perceptions.'

Due to such racially reductive experiences, this journalist explains that part of their motivation for entering the profession was to extend the stories of black people's lives in the Western public sphere. Other journalist interviewees echo these sentiments. From those who've lived in African countries and did not see the realities they experienced there reflected in Western media, 'when I came to the UK in the early 90s, very little of what I saw and read looked much like any African country I'd ever lived in or visited. I became a journalist with the sole aim of trying to change that…I'm still trying' ('Vivian'); to those who have only lived in Europe but always felt a keen sense that for black people, as newspaper journalist, 'Kim', put it, 'there's an official script […] then there's one that's true for you'. They came to suspect that the same was true for coverage of Africa.

Black privilege and the Western gaze

Interviewees also feel, generally speaking, that they bring distinct inter-cultural empathy and connectivity to storytelling on raced Others because of their standpoints as raced subjects. In turn, this connectivity, which we may think of as 'black privilege', is often recognised by the subjects of certain stories, which affords black journalists greater access in the field than their white, Western colleagues. 'Emerson', a staff print and online journalist, explains:

'When I was covering Ebola in Sierra Leone for (name of broadsheet), being black meant I could make myself anonymous and that put people at ease. I was able to visit hospitals and […] villages and […] no one questioned me.'

Acknowledging 'black privilege' in reporting on SSA, which as per the accounts from journalists above and below, influences story access and perspectives on coverage in a range of ways, means it's vital not to use 'Western gaze' in broad-brush terms, as we've seen there is a tendency to do in scholarly work on Africa's media image. Instead, we must account for those who may have migrated to, or been born and raised in the West, who are part of the long-standing and large African diaspora. This diaspora must be acknowledged as forming part of

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the Western news audience, as well as being employed by mainstream Northern news organisations and involved in constructing coverage of Africa. Such news journalists occupy a unique position in relation to this coverage: having a lived understanding of what it means to be raced Others in the West, and so particular insight into, and feelings about, how raced Others elsewhere in the world, particularly those with whom they share heritage, may be represented. 'Addison', an editor who threatened to resign from their commercial broadcast news employer over what they considered to be racist coverage of a news event in an African country, explains that it was only them, the sole black journalist in the newsroom, who took issue with the story.

> 'I had a completely different perspective on it to everyone else. The whole idea of me having African heritage and trying to reclaim the narrative is […] antithetical to my colleague's existence. When I complained about the piece it put me in a really bad place with my boss. In the end they decided to run the story but edit out the bit I said was offensive. My boss calls me the next morning and says, 'I know you said you want nothing to do with this […] but we're going with the version that's in line with what you asked'. I was like 'yeess', and he's like, 'well, it's just this other interview we want to run with it […], we really need someone who understands the cultural sensitivities […] I was like, 'so now it's useful to have a black woman's gaze'.'

This journalist's experience speaks to the way the 'Western gaze' must be hyphenated with race and, in this case, gender (see also Crenshaw, ibid; Phoenix et al, ibid). In the British journalistic field, particular raced or gendered 'gazes' are called upon for certain stories and this plays out across several levels. The first, discussed in Chapter 6, relates to institutional 'needs', which may be expressed directly by staff within the institution and/or in institutional diversity literature, to have journalists of colour available to cover stories featuring other people of colour. Such circumstances may be experienced by journalists as 'racial profiling' (Pritchard et al, 2007, in Saha, 2018), whereby a journalist's repertoire is institutionally limited by the colour of their skin due to their predominantly being assigned stories featuring other people of colour. The second, as in the aforementioned journalist's case, relates to having black African heritage and entering the journalistic field with that heritage having shaped your habitus and standpoint. This, in turn, may give you a different perspective on certain stories and lead you to *wanting* to largely engage with stories related to black African lives and attempting to alter representations in the process.

Journalists of colour, as 'Addison' experienced, may also have to shoulder the burden of having to raise concerns about racism. Such a burden can be especially challenging when you're the

only person of colour in the newsroom. Subsequently, as scholarly work on race and racism shows (e.g. Ahmed, 2012), those who flag problems regarding race and racism, *become* the problem and have to assume responsibility for helping to 'right' the 'wrong'. As 'Addison' encountered, assuming such responsibility, or the burden of representation, within the journalistic field may involve being asked by the organisation to participate in a story the journalist feels uncomfortable with, as a means of making that story look less problematic. In such scenarios, as scholarly work on diversity shows (e.g. Ahmed, 2012), the institution usually winds up in a more comfortable position than the individual tasked with making things more 'comfortable'. None-the-less, 'Addison's' intervention regarding a racist aspect of an African news story, did result in a particularly offensive element being edited out. I suggest this demonstrates how a journalist's agency, underpinned by their standpoint, may not be constrained by the doxa of news media organisations to such an extent that narrative disruption isn't possible.

However, 'Addison's' seniority arguably lent them more autonomy and agency than a junior journalist may enjoy, enabling them to speak out. That said, like a number of black journalist interviewees at both junior and senior levels, 'Addison' has freelanced, so is experienced at generating income in the field as a non-staff member and thus doesn't feel so reliant upon their organisation:

> 'I don't see it as a job for life, I've got other plans that don't involve this place. Obviously, I'd rather not be sacked, but if that's the price I have to pay for speaking out about something I find deeply offensive, then at least I can live with myself in the knowledge that I have a clear conscious. If they had left that bit in, I would have resigned.'

In addition, 'Addison's' standpoint, as someone who's passionate about how Africa is represented, and has been publicly opinionated on the subject, meant not raising a complaint would not only have been personally problematic, but would have conflicted with their public persona and thus the reputation they've built as a journalist. Indeed, some of this journalist's contacts who are involved in campaigning around the issue the story tackled, became aware of the problematic segment and got in touch with 'Addison' to express their concerns. 'Addison' explains they had already asked their boss to cut the segment, but arguably complaints from outside gave them further ammunition. In other words, 'Addison's' standpoint was strengthened by the collective standpoint of others (Hill Collins, ibid).

Black journalists' feeling free to speak their mind, as a result of their experiences of racism in the industry, or the experiences of others like them, can also, ironically, be seen as another way 'black privilege' manifests in the journalistic field generally, rather than specifically in

relation to coverage of Africa. As 'Riley', a staff newspaper journalist, explains in response to a question about how they feel they've managed to sustain a relatively long career in mainstream journalism:

'It's difficult because I mean...I can't... you know, you get on with it but I've never... I never felt I would have a... career here. I never felt I would have any kind of career progression here because I saw the kind of institution it was. [...] it was so Oxbridge, so, you know, middle class and … it just felt like … they weren't interested in people like me at all. And in a way that was quite liberating because the stuff I've done, I've never worried about being unpopular because I'm not worried about the job prospects [...]. So I've always felt free to talk up and you might not like what I've got to say but… you know [...] seeing the industry for what it is in a way that's made me not worry about pointing out organisational flaws.'

Straddling a quest for 'passionate research' on, and ambivalence towards, Africa

I now focus on how and why ideas of, feelings about and connectivities with Africa feature in the habitus and standpoints of black journalists, and how black journalists operationalise this element of their habitus and standpoint within the journalistic field. How journalists of colour experience their 'Africaness' via mainstream Western news media, and the impact such experiences can have on their habitus and sense of self, is also explored.

Protectionist journalism

As Hall (1990:222) writes, 'practices of representation [...] implicate the positions from which we speak or write – the positions of enunciation'. Such positions, which we may also conceive of as habitus which inform the standpoints that we may attempt to fold into 'practices of representation', are fluid and alter depending on where we're located at any one time, what we're speaking of and who we're speaking to. These positions shape all our cultural identities, but it's black diaspora identity, and the levels of connectivity felt by this diaspora to Africa, that concerns Hall in *'Cultural Identity and Diaspora'* (1990), and concerns me here.

Hall (1990) proposes at least two approaches to cultural identity. The first conception relates to a collective identity shared by people with common ancestry and history. For Hall (1990), such a conception, which was central to post-colonial struggles and the forging of the Pan-African political project, remains a potent force in the representational practices of previously marginalised peoples. A 'rediscovery' of this identity may take the form of:

'passionate research…directed by the secret hope of discovering beyond […] self-contempt […] some […] beautiful […] era whose existence rehabilitates us […] in regard to ourselves and […] others.' (Fanon, 2001:169 [1961])

Research done in this vein, Hall (1990) proposes, may be a response to how, as Fanon (2001:169 [1961]) writes, 'colonisation […] turns to the past of oppressed people, and distorts […] and destroys it.' This powerful articulation of having parts of your heritage distorted to such an extent that you seek to disassociate yourself from it, but perhaps later in life engage in journalistic research motivated by a desire to correct such distortion, and the effect it had on your ideas of yourself and ideas others had of you, is echoed by a number of my interviewees. I call the form of journalism they embark on in this regard 'protectionist journalism', in the sense that such journalism is motivated by a desire to shield a country, or region, from 'representational harm' (Couldry, 2013) inflicted by media in other countries.

'Harper', who chose a freelance career to forge greater journalistic freedom than they felt a staff job would give them, including producing 'protectionist' journalism about SSA, explains that growing up in Europe and regularly visiting their father's country of origin in SSA, gave them invaluable insight into the distorted, racialised ways the region is often thought about and represented in Europe. This led to them wanting to find ways, as they put it, to *'protect'* the place which they consider a second home.

> 'I'd go on holiday to my dad's country as a kid and close white friends would say, 'I'd love to come'. But I've never taken them […] it's just so personal because it's my family…I want to keep it to myself. Not in a shameful way, but because it's so precious and I didn't want anyone to judge it differently because of the way it's portrayed here. Being able to write about Africa as a journalist now, and my father's country in particular, is really liberating. I'm freelance so I choose what I want to portray and I choose not to write about negative stuff. That's empowering for me, I've felt really proud.'

'Addison', who grew up in Britain, explains how they felt strongly that working as a correspondent in SSA would be an opportunity to tell stories they'd never seen told in mainstream UK news media. In doing so, 'Addison' hoped to counter the stereotypical narratives that made them want to disassociate from their African heritage as a child:

> 'For me the correspondent job was about physically having access to Africa and a way of engaging that I felt was constructive, both intrinsically and in changing the perception. That was 100 per cent my motivation for taking the job – changing the perception. I was

like […], 'this is such an amazing opportunity for the […] Africa correspondent to be a person who actually gets […] Africa, I was born to do this job'.'

This journalist's account of pursuing a prestigious correspondent post with the intention of changing British perceptions of Africa speaks to Fanon's (2001 [1961]) decades old assertion that post-colonial subjects wanting to engage with 'passionate research', is triggered by a desire to re-narrate the stories of ex-colonies. The fact that 'Addison' reports having had a less lucrative package than other foreign correspondents at their organisation could be interpreted as the institution exploiting that urge for 'passionate research' and extracting 'racial capital' (Leong, 2012) to the benefit of institutional whiteness. Indeed, this is how things sometimes felt to 'Addison', who found during their posting that they often had to fight hard to obtain the same institutional support given to white colleagues posted elsewhere, as well as argue with editors to get stories through that didn't comply with standard tropes around war, famine, corruption and development:

'I won some arguments and even those stories I'd hope to avoid, I think doing them from my perspective as someone with African heritage made them more nuanced than they may otherwise have been.'

'Addison's' experience, and the experiences of other journalists interviewed, also powerfully underlines Foucault's (1976 in Stoler 2002b) observation regarding the mobility of racial discourses through time. Such discourses, as we've seen, continue to inform the experiences of people of colour today, inspiring within some the need to undertake 'passionate research' and report in a protectionist or strategic way. As 'Emerson' explains:

'I used to take the attitude that I'm going to tell the story as it is, I don't want to edit my stories in a particular way because I'm trying to convince someone to think one way or the other. But having worked in London newsrooms and heard some of the ridiculously stereotypical angles people come up with I've returned to working in (name of African country) with a different perspective. Yes, corruption is off the scale in some areas and it's depressing […], but I'm like you know what, I'm not going to put that line in even though this person said that. […] I find myself self-editing pieces because I don't want racists to jump on them and say, 'you see, that's what they're like.' *All* journalists *always* select what they include in stories, but I shouldn't have to do that because of racism! I should feel comfortable that there are enough people who aren't racist and ignorant and the story won't end up being construed in that way. I don't want to say things are bad in Africa, because there are already enough people doing that. I want to talk about what's good, but then you can go too far the other way. The (name of broadsheet) have done

that. They had this whole, 'let's show happy Africa' (laughs). They did this thing about Africans using technology and I thought, 'are you serious?' (laughs). You guys worked on this for months and the best you can come up with is, 'Africans use phones'! […] I understand that someone in some small village near Warwick […] may need to be educated on that front…but I also feel like if that's the level we're at …I don't want to be part of that conversation. I want to be talking to people who have enough imagination to know that it's not everything you see in the news.'

'Kim', a seasoned staff journalist, concurs, saying, 'you have to choose your words carefully, write strategically.' Writing in a protectionist/strategic manner is rooted in the habitus and standpoints of many interviewees. Their habitus is often inflected with powerful, emotional backstories where, due to their socialisation in various structures (the education system, media, family and so on) during the trajectory of their lives, they learned to view SSA, thus part of their heritage, negatively. As discussed below, some may have experienced moments during their trajectories where they seek to disassociate from the region, later going on to develop standpoints which they draw upon to shape narratives on SSA in the dominant public sphere differently, and tell oppositional 'truths' (Said, 1978) to those that formed part of their socialisation.

Socialised disassociation

Bourdieu's concept of habitus refers to 'socialised subjectivity' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:126). The historically rooted 'idea of Africa' (Mudimbe, 1994) as 'primitive' and representing the worst of humanity, of 'blackness', an idea which arguably forms aspects of everyone's socialisation in the West in different ways, was felt to such a degree by some interviewees that they pretended their heritage lay in Jamaica. For them, Jamaica was a predominantly black country which, in 70s and 80s Britain, had the kind of global cultural capital that no African country was perceived to have because of, as 'Kim' put it, 'Bob Marley and all that stuff'. Real and imagined personal associations with Jamaica enabled black individuals, should they want to, to 'adopt' the country's cultural capital and translate it into individual 'capital' (Bourdieu, 2005). Conceivably, perhaps because Jamaican cultural products were primarily produced and narrated by black Jamaicans, being associated with this country gave black people in the UK, and elsewhere during that era, a means, to borrow Mudimbe's (1994:xvii) words, of reading themselves not, 'as a *margin* in narratives conceived and written by those who have discursive power'. Instead, they could read themselves at the *centre* of narratives conceived by black people with a degree of discursive power on the world stage.

'Addison' explains how their adoption of Jamaica in favour of their African country of origin prompted an unexpected family holiday:

'I went to (African country of origin) for the first time when I was 14 […] because my mum overheard me telling someone I was Jamaican. She was like, 'something's missing – I haven't educated her about her heritage.' That was when the penny dropped for her, that her (African) background wasn't being imparted automatically. That was life changing because I got off the plane and couldn't believe the immigration officers were black […] it was genuinely revolutionary, and then realising the president, lawyers and judges were black. That was the first time I realised there was an alternative universe in which everyone on TV wasn't white, because in my world people on TV, and doctors and lawyers, they're white. […] So that was profound. But I was always conscious of being Other… being alien**.** […] my mother is a typical first-generation immigrant who has the luxury of a secure identity. So identity wasn't an issue for her, black wasn't in her vocabulary.'

The distinction this interviewee makes between first and second generation African diaspora is important, as journalists interviewed who spent their formative years in Africa say they never experienced any need to disassociate themselves from their heritage. Notably, it's only when they left the continent and came to live in the UK, and other Northern countries, that they experienced any feelings of discomfort about their country of origin. 'Emerson' explains:

'Because of being raised initially in Nigeria and still having strong links with it I didn't […] understand the concept of being a minority. I was Nigerian, we're the biggest African nation, we're the most populous black country. I remember when people said, 'you know, ethnic minorities,' I'd be like, 'what minorities…I'm not a minority.' I didn't get that at all […] until I got into newsrooms in England. Once I was in the newsroom I did, and it wasn't just me it was also my friends around me who were black…I hated it.'

Experiences of wanting to change perceptions of the continent where you have roots, of claiming to be from elsewhere to disassociate yourself from Africa; and of discovering perceptions held of you in British newsrooms are radically different to your self-perception, reinforce the ongoing validity of research by numerous scholars (e.g. Fanon, 1986; Said, 1978; Taylor, 1994; hooks, 1992; Couldry, 2013; Crenshaw, 1992) that misrepresentations are harmful. That harm may be experienced by audiences and journalists of colour as a form of oppression, which we may be complicit in (Taylor, 1994) because of the power, as Hall (1990) explains, that dominant regimes of representation have to make us perceive ourselves as Other, as well as active in resisting (Hall, 1990).

To convey the messy complexities of complicity in, and resistance to, racist representations and how such forms of distortion (Fanon, 1986 [1952]) and 'misrecognition' (Taylor, 1994) play out in the lived experiences of people of colour, it's worth quoting the experience of 'Drew' at length. 'Drew's' practiced as a print journalist for over 20 years, and has journeyed from feeling complicit in denying their African heritage whilst growing up in the UK, to trying, personally and professionally, to reclaim that heritage, and sense of themselves, in adulthood:

'I guess I was exposed to what everyone who's not from Africa is exposed to - war torn, starving, potbellied kids with flies, and because I knew my dad was from there that made a difference. But among the Jamaican side of my family […] I was teased for being half African. […] It was like, 'oh you're so African, you're so dark,' so […] I wouldn't associate much with African stuff […]. Africa wasn't cool, it was Jamaica. Even in terms of how white people perceived you, Jamaica was […] cool, edgy, the bad kids; Africa was like church people or something […]. In hindsight, I realise the things I was […] ashamed of in Africa were actually about black. […] My dad had asked my mum to move to (African country of father's birth) with him, but she said, 'oh no, I've just moved from Jamaica to England, I'm not going to bloody Africa' (laughs). Her take was, 'I'm not going to live in a jungle somewhere'. When she told me I was like, 'mum, god!' So, all that obviously affected her too.

I guess when a big part of you, and I don't just mean the fact that I obviously had African roots, all black people have African roots, I mean when a part of you is dismissed to the point where you're denying it as well, that can't be anything but harmful. So, embracing my Africaness…through journalism or small things like on Facebook, reinstating my dad's (African country of origin) surname in my name. I was always ashamed of it when I was young, […] because it was African – you know, and that sense that it's uncivilized and urgh […]. But […] I guess that's how white people see all black people, the media's almost like a window – we're not […] immune from societal pressures, we all see it. […] you're left feeling the only way to succeed […] is to be more white…to be as un-African and as un-Jamaican as you can […]. So sometimes I feel like I'm half – in a bad way though – like … to be acceptable I've watered down the black bit of me but I'm still not going to be accepted fully. The stuff I've gone through in my career is still happening regardless. So part of me thinks, 'god, I should have just embraced all of me and been true to myself.' […] But if you're told often enough that a big part of your being isn't worthy of success then it's really hard to separate that from you, because that is you.'

This powerful anecdote exemplifies the deep-seated and ambivalent feelings African heritage people may have towards Africa and the multiplicity of connections - both distant and close – we have with the continent. Such ambivalence and varied connections speak to the second conception of cultural identity that Hall (1990:225) identifies whereby, although identities 'come from somewhere, have histories', they're 'far from being eternally fixed.' Identity for Hall (1990), as with 'habitus' for Bourdieu (2005), is 'a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. But here in, as Hall (1990:225) notes, lies the trauma of the 'colonial experience'. In between the 'being' and 'becoming', black people, and our experiences, have been positioned in 'dominant regimes of representation' so that our 'becoming' has, in different times and places, been wrested from us and limited at the level of representation, arguably creating a split between our public and private selves: between our 'being' and our 'becoming'.

Such a split between 'being' and 'becoming', generated by racism, including that experienced in the mainstream UK journalistic field, must be taken seriously at an institutional level because arguably this split contributes to explaining why, as highlighted, many black media practitioners leave mainstream media.

Below, I outline forms of racism experienced and witnessed by some research participants whilst reporting from the field *in* SSA, and the impact of such experiences. As argued in Chapter 9, these experiences offer vital insight into the need for a phenomenological praxis (e.g. Fanon, ibid; Ahmed, 2007) to be implemented in mainstream UK news media, and to make private experiences public (Benhabib, 1992) to amplify the case for greater racial equality in reporting on, and representation of, SSA.

Black journalists as *insiders* and *outsiders* within

The experiences of black journalists, when reporting from the field *in* SSA, rather than just in UK newsrooms, further serve to reveal the shocking levels of racism that exist within the field, and highlight the frequently uncomfortable, often painful, complexities of being 'outsiders-within' (Hill Collins, 1998) in this subfield of reporting. As 'Kim' says of working in SSA:

> 'I was overwhelmed by the fucking bigotry of the other British journalists who were all white and just irredeemably bigoted. Overtly […] taking the piss out of local people, […] ridiculing people trying to sell you things and they'd end up teasing them, like: 'oh, this is nice Jimmy'. So you'd end up locking yourself in your room, thinking, 'I can't be around you anymore, you're just bad people'. […] and they're talking about: 'And then she comes running out with her big African titties…' and I'm thinking, 'oh, fucking hell'. But there's a limit right, because this stuff is quite collaborative, so there's a limit to how much you can

avoid them. You're all staying in the same hotel, there's one hotel you can file from […] that was really difficult.'

This journalist's 'outsider-within' experience is echoed by other black journalists who have, or still do, cover SSA for UK news organisations. It's worth detailing the specifies of being an 'outsider' to understand the pertinence of this concept to black journalists who report for UK news organisations on SSA, why they have unique insight into the field, and why some wind up leaving mainstream news reporting on SSA. Gold (2016) explains:

'Outsiders have a more conscious awareness of themselves and of insiders, who are perceived to have power over the outsiders. Outsiders within often confront power hierarchies that seek to disenfranchise groups such as: women; people of color […] and how they see themselves and are seen by the mainstream. Hallmarks include: a special perspective of both nearness and remoteness from power hierarchies, […] a peculiar ability to see oneself through the lens of the dominant group, a desire to bring greater equality to the viewpoint of […] outsiders so they are more visible to the gaze of insiders, and […] a political or social justice imperative to raise the consciousness of insiders to appreciate the undervalued experiences of outsiders.' (Gold, 2016)

Quadruple consciousness

I suggest that some or all of the aforementioned 'outsider' hallmarks apply to journalists of colour who work for mainstream UK news media, simply because they don't belong to the 'dominant group'. However, when black journalists report for UK news media from *within* SSA countries, where they are, racially at least, *in* the dominant group, they often find themselves in heightened positions of tension due to the psycho-social divisions that arise in this context. These tensions can be illuminated if we put the 'outsider-within' concept in dialogue with 'double consciousness' (Du Bois, 1994 [1903]), because both speak to the experience of being of black African heritage and reporting on the region for mainstream UK news. Whilst 'double-consciousness' vividly encapsulates the experience of inhabiting a dual existence between *two* worlds, the concept of 'outsider-within' is more intersectional (see also Crenshaw, ibid; Phoenix et al, ibid), enabling acknowledgement of the multiple layers of existence and the *multiple* contradictions for those who inhabit these layers.

This multiplicity comes to the fore in specific ways for black journalists who report on SSA for UK news, especially when they're *in* the field *in* SSA. Here, my data shows that experiences occur which require a doubling up of the concepts of 'double-conscious' (Du Bois, ibid) and

'outsider-within' (Hill Collins, 1998; Gold, 2016) to make sense of these experiences. This is so we can illuminate how black journalists find themselves between *two* worlds, but occupying them in multiply contradictory, rather than just binarised ways. Such betweenness is experienced in a geographical, institutional, visceral, lived and imagined sense.

My findings indicate black journalists reporting from SSA for mainstream UK news find themselves 'within', as *in* the dominant group, in *two* conflicting ways, and simultaneously *outside* the dominant group, also in *two* conflicting ways. To be sure, black journalists are 'within' the dominant group because they belong to the British press pack, but they're also, racially, in the majority group *within* the region they're reporting on. On the other hand, black journalists are also 'outside' the racial majority because they are *in* the British press pack, as well as being *outside* the British press pack because they are *in* the racial majority in SSA.

This 'quadruple positioning', which manifests as what I term 'quadruple consciousness', is also gendered and classed, and affords black journalists ways of seeing which are unaccounted for in discussion of coverage of Africa in dominant UK news media. Quadruple positions speak to the aforementioned journalist's experience of being privy to racism directed towards black Africans due to being a member of the British press; needing to retreat to the relative sanctuary of their hotel room; but not being able to escape the psychological difficulty of being *'within'* due to the collaborative nature of journalism in this context. These positions, and the layers of consciousness they unveil, illuminate important psycho-social divisions that exist within the sub-field of reporting on SSA. Such subject positions offer an important platform from which to contribute to building a layered theoretical approach, via the concept of PCJFT, to understanding the narration of SSA in UK news media.

Unpacking quadruple consciousness

First, let's consider how 'the colour line', which Du Bois (1994[1903]) asserted was 'the problem of the Twentieth Century', shifts so that in certain contexts, as Gilroy (1987) explains, when non-white Britons 'positively' represent the UK, at overseas events for instance, their Britishness is made visible and they're seamlessly woven into the national fabric, as opposed to when they're in Britain and their Otherness is often what springs forward, so that blackness and Britishness are produced as mutually exclusive categories (Gilroy, 1987:61).

In the context of reporting from the field in SSA, black journalists report being privy to racism directed towards black Africans by white journalists. Arguably, this occurs because, in black African contexts, black journalists are seen by white colleagues to occupy a normalised, dominant location. This is because their Britishness and/or professional status comes to the fore, as do the 'relational ties' (Butler, 2004) they share with white journalists. Thus, black journalists are conceivably seen, whether consciously or not, by their white colleagues as belonging 'within' a system of privilege that those whose lives they're reporting on are outside. In this way, their 'blackness' is erased and they become 'us', rather than 'them'. Such erasure may also happen not necessarily in relation to racist comments being aired in front of black journalists, but due to assumptions on the part of some white journalists that all journalists are white. As 'Charlie', a freelance print and broadcast journalist, experienced during a retreat for journalists who report from traumatic environments:

> 'We were […] talking about managing people's expectations because when you're working in traumatic situations you develop close relationships with people and often people want you to give them money or help them […] and you can't because it's unethical - it's heartbreaking. This journalist from (liberal broadsheet) said, 'we're all privileged, and we've got to be aware of that responsibility.' Another white journalist said, 'yes, it must be stressful because […] look at everyone here, we as white journalists…' I said, 'excuse me, we're not all white.'

This becoming 'us' creates psychological tensions because it may, on some levels, be precisely what journalists of colour are trying to get away from by being in African countries. To be sure, in the UK context, as we'll see, some black journalists feel they have to 'write white' (Allan, 1999), and strategically erase their 'blackness' to 'get ahead'. Such circumstances disturbingly speak to Fanon's (1986 [1952]) illustration of the psychological impact of racism when he describes:

> 'that in-between position, the condition of a 'white mask psychology', of the black man or woman who […] experiences him or herself as white, but none the less runs up against the force of white racism which imprisons him or her in a derogatory form of blackness.' (Hook, 2004:136)

It's critical, as Hook (2004:116) asserts, to understand that people of colour experiencing themselves as 'white' and/or 'writing white' (Allan, 1999), is not to be confused with literally wanting to be white. Instead, whiteness must be understood in the colonial context of Fanon's work where the white subject, in relative terms, has everything and the black subject has nothing. Therefore, the desire for whiteness 'is the outcome of a specific configuration of

power, of real material, economic, cultural and sociopolitical conditions that continually celebrate and empower the white subject and continually denigrate and dispossess the black man or woman.' (Hook, 2004:116).

Transferred onto the postcolonial journalistic field in mainstream UK news organisations, such conditions still apply in as much as power lies in the hands of white proprietors and/or editors[69], journalists of colour make up a fraction of the staff (Thurman et al, 2016) and white subjects are represented in far broader, fluid ways, than black subjects. Given this, 'writing white' has *nothing* to do with happily embracing the erasure of your blackness by white colleagues in the field, but everything to do with wanting to balance the racialised configuration of power within the journalistic field and have a fair slice of the representational pie.

In contrast, in SSA, journalists of colour, as opposed to their white colleagues in the field, are the corporeal norm. As such, they are '*insiders* within' because they're in the racial majority, which relates to the second aspect of my conception of 'quadruple consciousness'. By this I mean that, rather than being overtly and covertly viewed and treated as out of place in 'white worlds' (Fanon, 1986 [1952]; Ahmed, 2012; Puwar, 2004), where the long histories of excluding people of colour in social and institutional spaces limits what they're permitted to do/how they are seen, in postcolonial African countries black journalists should, theoretically, sink more leisurely (Ahmed, 2012) into worlds where the social, cultural and institutional fields are predominantly black. Here, white mask psychology (Fanon, 1986 [1952]; Hook, 2004) should conceivably come undone because such journalists, as previously discussed, are sometimes assigned by editors to cover news stories in African countries *because* they are black. Alternatively, they opt to go to 'recover' (e.g. Hall, 1990) their blackness and/or seek opportunities that may not be afforded to them in the UK due to institutional racism. And interviewees reveal they do 'sink in' (Ahmed, 2012) in some important respects. As 'Emerson', who's worked in UK newsrooms, but is now based in an African country, explains:

> 'I hated going into the London office, I wouldn't have been able to cope full-time in that newsroom, being in such a minority. […] Living and working in African countries means I'm partly sheltered from racism because I'm surrounded by other strong black journalists in the same position as me […] and that helps me a lot. Also, being black here, especially when I do stories that involve talking to ordinary people, I know I get stuff

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[69] At the time of writing, Amol Rajan, of the now defunct Independent newspaper, was the first and, to date, only non-white editor of a mainstream UK national newspaper. All the most senior news editors at the major broadcasters – Channel 4, ITV, BBC, Channel 5, Sky – are white.

that white colleagues […] wouldn't […] get, just because they feel more comfortable talking to me as another black person.'

Black journalists also 'sink in' in ways that expose them to forms of racism that have seemingly past in the UK, because of the more established systems that are in place which are meant to uphold racial equality, but continue to play out in some countries they report from where memories of direct white rule are more recent. For instance, 'Kim', who covered South Africa post-Apartheid, explains:

'I didn't feel there was any way out of there with any sort of dignity. Either you were in the black places, this has changed to some extent […], but not completely…you were either in the black places where it was difficult to file […]. Or you're in the white places, where it's really horrible because everyone's fucking racist. I mean, not everyone, but pound for pound you chuck a stone and you're going to get a horrible person and you feel like chucking stones. […] I would […] come away from there not really liking white people (pause)…and who wants to be that person? I remember, in particular, shouting at this lady in a supermarket because she pushed in front of me and there were just too many people doing that.

'Excuse me,' I said.

'I've only got a couple things, won't be a minute,' she replied.

I'm like, 'yeah, but you are behind me.'

'It won't take a minute, don't worry.'

'I'm not worried, I need you to get behind me.'

'Well look, I'm at the front now…'

'No, look. Listen lady, you have to get the fuck behind me.'

(Sighs). Then I'm like, I'm not even in a rush, what am I doing? Why am I shouting at these people? This place is driving me crazy and making me upset.'

However, their status as journalists with Western affiliations, through work and perhaps via citizenship, simultaneously makes black journalists outsiders *within* the racial majority, or in the Fanonian (1986 [1952]) sense, makes them experience themselves as 'white' due to the privileges that come with their status as Western subjects. As 'Kim' says of divisions that can occur between local black African subjects and African diaspora subjects in Africa:

'Everyone's black, but there are moments when being Western […] becomes your primary identity, right? You're the one with the plane ticket out, you don't need a visa and you've probably got more pocket change than most people earn in 6 months – that's not an insignificant difference.'

'Addison' recalls the difficulty of having their identity overtly questioned when they first visited their parent's country of origin in Africa:

'Everyone was black which was deeply affirming, but […] they all called me white and that was a new level of identity crisis. I'd only just worked out I could embrace my black identity in the UK, then suddenly I'm in a place where I'm seen as white. That was hard, as was having to deal with all the privileges attached to being what's perceived as white and treated completely differently to how you are in the UK. You'll be pushed to the front of the queue and let in somewhere others won't be. […] In (parent's country of origin) you're white […] if you're Western.'

This journalist's experience illustrates the duality of being insider *and* outsider *within* as a result of the erasure of 'difference' due to being the corporeal norm, coupled with the amplification of 'difference', due to the possession of 'rights' and/or 'status' afforded to Westerners. The latter amplification of 'difference' may be experienced as problematic for black journalists who have imagined Africa as a 'home' whilst growing up in the West: 'an imaginary fullness or plentitude, to set against the broken rubric of our past' (Hall, 1990:225), but whose access to Western countries and/or institutions highlights 'the European presence' (Hall, 1990) in their identity. As Hall writes, employing Cesaire and Senghor's metaphor - Presence Africaine, Presence Europeenne and Presence Americain - to describe African diasporic cultural identities:

'Because Presence Europeene is about exclusion, imposition and expropriation, we are often tempted to locate that power as wholly external to us – an extrinsic force, whose influence can be thrown off […]. What Frantz Fanon reminds us in *Black Skin, White Masks*, is how this power has become a constitutive element in our own identities.' (Hall, 1990: 233)

In the field of reporting on SSA, the 'power' of 'presence Europeene' may be dialed up, down or entirely overlooked by either the journalist, their colleagues, or those involved in events being reported. When 'presence Europeene' is dialed down or overlooked, this speaks to the advantages and disadvantages of being *outside* the British press pack because you are *in* the

racial majority: the fourth level of consciousness in the 'quadruple consciousness' concept. As 'Emerson' explains:

'Being a black journalist isn't always helpful. When I was covering a plane crash in Lagos, I went with my partner who's […] white and the crowds […] were trying to be helpful because they wanted people to see what was happening. So they […] led my white partner through the crowds, and formed a protective barrier around my partner. We were holding hands […] but eventually the crowd came so far between us that we lost each other and I was just left there. The police came and […] started whipping people - I actually got whipped by the police. Being a white journalist around town can open doors and because of that lots of my white colleagues have this sense that they're untouchable and they'll always be rescued. On the other hand, in some wars I've covered, being white was a disadvantage […]. In one, the militants were trying to capture white people, […] and they were ignoring anyone black, including me.'

What these journalists' experiences throw into sharp relief is the deliriously complex, ambivalent, and rich lens through which journalists of colour report on SSA. In the Foreword to *Black Skin, White Masks*, Bhabha highlights how Fanon's work powerfully demonstrates how 'in the colonial situation […] everyday life exhibits a 'constellation of delirium' that mediates the normal social relations of its subjects.' (1986: xiv). I contend that in the postcolonial journalistic field a 'constellation of delirium' also describes, in multiple ways, the experiences of my black journalist interviewees who mediate (or have mediated) news events in SSA for Northern news organisations. Some of these journalists find their way through the 'delirium' of being quadruply positioned in a context where they may have hoped, due to being in a racial majority, to find some respite from the constraints of 'normative whiteness' (Law, ibid) in mainstream UK newsrooms. Others, including some research participants and colleagues of theirs, resign from this particular area of journalism, jobs, or from the journalistic field altogether, too exhausted by the very personal conflict they encounter. As 'Xavier', a freelance and staff print journalist, explains:

'At least 2 of my black journalist friends who cover Africa have quit the industry due to stress and the lack of support they feel they get compared to white colleagues doing equivalent or similar jobs. You're often reporting from emotionally draining or dangerous places, and there's a real vibe from editors that because you're black and therefore kind of from there, you're used to this shit so they just leave you to it.'

Magnified delirium

The way, then, that some news organisations (the ones referenced by the above interviewee include a broadcaster that sits at the heteronomous end of the journalistic field and a newspaper at the autonomous end), deal with black journalists in the field adds to the 'constellation of delirium'. Reported organisational treatment of black journalists covering SSA also speaks to what I refer to in Chapter 6 as 'schizophrenic inclusion', where black journalists are included in contradictory ways, which are magnified when they become aware of the different treatment they receive compared to white colleagues. In relation to coverage of SSA in general terms, this different treatment tends to manifest via the unequal distribution of resources, the level of managerial support and interest received compared to white colleagues covering the region, and the positioning of content on the news hierarchy that journalists of colour deliver, unless such content fulfils stereotypical tropes (e.g. war, famine), or is done by a journalist who's so senior, their seniority trumps their 'blackness' and boosts the story's credibility. It's worth quoting the experience of 'Emerson', who's worked for different mainstream UK news organisations, at length. Because their experiences of covering SSA, which occurred whilst working for a news organisation at the autonomous end of the pole (Bourdieu, 2005) that they've since resigned from and are now covering SSA for a new media organisation, are echoed by a number of interviewees. Their experience also speaks to each level of marginality highlighted above:

'Africa was […] always the last priority […]. Last to get funding, […] the last place an editor would call you and ask how you are or do you need help. When I was covering Ebola, they were just like: 'Yeah, go to Sierra Leone.' Then when they had someone come from the office, a white woman from London, she went on a training course, they gave her all the equipment she needed. You're going to cover […] a highly contagious disease, you're not meant to just walk in. There's a check-list of stuff you should have if you're responsible and they didn't. At that point it felt really…like, 'you know what, you're just another black person in another black country so whatever, just go.' […] At this particular place, no one bothered to keep me in the loop with anything […]. If I was lucky, a nice journalist got in touch with me […] and I know for a fact they don't do that with their other foreign correspondents. […] I had to fight for lots of things that I shouldn't have had to. I'd been doing a lot of hard stuff, Boko Haram and stuff, literally risking my life for them. […] The pay was terrible, […] and there was no contribution towards rent and fuel and what you would do if you asked someone to move to another country basically. There was a definite: 'it's your country anyway so why do we have to pay you' (laughs).

In terms of development, there was never any possibility of me going upwards […]. Eventually I said, […] 'I don't want to work for you guys anymore.' Then they came up with this contract and it was 10 times the amount they'd originally offered so I was excited […] But they still never had time to speak to me, I was always speaking to whoever was the least senior editor on call. […] I'm not saying you need to roll out the red carpet everytime I call, but I'm in a place where I'm sort of risking my life every week to do stories […]. They didn't have any respect for me. It's really hard because you can't definitely say, 'this is because I'm black,' but I look at other people's development around that newsroom and they had a lot more support than I did. And they were usually white males so…(laughs).'

'Another Africa correspondent, a white English guy, they loved him - he could do no wrong […] they would ask his opinion […], and they would really involve him as they should, as your correspondent on that continent. Whereas they'd never ask me […] We covered the Nigerian elections together and …I mean he was really nice to me, he was like, 'I'm coming over, how do you want to divide the work?' But he had priority over me, he had control over the whole thing. Fine, […] but when you've got someone who actually covers and lives in this country and has all the contacts! […] Also, they just let him write all sorts of shit…. And the other white guy, […] he's about the same age as me, he's a great journalist and […] he's also in Africa. I know from him that he had so much support, more than I had, and there's no way he was on the same salary […]. They were constantly asking him what he needed, how could they help, how could they make life easier for him. He was covering a tough story as well, but there was never any sense that…(pause). I think to them Boko Haram, which I was covering, was just a war going on in some African country, it was never, 'do you need R&R, how's it affecting you?' When the Paris bombings happened, there were emails going around saying, 'it's been tough, it's affected all of us, let's all take it easy, if anyone needs counselling that's available for you'. I remember thinking, 'why didn't anyone offer me counselling?'

Feeling peripheral to the institution was expressed by the majority of my black journalist interviewees, whether they reported on Africa or not. In Chapter 6, I discuss how the doxa of different mainstream British news organisations exacerbates or alleviates the 'delirium' that's experienced by journalists of colour.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on how the habitus and standpoints of black journalists may motivate them to want to engage in coverage of SSA for mainstream UK news media. Hearing the experiences of black journalists, who find themselves as 'outsiders within' (Hill Collins, 1998) in the field in SSA, as well as in UK newsrooms, is revealing of the ongoing racism within the field, even though racism may not always be seen at the level of the text in the form of 'negative' representations (e.g. Bunce, 2017).

Racism experienced in the field and in newsrooms 'back home' in the UK, leads to psycho-social divisions, which I term 'quadruple consciousness', and emotional fallout (see also Fanon, 1986 [1952]; West, 1993; Lorde, 1984) which has material consequences, such as black journalists leaving the field of reporting on SSA, or leaving the journalistic profession. Such matters must be taken seriously if we're to ever find a way of truly broadening UK news media representations of SSA. In the following chapter, I address the organisational contexts of reporting on SSA, and consider how racialised dynamics within the journalistic field more broadly, particularly institutional doxa and the habitus of individuals who work within the field, contribute to the likelihood of such matters being taken seriously.

Chapter 6

The organisational and production contexts of reporting (on sub-Saharan Africa) by journalists of colour

The aim of this chapter is two-fold. First, I explore institutional logics that foreground the reporting of SSA by black journalists for mainstream UK news. In a similar vein to Saha's (2018) study of race and the cultural industries and Ahmed's (2012) research on diversity strategies and racism in higher education, I'm interested in reaching a broad understanding of how symbolic commitments to inclusion do and don't correspond with the experiences of those being included (see also Thomas and Ely, 1996; Pritchard and Stonbely, 2007; Mellinger 2003; Hall, 1996; Allan, 1999). I attempt to do this by exploring my empirical data to consider *how* race plays out across mainstream UK news institutions and how this may inform reporting on SSA. While scholarly research shows the inclusion of black journalists in dominant Western media organisations frequently manifests as forms of containment, which winds up sustaining the institutional whiteness such inclusion is presented as undoing (Allan, 1999), what has not been documented is how this containment may take place in relation to reporting on SSA in mainstream UK news media. This chapter contributes to filling that gap.

More generally, this chapter extends journalism studies of race (e.g. Pritchard and Stonbely (ibid); Cottle, 1997). Not only does it show that discrimination occurs and recurs in mainstream Western newsrooms, as many newsroom studies of race (e.g. Johnston & Flamiano, 2007; Rivas-Rodriguez et al., 2004) usefully demonstrate, it goes further by theoretically grounding the empirical findings revealed here to offer an illustration of *why* and *how* discriminatory patterns, as well as contradictions, occur in news production (see also Saha, 2018).

My findings show that racism, both generally and in relation to coverage of SSA, operates across all mainstream UK news institutions. However, racism plays out differently depending upon institutional 'doxa' and the 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 2005) of individuals in positions of influence within the journalistic field. Because I stress the importance of 'habitus' in countering the economic rationalities that inform the inclusion of ethnic minorities in mainstream news, the second aim of this chapter is to consider how 'habitus' plays out in practice.

The data explored reveals a messy tangle of economic and ethical rationalities underpins the growing visibility of journalists of colour in UK news reporting, including that on SSA. The tangle of economic and ethical rationalities informing institutional diversity strategies in

mainstream UK news can largely be explained by the way issues around race and racism are obscured by economic rationalities (Saha, 2018), but tend to be paramount to ethical rationalities. Because of this messiness, there's no clear, consistent agenda on how to construct more racially just practices and structures in mainstream UK news organisations. I argue that the only way to begin to gain clarity on issues pertaining to improved inclusion and representation of racialised Others in the UK journalistic field generally, and the sub-field of reporting on SSA specifically, is, as Eddo-Lodge (2017:84) asserts, to 'see race'.

Diversity, 'doxa' and the inclusion of black journalists in mainstream UK news organisations

According to the Milburn report on social mobility, 'journalism has shifted to a greater degree of social exclusivity than any other profession' (Milburn et al, 2016). As discussed elsewhere, this exclusivity extends to barriers to accessing the industry by ethnic minorities (Thurman et al, 2016:14). Such findings, which emerge cyclically and rarely show any improvement in the number of BAME people employed by dominant UK news organisations, are met with sporadic declarations about the need to rectify the overwhelming whiteness of mainstream media organisations (e.g. Greg Dyke, 2001; Lenny Henry, 2016), and the launch of policies directed at such a project.

The white paper on the future of the BBC, unveiled by former Culture Secretary John Whittingdale (May 2016), is one of the most recent publicly stated commitments to media diversity. It includes a few pages on how provision for BAME audiences will be improved. This follows an ongoing campaign, led by Lenny Henry, to improve ethnic diversity at what Henry calls the 'very, very white' BBC (The Guardian, May 16, 2016). Henry's campaign has renewed public debate on the employment and representation of BAME people by national mainstream UK media: an arena where all citizens are meant to feel their varied lives and views are represented, but where research by Ofcom in 2015 reveals 55 percent of BAME people *feel* underrepresented and 51 percent *feel* negatively portrayed on screen (*A BBC for the future*, May 2016:40-41).

I emphasise the word 'feel' because I will return to the importance of feelings when I address the need to take them, as they are expressed via the habitus of individuals working within the journalistic field, seriously when considering the covert ways structural racism manifests in institutionally white spaces. My data shows that racism tends to be experienced covertly in elitist journalist circles. This is perhaps because the majority of those reaching the top of the profession were privately educated, (Harrison, *The Guardian*, 4 August 2016) and, given the

gender disparities (Thurman et al, 2016) within journalism, can conceivably be characterised as 'well-educated white men' with whom overt racism is less associated than it is with 'poor whites' (Stoler, 2002a:377). As such, listening to the experiences and feelings of raced Others working within the journalistic field becomes a vital (arguably the only) way of illuminating the implicit discrimination they face.

Schizophrenic inclusion

My findings suggest that covert racism is felt particularly powerfully at media institutions which do a good job of 'overing' (Ahmed, 2012) - of presenting as being inclusive and taking diversity seriously, such as public service broadcasters and national newspapers at the liberal and/or more 'autonomous' end of the 'pole' (Benson and Neveu, 2005)[70]. A number of journalist interviewees report being sorely disappointed about their experiences of working for such institutions, which they talk of being drawn to because they seemed to be institutions where race was *seen*, and they assumed stated commitments to improving diversity were underpinned by ethical rationalities. But the majority of interviewees who've worked, or currently work, at public service broadcasters and liberal newspapers, explain feeling that this seeing of race is little more than a branding exercise. 'Hypocritical' was almost uniformly used by interviewees, from junior to senior staff and freelancers, to describe such institutions where they've felt/feel peripheral to operations. I call this 'schizophrenic inclusion' due to the contradictory approach that, my findings show, frequently shapes inclusion in the postcolonial journalistic field.

Part of this contradiction is arguably grounded in the fact that it's often just one, or a couple of individuals within these organisations, whose habitus, as discussed shortly, leads them to instigate diversity strategies for ethical reasons. However, at these liberal organisations, as we'll see, such individuals are pushing against institutional cultures with histories of seeing race and racism in the world *outside*, in as much as race-related stories may be reported, but rarely in *'our'* world, in that such institutions, which are predominantly run by 'well-educated white men' (Stoler, 2002a:377), have been painfully slow to acknowledge and take a sustained approach to addressing systemic racism within their own organisations.

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[70] There's a long-held view that left-leaning newspapers differ from the more conservative press because they have 'a tradition of support for liberal causes including the rights of minority groups and oppressed peoples' (Hartmann et al, 1974:105). However, Brookes (ibid) argues that when it comes to reporting on Africa in the mainstream British press, racialised discourse is so entrenched and uniform in Western society that the ideological position of a newspaper does not diminish the racialised ideological parameters within which Africa is represented.

'Quinn', whose experience reflects that of others who've worked at the same liberal institution that supports initiatives to enable more diverse talent to access journalism, says:

'I hated it. It was so snooty and Oxbridge. People were so closed, […] so cold, they didn't want to have a conversation. I was training as a journalist, had loads of ideas and I just kept getting shut down […]. It was really hard because I was just trying […] my best. My experiences at (name of tabloid at the heteronomous end of Bourdieu's pole) where I worked before were the opposite. The staff were […] mostly white men of a certain age, but mostly working class, and they gave me the time of day. Yet at (name of broadsheet), people who were closer to my age, supposedly more liberal, […] were shutting me out. I remember having a moment free and asking a woman if she would mind if I watched her lay out a page. She said, 'yeah, I would mind.' I was like, 'okay'. Then I looked around and thought, 'there are no black people here'. […] I was like, 'you're hypocrites'. […] in the canteen all the staff were black, and there was this black tea guy who came round the newsroom with his tea trolley at 4 o'clock everyday. I would be like, 'yeah brother!' But then I'd feel this is so wrong.'

'Harley', a senior white editor at a public service broadcaster, acknowledges, as is increasingly highlighted by media diversity campaigners, there's a yawning gap between policies designed to get more diverse talent through the door, and management commitment to nurturing and retaining that talent:

'I don't think it's a Machiavellian plot, it's just never been addressed properly, and it needs to be. […] all you need is an editorial or managerial leader at the top of the organisation who says, 'guys, this is what you're going to do and I want to see these people working on your programmes,' rather than leaders, as we've had, who say what sounds nice at the time, but don't put effective plans in place to change anything.'

There's also a gap between who's deemed qualified to speak, and who is spoken to, at UK news organisations which loudly and proudly present as global in reach and outlook, but whose staff far from reflect the globe such organisations profess to speak to and for. 'Spencer', who works for a broadsheet at the heteronomous end of the pole, says:

'I feel increasingly cheesed off […] that this major global news organisation that prides itself on being global doesn't […] employ a single black writer or stringer. […] I've put this to the managing editor and I wasn't contradicted so I can only assume I'm correct in saying that. When I first started there was one black woman writer, she left after a couple of years. Parallel to that there's a high attrition rate of women leaving between 35 and

45, and she probably would have fallen into that bracket. I had a conversation with a woman at work […] who's seen men promoted far quicker than her and when she's tried to have conversations with senior people about it, like, 'what's going on, have I done something wrong?' Everyone's, 'no, no…it's fine.' […] When you mention anything to do with race or gender disparities at the organisation, everyone suddenly goes quiet and mutters something about what's right for the business. You never get a straight answer, but you see jobs advertised and they predominantly go to white men. Some of us have spoken to our boss about it but [bosses name] is very resistant and will say stuff like, 'we're not trying to build a rainbow nation here. I talk to my friends at parties about it, and they think it's fine'. The attitude's amazing.'

Arguably, because this particular organisation performs slightly better economically than the average newspaper, there's less urgency to make a concerted effort to reach beyond their traditional white male demographic by employing more diverse content producers who may, as is the stated view of some other heteronomous news organisations, be a source of competitive advantage.

Seeing the fact of race and racism

While racism is felt differently at different institutions, perhaps partly due to journalists' expectations based on the way institutions brand themselves, all my black journalist interviewees who have or do work for mainstream UK news organisations, both broadcast and print, report experiencing racism at work. This occurs (mostly) covertly *within* the workspace, as discussed above and below, as well as (often overtly) *externally* to it. The latter experiences may take the form of online racist abuse, such as 'Addison's' experience of being told they look like 'an ape' on television, or 'Charlie', who often travels for work in Europe and frequently receives blatantly different, degrading treatment in certain countries compared to their white colleagues. But the racism they encounter is rarely acknowledged by their team, and none of their bosses has offered them any support: 'they just shrug it off, like it's the norm so deal with it'. Meanwhile, news reporter 'Onyx', who works for a public service broadcaster, frequently has to make a point of announcing themselves as a journalist at professional events as it's assumed they aren't one:

'I was recently reporting from a busy court case and […] they were penning off journalists to one area. A police officer said to me, 'sorry, we're only letting the media in. I was like, 'I am the media' (laughs). There's a real shock […] from people, […] particularly in places like courtrooms, because there's an idea of what a journalist looks like and it's not me.'

The ability of black journalists to deal with everyday micro and macro racialised aggressions that often pertain to the denial of their professional status, of not being 'recognised' (Taylor, 1994), is exacerbated or alleviated by the doxa of the institutions they work for. Organisational willingness to acknowledge race and deal with racism as a fact that permeates institutional structures, practices and working life impacts on the emotional well-being and retention of black staff. To be clear, institutional doxa, and the schizophrenic inclusion too often integral to the dominant culture of mainstream news organisations, affects the extent to which black journalists are able to stop feeling 'so sick and tired of being sick and tired' ('Charlie'), as one print journalist interviewee said, to the point where at least half my interviewees had seriously considered leaving the industry due to experiences of racism perpetuated and/or exacerbated by the institutions they work for. Arguably, schizophrenic inclusion also helps explain why, despite the BAME UK population growing by over 50%[71], there was a 5.4% decrease in BAME representation across the creative industries in 2012 (Creative Access, 08.08.17).

However, there are distinctions to be made between mainstream broadcast and print news media in terms of approaches to diversity and inclusion, as well as between organisations that sit at the 'heteronomous' and 'autonomous' end of the journalistic field. I discuss these differences shortly. But my findings also reveal experiences of racism commonly experienced *within* mainstream UK news organisations, whether these organisations have a more ethically (typically public service broadcasters and newspapers that sit at the liberal and/or more 'autonomous' end of the field) or economically (usually those at the 'heteronomous' end) rooted approach to diversity and inclusion. But this not a rigid distinction, as discussed below.

Commonalities relate to black journalists consistently being overlooked for promotion or certain assignments, having their complaints (if they feel able to raise their heads above the parapet, which some don't for fear of jeopardising their jobs) about unequal treatment blithely dismissed, as well as being quite literally overlooked by some colleagues. As 'Spencer' says:

> 'My boss was away and me and one of his deputies, who's newer than me, were sitting at the desk working on a big news story. Our editor, a white man, came by and had a chat with my boss's deputy, who's also white. Our editor looked around the desk, clocked me, looked back at my boss's deputy and said, 'god, you're on your own today'. I was absolutely stunned, devastated, horrified. I'd worked a 13-hour day … the editor's deputy was with him, looked me in the eye as it happened and would have seen my expression. I went in to see him on the Monday and said […], 'I feel invisible, I've been told by the editor that I'm invisible'. He had every opportunity to say that didn't happen, you're imagining things, and

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[71] 2011 British census

he didn't. So I had verification that it happened as I felt it happened. And that's the culture. As one of the few black staff, that's how it feels to be there, […] that says everything about how you're regarded as a black member of staff.'

'Spencer' is also tasked (unpaid and in addition to their day job) with helping to bring more black journalists into the organisation, following them raising the issue of the lack of diversity at the newspaper. They explain their editor has recently taken, prompted partly by the need to attract more readers, to sending staff emails that include statements about the oganisation's commitment to having a diverse workplace that reflects the newspaper's global readership. Yet, as previously touched on, little is done beyond these emails to affect structural change at their overwhelmingly white, male dominated newspaper:

> 'We recently did an ad campaign to attract more readers. Senior management said it was racially neutral, but the man in the ad was white (laughs). Some of us challenged it and the response was, 'the brief was to create something racially neutral'. They're chasing an ever-decreasing demographic of more white men and I don't know whether they just don't see it. The organisation keeps no stats on diversity.'

Institutional differences and the tangle of ethical and economic rationalities informing diversity

Official monitoring of diversity is perhaps the biggest institutional difference between mainstream newspapers and broadcast news organisations. Major broadcasters (BBC, Channel 4, ITV and Sky) are members of the Creative Diversity Network[72] , and signed up to Diamond, an industry-wide diversity monitoring system which began publishing diversity data in 2017. This membership arguably means broadcasters can be seen as being ethically rooted in expressed commitments to diversity. This is because the ethos driving such monitoring is grounded, as 'Taylor', who campaigns on diversity, says, 'in the need to reflect society because that's meant to be a central purpose of the media.' However, as well as being ethically rooted, that 'need' is also underpinned by a focus on remaining competitive, including at public service broadcasters where the requirement to vie for audiences in an increasingly saturated market is no less pressing than at commercial broadcasters (see also Fenton & Freedman, 2018). 'Taylor' explains:

> 'I always emphasise the importance of having a diverse range of people involved in the production of output *and* being seen in content, because that's the right thing to do as far

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[72] Established by Britain's leading broadcasters in 2000.

as I'm concerned. But ultimately bringing audience share or profit into the conversation always makes executives, whether they're in print or broadcast, […] take notice. Even though we're still talking about including more people from different ethnic backgrounds, and […] I know the reason they've been excluded is because of racism, talking profits and audience share inevitably diverts attention away from anything to do with racism.'

This campaigner's experience speaks to the issue of racial capital, as discussed in Chapter 3, in addition to Leong's (2013) argument, considered here, regarding the economic value institutions derive from race without having to address racism within their organisation.

In a global media market, the need to remain competitive informs logics vis-a-vis coverage of Africa too. At the BBC for instance, the continent accounts for over a third of the organisation's international audience (BBC Media Centre, 2015), meaning it's of important strategic interest. Recently, major British broadcasters have set targets to increase the number of BAME staff across different areas of their organisations by 2020[74]. This push extends to recommendations by some, including research participants in influential positions at the BBC, which will arguably filter across to other media organisations due to the interconnected nature of the news eco-system, to increase their base of African reporters and producers[75]. An ethically rooted reason given for these recommendations is to shift editorial agendas so they reflect an African, rather than a Eurocentric, editorial narrative. Diversity doxa vis-a-vis coverage of SSA is discussed further on. But it's important to note here, as several interviewees indicated, that cost-cutting in foreign news is an additional driver for increasing the use of local African journalists. As 'Jamie', a public service broadcast journalist, explained:

'You've got fewer UK staff flying to these places because of cost-cutting… and if you have fewer resources, the more people you can use locally, whether it's on camera or as a producer, the better […]. It's something that's definitely increased as the money's got tighter. Also, the sense that you want to be seen as authentic as possible, so if you can use a local correspondent, why not?'

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[74] The BBC has committed to 15% of lead roles going to BAME actors by 2020 and BAME staff occupying 15 per cent of senior leadership roles; Sky Entertainment has set a target of 20% of writers and on-screen roles for people from BAME backgrounds; and Channel 4 is aiming to increase the percentage of executives from BAME backgrounds from 8 to 15% by 2020 (A BBC for the future, May 2016). None of these figures specifically relate to news. However, public service broadcasters say their diversity strategy applies across the organisation, including news.

[75] The BBC is aiming to reach 500 million globally by 2022, its centenary year. The organisation is launching 6 of its 12 new language services in Africa, with the help of a £289 million Foreign Office Grant. (Burrell, 28.08.17)

In contrast to broadcast media organisations, newspapers have no cross-industry approach to diversity, although most are signed up to The Journalism Diversity Fund[76], and some conduct internal monitoring. As I'll explore further, my findings show that such monitoring is largely driven by the habitus of individuals within the organisation, rather than at a broader institutional level. But, even those working at well-resourced newspapers, or at the 'autonomous' end of the field, must mostly frame their ethical motivations for championing diversity in market terms to get management's attention. As 'Taylor', a reporter and social campaigner, says, 'the bottom line is newspapers are businesses, numbers talk.'

The ability to 'speak' within mainstream media institutions

Returning to the issue of how institutional doxa affects the ability of black staff to deal with everyday racism experienced within and outside their workplaces, calling out experiences of racism should, theoretically, be easier at those institutions that have clear policies regarding diversity and inclusion. This is because, at a basic level, staff can speak to how their experiences do/don't match with documented institutional commitments. My findings show broadcast news organisations that 'manage' diversity via formal monitoring systems, seemingly take such 'speaking' seriously, by allocating marginalised groups within the organisation 'spaces', be they in the form of surveys or forums, to express their views on diversity and inclusion. 'Kelly', who leads on improving diversity at a public service broadcaster, explains their vision for staff being able to 'speak':

> 'We […] encourage a workplace where everyone can thrive […] our job […] as leaders is to make sure everyone has a voice; all cultures are respected. […] and you can bring those differences into the workplace in a positive way. But inclusion is pretty intangible […]. It's difficult to measure because you can measure diversity easily, but in terms of inclusion […] you have to look at different ways […] to do that. The staff survey is a great example of being able to do that. First in terms of if you have a high completion rate. Another aspect is through the questions you ask. If I'm respected […] I'll feel included in that organisation, so you could use that as one example. If I'm free to speak my mind without fear of consequences, but I do that in a respectful manner, I'd still feel included. There are many organisations […] who don't give their staff the freedom to speak up […]. That's a

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[76]Supporters of the fund, which supports NCTJ training for students from ethnically and socially diverse backgrounds, include The Guardian, The Observer, News UK, Associated Newspapers, Sky and the FT. However, figures from 2014/15 on the likelihood of journalism students being employed as a journalist six months after graduation indicate that white students have a 26% chance, Asian students a 33% chance, while black students only have an 8% chance of finding employment (Spilsbury, 2017). Problematically, whatever principles inform support for the training fund, they're not translating to ensure newly qualified journalists from *all* backgrounds gain employment in the industry.

great marker of not having an inclusive workforce. Little things like that…it's an intangible area. But you have to really work on trying to get that culture to such an extent that people feel free to do their best work.'

However, speaking in a 'respectful manner' (apart from the problematic insinuation that there's a risk that Others may be *disrespectful* of institutional 'doxa' when they speak), and being able to do your 'best work', suggests, for most of my journalist interviewees, speaking in a way that's in keeping with the organisational status quo and producing work that may feature more people of colour, for instance, but doesn't challenge standard and/or stereotypical narratives. As 'Jamie' reveals in relation to their organisation's coverage of Africa, there's a disconnect between the institutional vision regarding the breadth of narratives that *should* feature, and the reality of which stories get airtime:

'The thing about the Africa post, […] whether you're in Nairobi, Johannesburg or […] Ghana, when you prepare for the board you always come up with 20 stories that have nothing to do with war or famine […]. So you have stories about the culture of Ghana or what's going on in Cape Town […]. There's no way you could get the job as Africa correspondent simply saying I'm going to cover the Aids situation in Jo'burg – no way! But as soon as you get into the field and you've got the weather, you've got sport, a three-minute piece from Westminster, you'll have something out of Washington, a piece out of Paris and then you've got a tiny slither for Africa, it ain't gonna be the cultural significance of, you know, Kente Cloth in Ghana. It's going to be the war, it's going to be the famine. The output editors would have to consciously wipe the slate clean and find the slot for that cultural piece from Zimbabwe if things were going to change.'

So even though difference, and doing things differently, is spoken of at the point of interviewing people for jobs at this public service broadcaster, this ideal doesn't translate in practice. Another important point regarding the issue of 'speaking', is the fact that most broadcast journalist interviewees have participated in institutional forums or surveys to address issues around diversity and inclusion at some stage during their careers, but they still feel overlooked within these organisations. 'You go to these meetings and it just feels like they're laid on so they can say, 'box ticked'. Nothing changes, it's the same old shit,' explains 'Parker', a reporter at a public service broadcaster. The sense from many interviewees is that these spaces are created to manage and contain frustrations, rather than act on them, and the organisational focus is on presenting as diverse to increase audiences, rather than concern with the experiences of staff brought in to represent that diversity.

My data shows just one commercial broadcaster, that's part of the Project Diamond diversity measuring initiative, offers no formal 'space' and, according to 'Addison', one of their news editors, discourages any network being established for minority staff. I discuss the formation of networks shortly. However, it's worth noting here that networks established *by* minority staff, rather than by institutions as part of formal diversity schemes, tend to be more dynamic and anecdotally, in some respects, more effective at improving the quality of the working environment for marginalised groups. Arguably this is because they're rooted in ethical, rather than economic, concerns regarding inclusion, and thus are spaces where race is seen, so racism can be engaged with frankly. As 'Spencer', who helped form an informal network at their 'heteronomous' (Bourdieu, 2005) broadsheet newspaper, explains: 'knowing there are other colleagues going through similar experiences to you, who you can talk to and support one another, transforms your everyday working life'.

I now briefly discuss such informal networks, which make race seen, at least among those who participate in them.

Staff networks that see race

As outlined, the response of journalists of colour who experience disconnects between external institutional displays of pluralism and internal doxa, is to sometimes build networks within or across organisations so they, and others within marginalised groups, are better able to deal with hegemonic whiteness, structural discrimination, and the impact both have psychologically, and on career progression. Institutional responses to such networks vary. Interviewees who've worked, or currently work, for certain US based global news organisations report institutional support of identity politics and related staff networks. Economic rationalities rise to the fore here, where the institution treats these networks not just as a means of minority staff being able to support one another, but as founts of knowledge where content ideas may be generated that align with some of the interests/ concerns of particular markets, and stories fact checked with those at the coalface of them. 'Quinn', an editor at an organisation with offices in the US and UK explains:

> 'Whereas at (previous employer) I may have been like, 'I'm going to put on this hat today to write a Nigerian news story'. I'm not Nigerian and I don't have that kind of nuance you get when you live and breathe a place everyday. At (current employer) we'll discuss via our networks and the reporters in Nigeria are like, 'we'll take this' […]. So there's an authenticity there that's […] important. I think that's what we should […] strive towards, how close can you get to the source, that just because you're passionate about something doesn't mean you're an expert. I try to take that on board because as a

reporter sometimes you think I can do this. But I […] remind myself […] there's a limit to your knowledge.'

Such networks could be deemed exploitative, using 'racial capital' (Leong, 2012) to add value to white owned companies. On the other hand, black interviewees working for the same organisation as 'Quinn', cite such networks, that are part of the organisational structure, as welcome spaces. They view these as being underpinned by economic *and* ethical rationalities, where race and racism can be addressed frankly, and explain the organisation does attempt to deal with internal bias. Although that's noted with the caveat that, as 'Quinn' laughingly says, 'we had an unconscious bias training session recently. The only people who showed up were the black, Asian and LGBT staff.' Clearly, despite institutional attempts to create a more consciously diverse workplace, much still needs to be done for *all* staff to make that leap.

Some of the responses interviewees at mainstream news organisations have encountered from white colleagues in response to the creation of support networks for minority journalists within the organisation, point to a lack of awareness of white privilege[77] on the part of those colleagues, and/or a perception that such networks may threaten the status quo. A lack of awareness of the privileges attached to whiteness, and the ways they play out in the postcolonial journalistic field, manifested for 'Addison' at their commercial news broadcast employer, thus:

> 'In the newsroom there's this unspoken prohibition of any kind of black, women or LGBT networks – it's not encouraged. I've had networks wherever I've gone, I've always either found them or created them and that was ok. At (former broadsheet newspaper workplace) me and a colleague ramped up […] a network and I got shit from other people. I came out of a meeting once and someone said, 'where's the white man's network?' I'm like, 'you're sitting in it, it's called (name of organisation).' I didn't take him seriously. I just thought, 'you're a grumpy idiot who doesn't get it'. But at (current workplace) it feels more serious than that, it's just frowned upon. […] you go through all these micro aggressions and prejudices, then you feel like you can't create something to try and […] strengthen each other against it. On top of that […] when they need a black person to do a black thing, who do they ask?'

Such experiences, whereby race is erased and restored at the behest of the institution, underline the necessity of diversity and inclusion not just being written into the different doxas of news organisations and their various policies, which, as discussed, tend to involve setting

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[77] I borrow from Ahmed's (2007) description of white privilege as material and lived due to the histories, such as slavery and colonialism, that informed the construction of whiteness.

targets to increase the number of journalists from marginalised backgrounds at mainstream broadcast news organisations, and supporting training schemes at some national newspapers; but also point to the importance of news organisations not conflating commercial and ethical imperatives vis-a-vis race. This is because, as diversity studies show, economic imperatives and the 'bodies in the room' (Eddo-Lodge, 2017) game they inevitably result in, often leads to what Hall (1996) terms 'segregated visibility', rather than felt, sustainable inclusivity. Chapter 9 addresses how we may draw on phenomenology (Fanon (1986 [1952]; Ahmed, 2007) to begin to realise sustainable inclusivity within the journalistic field. Here, I stay with the diversity doxa of news organisations and the *value* attached to blackness that informs racialised inclusions of journalists of colour in the sub-field of reporting on SSA.

Diversity 'doxa' and the containment of 'habitus' in the sub-field of reporting on sub-Saharan Africa

Being included in coverage of SSA as a black media practitioner has critical caveats attached. On the one hand, inclusion speaks to institutional requirements to tick diversity boxes and respond to critiques of the colonialist image of white men gathering knowledge of, and reporting on, black Others. On the other hand, such inclusion is also rooted in problematic essentialist notions of race, where black identity is 'naturally' associated with Africa as a site of origin.

As highlighted, increasing the number of BAME journalists to remain commercially competitive, and be seen as an ethically progressive media brand, is trickling into calls for journalists who cover African news to also be more diverse. 'Gale', who works for West African media outlets and a UK public service broadcaster, explains:

> 'I think my background, as a black African, gives me unique opportunities […] at the moment because there's this move to reach new markets and address previous representation or misrepresentation of Africa […]. Journalists like me […] are seen as people who could help in addressing that, […] so it becomes […] an opportunity for me to *fit into the system*.' (Emphasis added)

The global reach of British news media means African audiences, on the continent and within the diaspora, are slowly being recognised as commercially important - of being of value to 'the system'. The fact that over 70% of people in SSA are under 30[78], digitally plugged in and the

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[78] UNESCO, World Radio Day 2013

continent's population is set to double to 2.5 billion by 2050[79], makes it a region that some senior news journalists are urging UK news organisations to treat as a serious news *market*. Indeed, 'Harley' says significant financial investment is going into extending coverage of Africa at their public service broadcast organisation.

The 'newness' and 'youthfulness' of the African news market has seen a drive, within some liberal news organisations, to recruit young journalistic talent reflecting this market. As highlighted, using entry level recruits or local African stringers tends to be more cost effective than flying British based foreign correspondents in. However, such circumstances can lead to what 'Emerson' describes as an 'exploitative strategy' that was developed by their broadsheet employer to do more Africa coverage:

> 'Generally (name of organisation) is really exploitative. But what they did […] was worse than usual. They were like, 'we're doing this whole new thing, we're going concentrate on Africa' […]. They got a […] load of bloggers and sold it as, 'you guys are going to appear in (name of organisation), this is really special'. But they didn't *pay* them […]. So some of my blogger friends who were really excited, (…) in the end they were like, 'this makes no sense. Why do they think just because we're in Africa we don't need to get paid.'

Journalists deployed because of their cheapness, or blackness, or both, are fully aware of the dynamics at play. As 'Kim' says:

> 'They needed someone young, black and cheap to be in […] Africa and they were smart enough to understand that. [The editor] asked me into his office and said, 'look, there are stories that we can't get, we know we can't get them.' I was sent out to serve a very specific challenge.'

That this journalist highlights their organisation's 'need' for someone 'young, black and cheap' speaks to how, as Saha (2018), building on Mellinger (ibid) and critical race theorist, Leong (2012), argues, diversity drives commodify race, mostly to the benefit of institutional whiteness. This works via the way institutionally white spaces 'display' their black employees ('displaying' can be done visually via picture by-lines or on screen in the case of television news) as evidence of their supposedly progressive brand. In turn, institutions benefit from the 'cultural' and/or 'economic capital' (both intrinsic to Bourdieu's (2005) conception of 'fields') that blackness brings in the way of, in the case of the journalist above for instance, access to specific stories and cheaper labour, without needing to address structural racial disparities

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[79] Kaneda, 2016.

within their organisation. Leong (2013: 2190) explains that 'racial capital' is 'the economic and social value derived from an individual's racial identity, whether by that individual, by other individuals, or by institutions'. 'Emerson', who has worked for a range of news organisations, had an instant and lasting aversion to the way they felt a liberal UK broadsheet capitalised off their blackness:

> 'I don't want to be a black journalist, I want to be a journalist who's black. The thing I didn't like about the (name of news organisation), they wanted me to be *their* black journalist in Africa, like we're (name of news organisation), and *we've* got black journalists. Like I'm some kind of show pony.' ('Emerson's' emphasis)

Racialised market rationality is also used to justify racial exclusions and/or ghettoisation. Due to the competitive nature of international news, where profit margins are minimal to non-existent, Williams observes that: 'rather than a set of news criteria, the values of news should be seen in terms of what clients and subscribers are willing to pay for. Giving customers what they want is crucial' (2011: 78 in Bunce 2015: 49). Problematically, Williams (2011) suggests that 'giving customers what they want' means international news angles will be Western-centric because the majority of people paying for news live in the Global North. 'Gale' believes that economic rationalities informing moves to include more journalists of African descent in news coverage of the continent limit the different habitus, or standpoints, those journalists may bring to coverage. For 'Gale', such limitations occur by virtue of the fact that:

> 'Media in the North still dominate the global field. […] they have huge historical advantage […], better technology and resources so the power to frame stories lies in the North, even when the journalists are Southern. There's apparently freedom for you to frame the story the way you see it. But […] the truth is that stories have already been framed for you […] because the institutional and economic structures are there to frame […] to a certain perspective.'

'Gale' argues that the historic and economic dominance of Western media also shapes how some African news organisations frame stories for African audiences. This underlines the greater cultural and economic capital Western news organisations continue to wield in the postcolonial journalistic field, despite decades old concern about such power, which prompted the UNESCO New World Information Order 1970s debates (MacBride, 1980 in Bunce et al, 2017). Further, it highlights how inclusion of local African stringers in UK news coverage of the continent risks making no difference to narratives because power relations continue to be skewed in favour of Western cultural dominance.

'They (African news media) tend to look up to what Western media is saying […]. For instance, most Nigerian newspapers will […] pick stories from news agencies - AFP, Reuters - and publish them without changing anything. […] often because they don't have enough resources to generate stories, but it's also […] the power of North versus South, the historical influence of colonialism and how this can go down to the level of a single aspect of terminological interpretation […]. It's an ingrained thing. Like when Boko Haram […] started their activities, most Nigerian organisations called them terrorists. But when the Western media […] began calling them insurgents, almost all Nigerian news organisations are now calling them insurgents. […] So that colonial copycat mentality is still there that makes many Nigerian news organisations do their stories within the Western conception of what constitutes news.' ('Gale')

Williams' (2011) assertion about Western-centric news angles dominating due to the need to give paying Northern customers what they want, clearly holds weight in light of the above journalist's experience of being a Southern based journalist, tasked with producing Southern news for UK media in keeping with Western angles. But William's suggestion that the dominance of Western angles is due to needs to satisfy paying customers, also signals, as previously highlighted, a deeper problem related to racialised assumptions about who counts as forming part of paying news populations in the North, let alone those who pay to access such news in the South. Indeed, there's an absence of acknowledgement that black people who have, to differing degrees, cultural, psychological, familial, political and economic ties with the Global North *and* the Global South, are part of *paying* Northern news populations. Economic logics, which obscure race and support the dominance of Western-centric news angles, place African heritage journalists working for mainstream UK news organinsations in a paradoxical situation. By this I mean they're producing content that needs to appeal to paying Northern customers, and having to angle such content for paying audiences that *they* are not seen to be part of. 'Spencer' says they feel 'gutted' about being staff at a newspaper that they help produce, yet people like 'them' are not counted as part of the target readership.

'I sit in meetings where it's usually all white men, but I'm thinking, 'it's my company as much as yours, you don't own it, I'm not a guest', but that's what I'm […] made to feel like. People ask, 'why don't you leave?' Maybe it's deluded, but I think why should I leave? It's mine as much as yours.'

Angles constructed to appeal to paying 'Northern' customers may be required to conform to stereotypical categories associated with blackness (e.g. sport, entertainment) or Africaness (e.g. disaster, corruption). As 'Frankie', who covers SSA for UK newspapers, puts it:

'There is definitely the issue of being boxed […], it's definitely not easy to break through and write on topics that might be perceived as being outside your self-knowledge.'

The 'problem' of 'black on black' reporting

The perception that doing 'black on black' reporting, in other words being a black journalist who covers news featuring black people from predominantly black countries, may result in being 'boxed' or 'racially profiled' so that, as Pritchard and Stonbley (ibid) find, people of colour are limited to only telling stories about their 'communities', whilst white journalists are permitted to write about anything, can lead to other journalists of colour passing on well-meaning, but arguably self-harming advice to black journalists starting out. As 'Charlie' explains of their experience at a heteronomous conservative broadsheet:

'I met this black editor when I was at (name of organisation) and I said, 'why can't I be like white journalists where I can write about personal matters *and* everything else.' The […] way I'm framed is very narrow. He said, 'the problem with you is you write about black issues.' […] both he, and this Asian guy who said something similar to me, had internalised racism. They'd picked up on the idea that somehow because when I write about Africans […], I mean I write about globalisation, […] I write about economics. Yes, they happen to be African characters, […] yes, they happen to have had certain experiences in the UK, but bloody hell these are big meaty topics and they're not just black people issues. So I found it really sad that even brown and black journalists were saying this to me. I've found that the most heartbreaking thing I've experienced. I lost respect for those journalists when they advised me not to cover black stuff because I thought, '[…] you've taken the ways white people position us, in which the system positions us, and […] there you are saying that to a young black journalist'. It was awful.'

However, 'Jamie', a senior news journalist, views the not 'writing black' strategy differently:

'I wasn't going to be, quote unquote, 'a black journalist'. I was going to be a journalist who happened to be black, and there's a *massive* difference. […] starting out in my career, I wanted to feel that I could do any type of story without anyone saying: 'they're only doing that because they're black'. […] building up […] credibility as a journalist so I could be reporting outside the White House, as readily as reporting from Angola, I think it's important to have that credibility so when you are reporting from Angola people aren't thinking, 'they're only there because they're black.' They're thinking, 'they're there because they're good'. Or if I'm outside the parliament building in Tokyo, […] they can take me seriously in that role and […] look beyond colour.' (Interviewee's emphasis)

What's important here is the idea that being black, and covering black stories in predominantly black countries, isn't a wise way to build your journalistic reputation and be taken 'seriously'.

Such a situation tragically speaks to Du Bois's (1994 [1903]) powerful concept of 'double consciousness', whereby as a person of colour in the West, you have to lose parts of yourself, or your standpoint. This may take the form of not speaking to issues, people or places that you're racially associated with, to get ahead. Thus, in the experience of many journalists of colour, including that of the journalist quoted above, 'black on black' reporting equates to a suffocating collapse of difference, in an imploding, shrinking, you're like 'them' and therefore not as 'credible' or 'valuable' as 'us' way. Simply, the notion of 'black on black' reporting being problematic exposes a serious form of racism that arises from, and results in, external and internalised limits being placed on blackness.

The lack of value attached to 'black stories' also speaks to the previously mentioned economic imperatives of news, and the connection between market logics and racial logics, whereby racialised exclusions from the dominant public sphere are justified by market logics that dictate that black people can't feature prominently in mainstream narratives, because black people don't sell (see Chapter 7), and can only be tellers of stories considered 'palatable to white readers and viewers' (Allan, 1999:183).

Given this, journalists of colour who strategically avoid doing 'black on black' reporting are arguably just demonstrating an awareness of the levels of institutional racism within mainstream UK news, and the additional strategies you must employ as a person of colour trying to build a career within that system: playing a warped game in the hope that you'll eventually build enough professional capital to be able to cover stories related to, or featuring, black people without 'risking' your credibility. 'Jamie', who now feels they have enough capital within the journalistic field to do 'black stories', firmly believes that when they started out, that had to be their strategy 'to *begin* with' ('Jamie's' emphasis), because 'black stories':

> '…were sidelined. Whether it's […] covering the Notting Hill carnival or some riot in Brixton […]. There's a reason Kate Adie is the national treasure she is, because before Kate Adie women did puff stories. There's a reason Trevor McDonald is the icon he is, because you didn't see many black people doing reporting. In fact, I don't remember any black journalists before Trevor McDonald, but he wasn't simply doing those black stories, he was doing all kinds of stories and as a result I felt it did give him credibility when he ended up interviewing Nelson Mandela […] And that's what I wanted. So now, if there's a story in Sierra Leone or whatever, my hand is the first to go up, but when I was starting out – no way!"

How institutional 'containment' may work for and against you

My findings suggest that feeling able to do 'black on black' reporting, or not, is partly generational and moment driven. For instance, those journalists of colour who were working in the industry and covering Africa during South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, or who entered the profession around the time of the Macpherson inquiry (1999) into institutional racism, which led to an unprecedented level of scrutiny of powerful public and private institutions in the UK and their race and equality policies, cite these moments as career shaping. These were stories of international and national magnitude and meaningfulness, both significant news values (Galtung and Ruge, 1965), thus conceivably enabling these stories to be seen as universal, even though race was central to them.

> 'When the Macpherson report happened… that makes a big difference. I was young enough not to be jaded and to be understood to be a new voice in a moment where these things were wanted. […] between 97 when Blair's elected, or even between 99 and 2001 and September 11 and things close down in terms of diversity, […] Brick Lane is commissioned, Steve McQueen wins the Turner Prize, […], there's a narrow opening and that was a lucky moment for me. You could feel people were suddenly interested in things they weren't before, they wanted to know about Muslims and black people, so it was quite an intense period. It would be more difficult to do that now because things are closing down - Tory government, multiculturalism has become a poorly understood, toxic word as opposed to something to be celebrated. It was a politically proficuous moment for me. I was *lucky*. You only realise in retrospect because you didn't know it was going to close.' ('Kim', my emphasis)

But as the same journalist explains, it took Obama for the newspaper they work for to realise that they, and other journalists of colour who've followed since, might be qualified to cover big issues, whether race is central to those issues or not. That's not to suggest things have significantly improved. As discussed, figures on both the stagnant or dwindling number of black practitioners across the mainstream British media industry, as well as anecdotal evidence, tell us otherwise. Some of the younger journalists interviewed underlined how diversity, which is institutionally demonstrated via their appointments, can be, to quote Angela Davis (2007), 'the difference that makes no difference, the change that brings about no change', when they speak of the frequency with which they are made to feel, by those who appointed them, just how *lucky* they are to be working for a mainstream news organisation. Such utterances serve to reinforce just how 'Other' journalists of colour are; just how much of a potential organisational 'risk' it is to take on someone who belongs to a peripheral, narrowly

constructed category of people which, whilst making the institution look good at the level of diversity, also risks 'holding us back' (Ahmed, 2012:180), because of the perceived narrowness of that category of people and what they seemingly represent. As 'Parker', a reporter for a public service broadcaster, explains:

'The constant thing they like to reiterate to me is how lucky I am to be there, and they don't say that to my white colleagues. Instead, they're […] offered pay rises. I find that problematic, I find that […] emotionally abusive. My editor always wants to say to me, 'do you know how many people applied for your job and I picked you,' and, 'you're here because of me'. They say this all the time and I said to myself, 'hang on, when I accepted this job I had three other offers.'

Despite such incidences, where 'lucky' is utilised as a word to infer that you've gained work not on merit, but per chance; the 'lucky' South African, Macpherson and Obama moments cited above, do perhaps explain why a number of younger journalists interviewed also feel more able, in some institutions, to call out racism when they encounter it, and to 'write black' should they want to.   I'll return to the idea of 'moments' below.

Owning blackness

For now, it's important to note how whilst racism, and the way it manifests as containment, remains an issue across all mainstream UK newsrooms, many journalists of colour also report feeling emboldened to capitalise on their 'blackness' within these spaces, particularly those who entered the profession post Obama. By capitalise I don't mean these journalists are seeking to exploit their 'blackness' in some tokenistic way, but instead that they're publicly owning it[80], rather than shrinking away from it to be accepted in white dominated spaces, as per Du Bois' (ibid) conception of double consciousness.

The ability of journalists of colour to publicly own their 'blackness' has particular resonance for those covering predominantly black regions, like SSA. As touched on, these journalists cite being able to gain more access to certain stories and working to disrupt colonial regimes of representation, whereby white Europeans feature in more authoritative positions than black

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[80] 'It' isn't meant in a singular sense, as if 'blackness' speaks to a single sense of identity, but in the limitless, as well as strategically essentialising (hooks, 1994, see also Spivak, 2008) ways blackness is felt and defined by those who are black. It's worth noting that Spivak introduced the term 'strategic essentialism' to postcolonial theory, but later dismissed it (2008) due to the way nationalists co-opted the term to promote essentialism in problematic exclusionary ways. For me, strategic essentialism has value when it is utilised as a mobilising tool to contest exclusion of marginalised groups.

people, as significant bonuses to their being placed on, or opting to cover, stories in SSA. As 'Addison' explains:

> 'My white colleagues were jealous of stuff I could do and say in (African country of origin). They'd be like, 'I'm not sure you can say this,' and I'd say, 'I can because I'm from (African country of origin) and I can criticise more freely in a funny way and I did have access some of my white colleagues were jealous of. I just had insight. I could understand stuff that was going on.'

'Billie' says they feel their ethnicity, and gender, gives them certain privileges when accessing stories:

> 'I think being a woman of colour has helped me in my stories. […] I've covered FGM in some African countries and in that situation, […] a man couldn't have done it at all, a white woman - it just would have looked different. The right kind of white woman would have been fine, but I think being a woman of colour, it just *made* a difference. It just *did*. […] you're focusing on the story and the people you're speaking to, but clearly how you look and your background will have an impact on the people you're speaking to and the audience watching.' ('Billie's' emphasis)

'Jamie' explains that if they're tackling news stories in Africa where race is either central to the story, or where, because of the potentially stereotypical themes the story revolves around, looking at the story through the lens of their experience as a person of colour 'is important. Particularly if you're keen to address stereotypes in reporting that are false.' Other interviewees concur, stressing the importance of their habitus to their reporting.

'Habitus' versus institutional 'doxa'

First-hand experience often directly informs the 'habitus' of diversity practitioners[81]. The insertion of their habitus into the doxa of news organisations can act as an ethical counter to market logics that underpin racialised exclusion and inclusion. It is ethical rationalities, informed by the habitus of certain individuals within the organisation, that inject the necessary impetus into the often exhausting, sometimes career damaging work (see also Newkirk, 2002; Ahmed, 2012) of devising and sustaining diversity strategies.

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[81] I use the word 'practitioners' loosely as, often in mainstream media, the roles of those engaged in diversity and inclusion are not formalised, but done alongside full-time jobs on a voluntary, unpaid basis. So while such individuals are involved in the practice of diversity, they're often journalists or editors first and foremost, rather than diversity practitioners, and they carve out time to do diversity work.

Interviewees who are formally or informally involved in diversity work in mainstream UK news organisations, either on a paid (typically within broadcast media) or unpaid basis (usually those on newspapers), have personal experience of being discriminated against, or have seen those with whom they have *felt* proximity suffer discrimination. For these individuals, media diversity and inclusion are fundamentally ethical and moral issues. For 'Riley', whose formative years were shaped by the racially tumultuous landscape of the 1980s, with riots raging across the UK and Margaret Thatcher branding the ANC a 'terrorist' organisation, becoming a journalist appeared to be a good tool to use to campaign for equality. They worked for Britain's black press, often the place black journalists get their first break, before moving into white dominated news media. Upon finding that the inequality they'd dreamed of using journalism to campaign against in the world outside, was also rife within mainstream media institutions, they set about trying to implement change:

> 'People leaving the black British press were really good journalists and they wanted to stay in journalism. But working for largely white media, which I accessed accidentally via a personal contact, I thought why is that when I come into [name of news organisation] I'd be one of the only people of colour and the [name of organisation] would never take any of those really good people. I *felt* that has got to be wrong. We […] should be finding a way to […] break down the barriers that prevent people coming in. That's why I started pushing for change.' (Emphasis added).

'Harley', a senior white news editor long responsible for African news content at a public service broadcaster, recalls the creeping discomfort they felt living and working in African countries and seeing the way other white Western foreign correspondents often operated on the continent:

> 'When I first joined the industry, all Africans were fair game, they were just people […] you […] used to glorify your reporting. I think there's more sensitivity now […] but it's a work in progress'.

Witnessing the misreporting in UK news, and the journalistic talent in the countries 'Harley' was based in, prompted 'Harley' to set up an informal intern scheme for local African journalists. A number who did the scheme secured work with Western news organisations. 'Harley' did this, they say, so these local journalists could:

> 'tell their story right! I […] became very frustrated and […] fought to get a better range of voices doing coverage. I do lots of mentoring […] I think it's a life-long commitment. But […] not nurturing that talent is an institutional problem, which I'm not proud of […].

When I came back to London, because of (the work I'd done bringing talent on board in Africa), I […] became a point of reference for our Afro-Caribbean staff. They all seemed to be sidelined or badly treated or *felt* no one was supporting their careers […]. It was tragic, these are talented…and they tend to be women actually, young black women, and […] they feel they've been consistently overlooked for jobs, no one's explained why. […] someone should be doing something, but it's not happening. I don't know what it is, and if you use the 'R' word people […] reel in horror and say, 'who me? Never, some of my best friends are black!' (Emphasis added)

Chipping away

Exasperated by the institutional silence regarding the lack of diversity at their organisation, 'Spencer', along with like-minded colleagues, took to counting the number of black, and female, contributors the newspaper commissions. It's worth quoting their experience at length because, for me, it demonstrates the extent of the everyday chipping away some individuals engage in to attempt to shift institutional culture:

 'A few years ago I noticed a tiny line, 'we welcome applications from all sections of the community', that started appearing on the bottom of internal job ads […]. I asked the union how it was being monitored but I never got an answer. I started counting the number of men, women, black, white, just keeping numbers on who gets commissioned. I was finding day after day it was just white men. A bit later I was having an argument with a deputy who said, 'I don't care if we don't publish any women'. I said, 'how many women do you think we publish?' He said, 'about 30 – 40%'. I said, '[…] count the last month.' It was about 15%, so half what he thought. It just shows the difference between perception and reality […]. I said, 'how many black people do you think there are?' He counted. The only person was Barack Obama. You have to be president of the United States to contribute as a black person – it's incredible[…].

I presented these numbers at a diversity […] event. Everyone was like, 'god, the supposedly liberal (name of organisation), this is outrageous.' But they were all talking about women and gender, so I said, 'for black women it's even worse'. Because you start talking about diversity and almost always the conversation focuses on gender, never race, […] and generally because I'm the only black person in the room I have to raise it, thinking this isn't going to go anywhere. So me and some colleagues started keeping a spreadsheet with black, woman, man. We did it over 3 months and presented it to senior staff. After that, the editor put out a statement about wanting to improve

diversity. But all the time we're saying, 'are we going to have strategy [...] where's the metrics?' And there never are.

They appointed one guy who got bored. When we went to see him he said, 'start keeping a list of potential contributors.' So we compiled a list of over 200 people but my boss says, '[...] it's more trouble than it's worth. And anyway, who says black people represent diversity? I've got a European name, [...] what about people like me? I think it's racist to say it's good to have someone just because he's brown, it should be done on merit.' My boss is always saying it should be done on merit, but we publish rubbish things everyday [...] by white men, and we spend hours making these mediocre pieces good. We wouldn't put any effort into something by a woman, god forbid a black woman, because it's a completely different merit. So, it's like, what about that crap piece, that you said was crap, by a white man? And yet these guys get commissioned weekly, full of mistakes [...] and my boss will say it's crap but [...] doesn't seem to compute.'

'Riley', who fought to get jobs advertised externally to break with the nepotistic ways positions are frequently filled within journalism, says:

'Every change has been a struggle. [...] The resistance to that idea (of advertising jobs) running through the organisation was [...] incredible. The response was, 'we'll just [...] have to plough through all these applications and we know who is going to get the job [...] anyway so what's the point? And they couldn't possibly be as good as the people we have in the organisation already.' It's been really eye opening to see how power works. Even the defeats are great because it [...] tells you so much about what battles you [...] face.'

I emphasise the word 'felt' in some of the above quotes because most interviewees spoke of their feelings as important factors motivating them to pursue change in mainstream news organisations. These include feelings about not seeing themselves and people from other marginalised groups fairly represented or represented at all. Therefore, feeling they wanted to enter journalism to campaign for equality, due to the feelings they have that equality is lacking in their lives, often in an intersectional sense (Crenshaw, ibid; Phoenix et al, ibid), the lives of those they know and/or the lives of racialised Others who were/are contending with issues they recognise, and so have a felt connectivity with.

Feelings are powerful and because statistics only reveal so much, feelings are a vital indicator of how valued and included people are within the journalistic field. But the importance that

powerful people and institutions attribute to how people feel differs according to who those people are, and the socio-historical context in which their feelings are being considered. As we've seen, the Macpherson moment was, given its tragic raison d'etre, a bitter-sweet period for journalists of colour. Those who had been calling for greater diversity in mainstream media also used the Macpherson report, with its focus on institutional racism, as an opportunity to urge senior journalists and editors, who were busily writing about the institutional racism the report formally uncovered within the Metropolitan Police, to reflect on the degree of race equality within their own institutions. Prior to the reports publication, 'Riley' had tried to draw their employer's attention to racism within their *own* organisation. 'Riley' sighs at the memory of only finally being listened to about something they have everyday (see also Essed, 1991) knowledge of, because of an external inquiry that became headline news:

> 'I was the […] only black person in the office and you could raise an issue and immediately it would be, 'of course […] we don't do that kind of stuff'. One journalist even said to me, '[…] you can't tell me anything about race equality, I've read Eldridge Cleaver.' […] it was that sort of attitude, 'my dear, […] what do you know, what can you tell us, we're liberals. What can you tell us about racism […]. We're the press, we're the elite and you come in and think you can teach us anything.' So, it was just banging your head literally. […] But when the Macpherson report happened, […] the door was slightly ajar.'

In my view, this illustrates what often happens when raced habitus comes up against the doxa of 'fields' (Bourdieu, 2005), or what is colloquially termed 'the system', in Western societies. Not being seen or heard, feeling invisible and contained by stereotypical categories, or by a sense of tokenism, is what James Baldwin was referring to when he wrote, *Nobody Knows My Name* in the 1960s; it is a state of being that the title of Ralph Ellison's 1952 novel, *Invisible Man,* invoked; it is the sense Audre Lorde (1984: 142) captured when she wrote, 'nothing neutralizes creativity quicker than tokenism, that false sense of security fed by a myth of individual solutions. To paraphrase Malcolm - a Black woman attorney driving a Mercedes […] is still a "nigger bitch"'. Fast forward to today, and such feelings and senses, that speak to and of the lived realities of not being seen or heard, are what Black Lives Matter activists are getting at when they state, *Black Lives Matter*: a painfully necessary statement pertaining to lives that are too often erased at the hands of the very systems (government, the judiciary, education, the police, the mass media), that are meant to exist in democracies to ensure all lives are treated and represented fairly, rather than to uphold and perpetuate racial inequality.

Being a journalist is a privileged position, and I'm not suggesting that the discrimination faced by black journalists is equivalent to being unlawfully murdered by the police. But racial discrimination happens in every area of public life and the discrimination black journalists face within news media institutions that are meant to hold power to account, is another symptom of entrenched societal racial inequality and a reminder of how difficult it is to shift. As 'Riley' observes:

> 'There's a real structural inertia, a structural, institutional bias that we haven't dealt with (within journalism). […] where people can be super-intelligent and they can get firsts from Oxford, but they don't really understand what's going on.'

'Taylor', another journalist who has worked for print and broadcast media mostly at the heteronomous end of Bourdieu's (ibid) 'field', concurs. Taylor explains they spent much of their career feeling out of place and unable to be themselves because they felt their Afro-Caribbean, working-class background, and the knowledge and perspectives they had due to their habitus, were not valued or understood. Therefore, they had to pretend to be engaged in stories that often felt insignificant to them, but where:

> 'apparently what readers wanted. Not the people I knew though, but they still read those publications just because that's what's there'.

Due to 'Taylor's' personal frustration at the whiteness and narrowness of mainstream UK media, they started approaching major media organisations and persuading them to take on interns from BAME and working-class backgrounds. These efforts were so successful that 'Taylor' left journalism to do diversity work full-time, with their focus now on filling senior posts. 'Taylor' explains their pitch to media organisations focuses on the economic value of having a more diverse range of voices, but the basis of their drive is moral and ethical:

> 'It comes from my experience of not feeling I could be myself and not wanting other minority journalists to go through that. I always regularly meet the people I place to make sure things are going ok. I say, 'be yourself, make your broad interests known, show the breadth of who you are from the beginning', that way you can try and break out of being pigeon-holed by showing your experiences and knowledge is as valuable as anyone else's. If they're not feeling they can do that, I organise a meeting with their manager, we all talk and that normally helps clear up misunderstanding which lead to people leaving. It helps for people to feel they're not alone in companies.'

Keeping vital lines of communication open means taking feelings seriously so they can be dealt with constructively. This can be hard in the increasingly under-resourced world of news media. As 'Riley' says:

'One thing I'm really struggling with […] is having time. It takes time and committing the resources to […] make real changes. […] it's no one's priority because we've got to get the news out, we're in this crisis of […] funding. You don't have the time to do it and then you'll find a few years have passed and nothing's changed. Worse, the things […] you set up, like the diversity awareness or recruitment training […], have […] fallen into decay. So it's constantly renewing and keeping on top of it.'

Individual good intentions and efforts that fall 'into decay', are symptomatic of what Gray (2015) refers to as the media's 'ritual dance' with diversity. The concluding chapter considers how we might apply theory to begin to break such rituals, by drawing on phenomenology, with its emphasis on showing how what's felt and intangible, is material and lived, and scholarly work on the politics of racism and emotion (e.g. Fanon, 1986[1952]; Lorde, 1984; Ahmed, 2007).

Conclusion

Building on studies on institutional diversity (e.g. Ahmed, 2012; Mellinger 2003; Allan, 1999; Saha, 2018), I have shown how my empirical data reveals a disconnect between expressed organisational commitments to diversity, which are increasingly driven by economic imperatives, and the experiences of black journalists within those organisations. This disconnect, in both the journalistic field and the subfield of reporting on SSA, is due to the way the focus on the market detracts from attending to ethical concerns centered on dismantling racial disparities.

However, the habitus of individuals in the journalistic field who can, or seek to, influence the appointment and/or commissioning of journalists of colour does help directly and indirectly disrupt norms and affect change. But the actions of such individuals may come at a cost to the amount of capital they acquire within the field, or an erosion of what they've already acquired. This can lead to exhaustion or a sense, as 'Riley' put it, of 'surviving, not thriving' particularly if structures aren't in place to support and sustain the actions of such individuals.

I say 'indirectly' affect change, because disruption doesn't have to occur in quantifiable ways. Rather, qualitative, *felt* changes, as the work of postcolonial, critical race and feminist scholars

show (e.g. Fanon, 1986 [1952]; Lorde, 1984; Ahmed, 2007) are as important. Chapter 9 considers what a phenomenological approach to race in the context of journalism may entail.

Chapter 7

Bridging gaps or reinforcing racial divides? The role of INGOs as news sources in the reporting of sub-Saharan Africa

This chapter addresses the position of INGOs as news sources. My findings indicate that well-resourced organisations[82], which all the INGO press officers interviewed for this study work for (bar one), have an important degree of power, and thus responsibility, in influencing how mainstream news narratives on SSA are shaped. Such power, I argue, is derived from the way INGO messaging on SSA hangs, net like, over the journalistic field. Having long been cast out, it forms a discursive layer which, like a fishing throw net, floats over an area but is submerged so it's largely invisible. As with Foucault's conception of discourse (see Chapter 4), the floating net is kept in place by historical weights and buoyed by a racialised 'market rationality' (Brown, 2005). This rationality reigns over the journalistic and INGO fields, capturing a form of hegemonic[83] racialised discourse. In turn, this discourse sustains a need narrative on SSA which legitimises the position of INGOs as dominant news sources on the region.

My findings show how the net is cut to size so INGO messaging on SSA can be slotted, jigsaw like, into different news spaces. Via a conception of these processes as 'floating' and 'jigsawing', I discuss how the potential for INGO sources to enhance the public sphere (e.g. Beckett, 2009a&b; Cottle & Nolan, 2009) by promoting a pluralistic range of media spokespeople who are more representative of (and indeed from) the regions where INGO work is focused, thereby conceivably helping to challenge stereotypical representations of SSA and subvert the white Western saviour narrative, is curtailed by racialised market logics. Like dominant mainstream news media, my findings show that well-resourced INGOs tend to fail to

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[82]As noted in Chapter 4, most of my INGO interviewees work for organisations that are among the 50 wealthiest NGOs in Britain. According to a recent report (*Financial trends for UK-based INGOs*, April 2016, Bond), UK-based INGOs experienced growth in income between 2006/07 and 2013/14. INGOs with incomes of £40 million plus experienced the greatest growth and, 'increased their market share of most income streams' (Bond, 2016:2). However, the same report also notes that INGOs face an uncertain financial future due to changes in the sector, including government donors beginning to directly fund NGOs in the Global South so, in theory, bypassing INGOs traditionally playing an intermediary role. A seemingly uncertain financial future for major INGOs arguably amplifies their need to sustain narratives about distant Others being in need, and thus maintain public support, which remains 'steady' (Bond, 2016:1), for INGO work. Put simply, financial uncertainty tethers large INGOs closer to the market, conceivably making them more risk adverse. Thus, they're less likely to work in ways that may jeopardise their market share, including at the level of communication which is vital for mitigating against scepticism about aid effectiveness.

[83] In discussing discourse and hegemony, I draw from Said's (1978:7) definition of power where he emphasises intersections between Foucault's conception of power/knowledge and Gramsci's notion of hegemony (see Chapter 2).

see beyond such logics. Thus, although some INGO media managers, such as 'Leslie', say they want to avoid using, 'your bog standard white Western actor' in press material on regions where the majority of the population is not white, they tend to draw on market logics to rationalise the ongoing use of white Western actors. In doing so, INGOs contribute to a capturing of race within the journalistic field, which is seemingly out of keeping with assumed (see also Deacon, 2003) organisational commitments to social justice, equality and the 'war of position'[84] one might expect INGOs, as civil society actors, to take in relation to their work, including their PR. Instead, such a capturing of race, is, I argue, *productive* of, and the *product* of, a historicised, racialised, capitalist[85], moralising discourse on SSA. In this way, INGOs are implicated in a collusion of position on mainstream UK news coverage of SSA that is a historically rooted, colonial discourse of race. This 'collusion of position' is also expressed by some INGO employees via a racialised ambivalence vis-à-vis the inclusion of African diaspora, who have always played an important role in development/ humanitarian work in their countries of origin and heritage, in the dominant INGO sector.

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[84] The notion of a 'war of position' is central to Gramsci's discussion of political strategy. Gramsci believed, in relation to his focus on radical change in liberal democracies, that 'one should refrain from facile rhetoric about direct attacks against the State and concentrate instead on the difficult […] tasks that a 'war of position' within civil society entails' (Buttigieg, 2005: 41). Gramsci described a 'war of position', which involves utilising culture, which he argued enables publics to imagine change, rather than physical force, to resist domination, subvert hegemony and construct a more equitable social order as, 'the only viable possibility in the West' (Gramsci, 2007:168). A collusion of position, on the other hand, involves utilising culture to uphold and amplify hegemonic ideology.

[85] Here, I am referring to two issues. First, the way capitalist systems of news production constrain discourses in particular raced, classed and gendered ways to attract audiences and advertising revenue. Or, in the case of public service broadcasters, such as the BBC, that aren't reliant on advertising, but are required to compete in a public sphere dominated by market logic in order to maintain audience share and thus justify the licence fee. Indeed, Fenton & Freedman (2018:9) argue that the BBC is, 'as embedded as private media in a neoliberal discipline that is present in all the restructurings […] that have affected the BBC: the emergence of an internal market […] the emphasis on value for money, […] the determination to tie public service media to the needs of their commercial rivals.'
Second, due to the historical connections between racism and capitalism. Such connections are rooted in the construction of racist discourse that was utilised to legitimise the Atlantic slave trade and colonialism, both of which serviced the growth of capitalism in the Western world (see Williams, 1944). Thus, modern day racialised discourse is wedded to capitalist systems, such as market driven news production, just as classism is. Indeed, contemporary structural inequality is about class as well as race. These two forms of oppression have intersected since the 19th century when some of the mechanisms of colonialism were used in the metropolitan centres to 'institute and maintain the intersection of […] class lines and racialised metropolitan ghettoes' (Goldberg, 1993: 44). Today, journalism is a profession where race and class continue to overlap to reduce the chances of BAME people, who are over-represented in the lowest socio-economic groups in the UK (Palmer & Kenway, 2007) from entering a profession where you increasingly need material support, in the form of financial assistance from a wealthy parent or partner, to get on the career ladder. This is due to expectations that people do long internships to gain the experience (NUJ, 2012) and contacts required for paid employment.

The power of INGO sources in the production of news on SSA

> 'I'm always looking for opportunities for us to set the agenda […]. There are rules […] but […] people are increasingly looking at ways to save costs. That means […] media working with NGOs are swapping material in ways that […] wouldn't have been considered in the past.' ('Sandy')

This observation, from the head of media at a major international charity that works to alleviate poverty, speaks to the complexities of media-INGO relations: the tussle to define meaning that media outlets and sources are eternally engaged in (e.g. Gans, 1979; Schlesigner and Tumber, 1994; Manning, 2001; Cottle, 2003); the acknowledgement of 'rules' of the game which, particularly in broadcast media, require balanced reporting (Phillips, 2015); and the challenging economic landscape media organisations are operating within, which has led to cost-cutting, particularly in foreign news (Sambrook, 2010), and growing opportunities for well-resourced NGOs (Fenton, 2010) to have their messaging featured on mainstream news platforms.

But whilst changes within the media landscape have, and are, altering the relationship INGOs have with journalists in the reporting of SSA, it's important to note that although INGOs have traditionally been viewed as non-elite sources (Deacon, 2003), when it comes to news on SSA they have long enjoyed elite source status[86] and the opportunity to be 'primary definers' (Hall et al, 1978) that accompanies such status. 'Jade', a senior press officer at a wealthy British international aid and development charity, concurs:

> 'We *always* have been important sources of stories […] in sub-Saharan Africa […] because we have information on what's happening there, […] we have people […] working there, and close links with communities there […]. Most media outlets in the UK […] will go to organisations such as Save the Children, Oxfam and UN agencies […] to ask them what's happening and get their take. […] it's not just journalists coming to us, it's us going to them. We frame stories as we see fit […]. If we can tell it […] convincingly, […] and we do it early enough in the cycle of that story, there's a likelihood it'll be framed that way.' (Emphasis added)

Floating and jigsawing messaging

As my findings show, the 'primary source' (Hall et al, 1978) status well-resourced INGOs enjoy in relation to news on SSA doesn't mean they operate on the winning side of a binary power

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[86] See Chapter 2.

relationship, consistently controlling access to information and angling stories to suit their agenda, as per Hall et al's (1978) original conception of the power enjoyed by primary definers of news. The way wealthy INGO sources operate in the sub-field of reporting on SSA is more aligned with Manning (2001) and Davis' (2002) description of how, particularly well-resourced sources, operate strategically and use agenda-setting 'tools' (such as press officers) in a bid to be heard in the competitive journalistic field. However, whilst such conceptions of journalist-source relations have it that media space is contested by different organisations and individuals and 'voices rise and fall, as they attract the attention of the professional journalistic gatekeepers' (Phillips, 2010:88), my findings – both from journalists and INGO press officers interviewed - indicate that within the sub-field of reporting on SSA, the voices of well-resourced INGOs never fall. Instead, they float across the journalistic field, habitually being cast out by press officers and capturing different segments of the field at different moments, but sustaining an ever-present narrative on SSA.

Via the lens of Foucault's notion of discourse and Gramsci's concept of hegemony, both of which Said (1978) utilises to describe how Orientialism operates, we can develop an understanding of the varying degrees of power INGOs have in the 'sub-field' (Marchetti, 2005) of mainstream UK news coverage of SSA. This power is discursive, in the Foucauldian sense, because of the historical legacy of Britain's relationship with SSA, which was constructed in 'talk and text' (Van Dijk, 2000:34) as a region in *need* to justify colonial governance and, later, INGO intervention (see also Nugent, 2004). The relationship between Britain and her ex African colonies continues to be one of unequal power[87]. I use the notions of 'floating' and 'jigsawing' to describe the power my findings reveal INGOs have long (or 'always', as 'Jade' asserts) enjoyed in relation to dominant mainstream news on SSA.

'Floating' describes how the dominant INGO narrative on SSA functions, and is sustained, in two ways. On the one hand, floating conveys a lightness and innocence, conceivably in the form of an unobstructive net that gently sinks below the surface, simply gathering ways of seeing and understanding that are already out there (including certain facts about those in need) to narrate stories about black African Others in ways that will resonate with UK publics and prompt giving. As discussed, what's already *out there* in relation to ideas of SSA in the UK,

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[87]The way this power operates economically (including in overseas aid spending which is targeted by the UN at 0.7% of gross national income), militarily, sociologically and politically are multiple and discussion of these tentacles of power is beyond the scope of this research. But it's worth noting how power relations between the UK and SSA countries also continue to play out discursively and find expression at the heart of British politics. For instance, Britain's former Foreign Secretary, Boris Johnson, who defended the history of colonialism, said, 'the best fate for Africa would be if the old colonial powers, or their citizens, scrambled once again in her direction; on the understanding that this time they will not be asked to feel guilty.' (Boris Johnson on Africa in Quotes, BBC News, July 14th 2016).

are problematic conceptions of race that INGOs capture in ways that 'reanimate already existing themes' (Foucault, 1972 in Stoler 2002a:379). These themes, as we'll see in Chapter 8, sit comfortably within normative racialised news frames on SSA. But because INGOs can be seen to be innocently floating their messages across the journalistic field, which hauls them in and construes them in particular ways, INGOs may be thought to be less implicated in hegemonic constructions of meaning on SSA than news media institutions and the journalists who work for them. Thus, INGOs may distance themselves from such constructions if they don't sit well with their brand image[88], placing the onus for representational outcomes on journalists, even if the INGO is the dominant source for the story. 'Corin', head of communications at a well-resourced INGO, articulated this transfer of representational responsibility when they explained that:

'We pitch stories, but it's a journalist reporting. They have the final say.'

On the other hand, floating is also suggestive of a suffocating object that shifts and retracts, but mostly constrains the field it moves within, capturing *and* constructing racialised discourse on SSA, and absorbing and/or constricting dissenting views. Seen like this, floating is less an innocent mechanism which INGOs trigger but other actors in the journalistic field misuse. Instead, a view of floating as a suffocating mechanism offers a means of describing how INGOs help sustain a hegemonic, racialised discourse on SSA. As such, INGOs are implicated in a collusion of position vis-à-vis mainstream UK news coverage of SSA, rather than a 'war of position' (Gramsci, ibid). Such collusion contributes to maintaining INGO power in the sub-field of reporting on SSA by keeping afloat the idea that the region is in permanent need of INGO help. 'Addison', a broadsheet and broadcast journalist, describes the difficulty of escaping the messaging of well-resourced INGOs in the subfield of reporting on SSA, not only because of INGO PR muscle, but also their ability to arrange access to stories:

'When I became Africa Correspondent I wanted to avoid aid and development stories, but I got besieged with emails from major INGOs saying they had contacts everywhere and could help me. The problem is INGOs only do certain things. They do food distributions in refugee camps, they don't go gallivanting in the desert looking for terrorists which is the kind of story my editors want. But because there are no INGOs doing that, I can't because they have the resources to get you to stories. [...] INGOs bring their perspective. They're usually involved in crisis so they'll see the worst of situations. [...] it feeds the same narrative about victimhood. That's part of the reason the hopeless continent narrative

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[88] In the case of the INGOs included in this study, organisational brand image pivots around doing 'good' for Others, and thus seemingly stands in opposition to the harm inflicted by racism.

has persisted in how foreign media cover Africa. INGOs have cottoned onto that so they're saying we don't talk about victims, we talk about survivors. Africans are […] resilient, they smile loads. I find it so patronising – Africans helping themselves but they still need our help to help themselves. It's the same thing repackaged.'

'Zanzi', an editor at a public service broadcaster, has extensive experience of covering Africa and feels INGOs:

'Steal your eyes and ears. They tend to tell you we've already seen […] it on your behalf. All we want you to do is convey it. There's a tendency to reduce media organisations […] to conveyor belts of what humanitarian agencies want. […] humanitarian agencies know because of the weak media infrastructure across Africa, there are many places you can operate and never see a journalist. Therefore, they'll tailor their message to suit their end result. And the end result is, when you're reporting on Africa, unfortunately the world has to be shocked […]. People fighting, dying of hunger – these things are happening, but the scale […] portrayed is made to shock. You shock, you get funding.'

'Corin' concedes that although journalists, in theory, 'have the final say' on how stories are constructed, when it comes to reporting SSA, INGOs have as firm, if not a firmer, grip on the field:

'Journalists don't have the resources or […] time researching a story like us. If they're pitched a good story, they'll […] try and do it. […] I don't think I've ever been on a trip where the piece has been […] off message.'

The above quotes offer insight into the tangle that occurs beneath the 'floating net': the way journalists who cover SSA rely on INGOs; some of the practical difficulties of getting beyond INGO related stories; and INGO vested interests in colluding in generating narratives that 'shock' to get funding. This tangle can be illuminated by Gramsci's notion of hegemony, which emphasises the cultural maintenance of power and its diffusion throughout society. Such diffusion can lead to groups and individuals, including those that seek to 'do good', like INGOs, or 'hold power to account', like journalists, suppressing one another's dissent for economic gain ('you shock, you get funding'), or so they can deliver on the job ('because there are no INGOs doing that, I can't'). For INGOs, economic gain materialises in the form of donations generated off the back of 'shocking' journalism. For journalists, producing work that's not 'off message' should result in being granted access to further hard-to-reach stories by INGOs, and boost the journalist's professional capital. Thus, racialised, capitalist narratives may be kept afloat even, as we'll see, by those who seek to contest such narratives. The fact that news

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media and INGO agendas frequently interconnect also buoys this floating. 'Hilary', a media manager at an international humanitarian NGO explains:

'In news, if it bleeds it leads. […] that's an old-fashioned thing to say but it's true, and if you're a humanitarian organisation whose raison d'etre is to respond to catastrophes […] then you're already […] in a dark place in terms of telling grim stories […], where people are suffering and where often, […] those people […] are of colour and […] *don't look like us*.' (Emphasis added)

Jigsawing

I'll return to consideration of the raced assumptions about *who* encompasses '*us*' that are expressed by the above interviewee, and some other INGO research participants. Here, I focus more on the positionalities of INGO sources in the sub-field of reporting on SSA and the alignment of INGO concerns with hegemonic understandings of what SSA events are considered newsworthy. I suggest that floating is enhanced via what I term 'jigsawing'. This mechanism enables, as 'Hilary' explains, INGO media teams to use the breadth of the journalistic field to their advantage by casting nets out far and wide and jigsawing content to fit different news platforms:

'When I started 20 years ago the number of dedicated Western foreign correspondents […] based […] in places like Nairobi […] was bigger and that's […] changed. […] NGOs have moved in to fill the gap. But let's be clear that the gap they're filling … the number of foreign news stories may have diminished in each outlet, but my god the number of outlets has exploded […] so I've urged my colleagues to think more broadly about where and how we place content. Also, there's the increasing use of stringers and freelancers, some of whom work for both NGOs and news media, so there's a real blurring of the lines.'

This blurring, combined with an explosion of news outlets, which findings reveal (Phillips, 2010:101) gather material from an increasingly narrow pool of sources, means interviewees who work for well-resourced INGOs feel able to communicate their messages in a targeted manner. Rather than just rely, as 'Hilary' describes of what happened pre-digital media, 'on the 10 o'clock news and our campaigning material' to convey one-off messages, INGOs with the resources use different media platforms to support a variety of organisational needs. These may be focused on fundraising, advocacy or purely strengthening their brand image.

Jigsaw messaging entails specific pieces of information being matched with different news outlets, making it possible for an organisation's entire message to get airtime, for the *whole*

jigsaw to be pieced together at an organisational level, but different news audiences may receive particular elements of it. This can be seen to dilute (Fenton, 2010) INGO messaging. However, it can also be viewed as working in their favour, enabling well-resourced INGOs to hone the communication of their organisational needs, and target specific audiences.

It's useful to draw from Said's (1978:6) conception of Orientalism as a grid through which the Orient is filtered into Western consciousness, as an explanatory framework for how jigsawing works. As suggested via the concept of floating, INGO messaging forms a net-like cover across the sub-field of dominant UK news coverage on SSA. As such, UK news audiences acquire knowledge of the region that's captured by this net. However, the notion of jigsawing, as opposed to grid which is suggestive of a fixed, symmetrical object, allows for acknowledgement of the differences between news outlets and their audiences. Such differences mean INGO messaging on/representation of SSA may be adapted to suit certain ways of imagining the region, with appropriate sections of the jigsaw being matched with different news outlets.

'Sandy' explains how 'floating' across the field and 'jigsawing' their messaging works in practice. For instance, if they're dealing with a story directly related to international development they think 'very carefully' about contacting the right-wing press as 'their agenda is hostile to that'. Instead, they focus PR efforts on liberal news outlets where some interviewees, including 'Sandy' and 'Corin', say they've sought to contest racialised narratives, partly because they know such news outlets may be receptive to 'new' angles on Africa.

> 'Most generalist journalists still see Africa […] as full of starving people. Africa is not the continent it's perceived to be, there are booming economies. For instance, I pitched a piece to (name of public service broadcaster) about how twitter is changing campaigning in Africa. That'll make people think because people will say, 'hang on, I thought no one had mobiles' […]. I mean (laughs) we always go to (name of liberal newspaper) and (name of public service broadcaster), they're always the first port of call (for those kind of stories).' ('Corin')

However, all news media are targeted in an emergency because the focus is on raising money and coverage in any national mainstream news outlet will potentially be generative of funds. But there are interesting differences in relation to how different sections of the news media respond to emergencies, and thus how INGOs jigsaw their messaging. 'Sandy' explains the right-wing media is:

'Often first into breech, reporting in ways that are incredibly helpful to us. The right-wing media is often misunderstood. You'll get […] people saying it's […] evil, […] and some of that's true but the right-wing press is supportive of campaigns around sexual violence, for example. We placed an article about sexual violence in (name of African country) in (name of right-wing news outlet), and there was an amazing response. […] its audience loved it and gave us loads of money. So, the same audience who people claim are […] virulent racists and hate this stuff […], it's a more complicated picture than it's sometimes depicted.'

As this research attempts to show, via the concept of postcolonial journalistic field theory, coverage of SSA in dominant news outlets is indeed 'complicated' and multi-layered. It's impossible and unhelpful to view the sub-field of reporting on SSA, and the positionalities of INGOs (and black journalists) within it, in a dichotomised way, where coverage is 'positive' in some areas of news media and not others; sources have more power than journalists or vice versa; the contributions of black journalists and/or INGOs leads to 'better' or 'worse' representations of SSA and so on. But what's interesting with regards to 'Sandy's' description of the uptake of stories about sexual violence in an African country by right-wing media, and the successful financial outcome it resulted in for Sandy's INGO employer, is Sandy's view that this is an example of how complex the news media's engagement with SSA, and their organisation as a dominant source for stories related to this region, is. I'd argue the opposite and suggest that right-wing media's support of campaigns highlighting sexual violence perpetrated by men of colour in the Global South does not paint a complex picture of media-INGO relations. Instead, it simply sits comfortably with the virulently racist idea, which continues to have currency and shape understandings of Others in some sections of society, that black men have a propensity towards violence, sexual or otherwise (see also hooks, 2004). Therefore, black, brown, and especially white, women need to be saved from 'Them'.

Similarly, the right-wing media's support of emergencies, as opposed to international development, arguably speaks to the way a lack of development is viewed, in our neoliberal times, as the fault of the individual or country and their inability to compete and adapt, rather than being related to systemic, historically rooted inequality. Whereas emergencies can be presented as naturally occurring anomalies, which any of us could feasibly be caught up in. Thus, supportive coverage of emergencies doesn't conflict with the neoliberal politics perpetuated by mainstream news media (Temple, 2015), arguably most overtly by right-wing media.

As I hope is clear from the above discussion, the concepts of 'floating' and 'jigsawing' are aimed at providing an explanatory framework which shows how INGOs are caught in a historicised, racialised, capitalist discursive system which they can, and do, play to their advantage to communicate messages about SSA. These organisations are afforded advantage because of the historical socio-economic relations between the UK and SSA, which grant INGOs a degree of power in the narration of SSA in mainstream UK news media, as does the perception of INGOs as morally sound (see also Deacon, ibid). Because the system INGOs operate within is also a capitalist one, and INGOs are in the business of generating funds to operate, INGO interviewees who say they want to narrate SSA in counter-hegemonic ways that don't conform to racial stereotypes, find the differences they seek to make constrained by market logics. Such logics, and the way they're productive of a historicised, racialised, capitalist discourse on SSA, are discussed in due course.

Excusing racism, unravelling organisational ethics

What's particularly important to note about the 'floating', 'jigsawing' manner in which wealthy INGOs operate in the sub-field of news on SSA, is how my findings show it can lead organisations to publicly, but also discreetly, due to the way audiences increasingly consume news in socially isolated bubbles (see also Leonard, 2015), unravel themselves: exposing aspects of their practice on certain news platforms that may seem out of keeping with their organisational ethics which, to reiterate, broadly center on commitments to equality. For instance, 'Sandy' explains that although sections of the right-wing media sometimes frame stories they work with them on in racially stereotypical terms, they'd never challenge them on it because they can't 'risk' that relationship. For some research participants, including 'Sandy', this is because donations generated by stories which are sometimes 'frankly racist', makes such coverage worthwhile.

> 'The only time I'd challenge the media is when there's something so egregious, so bad […] for the reputation of our organisation, we feel there's no option. But that's never happened. Stories can be sensationalised, but the need is real so…' ('Sandy')

It's deeply concerning that someone who helps run the press office for a large, well-resourced INGO, whose work is mostly focused on improving the economic and social prospects of people of colour in the Global South, doesn't view 'frankly racist' coverage as 'egregious', instead seeing it as excusable because 'need' trumps any ethical or moral responsibility on the part of their organisation to tackle racism. Despite 'Sandy's' obvious good intentions, such a view amounts to a failure to see racism as an issue that negatively impacts, measurably and immeasurably, people's social and economic mobility: contributing to the cyclical nature of

poverty, underdevelopment and the related inability of some countries to mount adequate responses to humanitarian emergencies in the absence of foreign aid.

In addition, racist representations fail to uphold the Red Cross Code of Conduct in Disaster Relief of 1994[89]. The code stipulates basic rules like ensuring representations of people are *dignified*. However, Paddy Coulter, Oxfam's former Head of Media and ex trustee of Comic Relief, asserts the code is ignored if there's a perceived risk of fundraising being compromised (Coulter in Cottle & Cooper, 2015:83). Coulter, who resigned from Comic Relief because of his concern about fundraising imagery,[90] explains he feels misleading and reductive messaging, and the erosion of the Red Cross Code, continues across the charitable sector. 'Sandy' concurs:

> 'We don't like it (racist news coverage), but we work with it, you manage it, it's complicated. They do raise money and we don't necessarily give them credit for that. You have to just define your line within that and if anyone here was to say to me, 'don't talk to the right-wing press, we're just going to talk to (name of liberal newspaper)', I'd say, 'well, it's good night Vienna'. It's like, fine, but don't expect to raise any money and don't expect to feel relevant.'

In fairness, the division between the advocacy arm of INGOs, where the focus is on policy issues and seemingly trying to erase structural inequalities, which were built on discriminatory practices and ideologies, and the requirements of fundraisers who are under pressure to generate money, must be carefully negotiated by INGO press officers. Their job is to strike a balance between advocacy and fundraising, and somehow bridge this organisational divide. As 'Robin', who has worked for and with a number of UK based humanitarian and development INGOs for over 20 years, says:

> 'It's an endless battle between the operational people and the fundraising people, and the operational people saying, 'you can't say that, that's completely the wrong narrative' and fundraising saying, 'we want to raise money.'

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[89]The code came about post the critique of the Ethiopian famine coverage and was informed by Oxfam's *Images of Africa* (van der Gaag & Nash, 1987) report.

[90]Fundraising imagery isn't traditionally considered part of the public sphere. Thus, we must be careful not to collapse such imagery with news imagery. However, in practice we take meaning from all the narratives we're exposed to. In addition, the rise of PR, alongside cost-cutting in mainstream media, has seen boundaries between different genres of communication become increasingly blurred (Hunter, 2010). As such, it's important to consider how and why certain types of fundraising imagery that trot out paternalistic Othering narratives, because such narratives apparently help raise money, is repeated in news narratives that don't in themselves need to raise money, but are (with the exception, overtly at least, of publically funded media organisations) part of a business structure that requires advertising sales, and copy sales in the case of newspapers, to survive. As discussed, such blurred boundaries occur because INGO and dominant news narratives on Others frequently interconnect. Further, INGOs are increasingly part of the marketisation of news and thus integral to the functioning of the journalistic field, particularly the subfield of reporting on SSA.

The need to 'feel relevant' and raise money is inextricably linked to a requirement to be understood. For news to be understood in the fast-paced environment it operates within, it relies upon what's 'already known as a present or absent structure' (Hall,1973:183). As discussed, what's already known about SSA in the UK, is rooted in racist 19th century ideologies.

Thus, because of this apparent need to rely on easily understood messages, it's possible to see how INGOs feel able to excuse news they're involved in producing which runs counter to their social justice ethics. In addition, given that INGOs can also place content elsewhere in the field, via the process of 'jigsawing', including on their own digital platforms, which should logically be more in keeping with the kind of egalitarian ethos that's generally understood to inform their advocacy work and therefore maintains their 'good' image, they can arguably afford to be less mindful of problematic coverage elsewhere. As long as, that is, such coverage serves their interests.

Racialised 'market rationality'

'Market rationality' (Brown, 2005 in Fenton & Titley, 2015) is the layer that presides over the above issues of source access and narrow, sometimes racist, representations. I say this because decisions, by both INGOs and dominant news organisations, about how distant Others are represented are, as we've seen, influenced by economics. At least that's the reason that emerged during my interviews, where the logic informing the fact that there's growing space for Western INGOs to be primary sources on SSA in mainstream news basically goes like this: INGOs are 'understood' by UK audiences to represent SSA's most newsworthy issues; news needs to be 'understood' to attract and retain audiences, and thus advertising funds that audiences are traded for; mainstream news organisations attach little value to distant Others from poor nations being featured[91] (Zuckerman, 2004), thus individuals or organisations from those nations are less likely to be sought and/ or positioned as primary definers of news stories on issues that affect them.

As such, a vicious raced news cycle is maintained whereby because Others from poor nations, such as those in SSA, are rarely featured as authoritative sources, they stand less chance of

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[91] The BBC was found to be an exception in this regard. In a study (Zuckerman, 2004), where data was analysed from US and UK news services to show which parts of the world featured most in daily news stories, Zuckerman found that 'media attention […] correlated […] strongly to a nation's wealth, as measured by gross domestic product. […] the lone source to show a different pattern was the BBC, which showed a strong bias towards news in former British colonies, including populous and poor nations like Nigeria, India and Pakistan. Correlation is not causation […] But, consciously or not, the people who decide what becomes news are far more likely to cover a story if it involves people from wealthy nations.' (Zukerman, 2004: 52)

ever being 'understood' in this capacity by dominant Western audiences. This means racialised market logics, as explored further below, will continue to curtail the potential for a more cosmopolitan public sphere to develop. Such an enhancement, Chouliaraki suggests, would involve 'the cultivation of our imaginative capacity to engage with' (2013:112) vulnerable Others; precisely those Others who are excluded from the 'public sphere' (Habermas, [1962] 1989) because they're poor and black.

Given their privileged source status in relation to the construction of news on SSA, wealthy INGOs have a responsibility to 'see race' (Eddo-Lodge, 2017) and develop ways of consistently incorporating that 'seeing' into their media work. This is so they can contribute to the construction of a more equitable public sphere, and thus more equitable lives for those they claim to want to (and are funded to) help.

Most interviewees expressed a belief that race and racism 'have something to do with' (White, ibid) the news narratives they're involved in constructing on SSA. I now discuss how INGO interviewees engaged with the issue of race and racism, and the ways they do and don't demonstrate such engagement in their media work. I then consider how 'market rationality' shapes such engagement and circumvents race being seen in ways that may be conducive to altering understandings of SSA.

Seeing race

Consideration of news sources is linked to debates around the public sphere, especially the extent to which news sources enhance the public sphere by introducing a greater variety of perspectives. Due to the elite source status enjoyed by wealthy INGOs vis-a-vis news on the Global South, it's been suggested (e.g. Beckett, 2009a&b) that NGOs and journalists can jointly facilitate communication between the powerful and the disenfranchised, particularly when NGOs and journalists engage in 'networked journalism' (Beckett, 2009a&b). Were such an ideal, and the discourse of pluralism that informs it, realised, it would lead to greater inclusion of marginalised groups, such as black Africans, in stories about issues that affect them, and a reversal of exclusionary practices that render Southern Others largely voiceless in the production of discourse about her/him[93].

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[93] As much scholarly work argues (e.g. Spivak,1988; hooks,1990) such circumstances contribute to processes of Othering and fuel racial hierarchies of power/knowledge. The image of white Europeans as saviours of black Africans exemplifies such hierarchies, and cultivates silencing power relations that lead to a potent sense in news reports narrated by white Westerners about black Africans that: '[There is] no need to hear your voice, when I can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself' (hooks, 1990:242)

A classic example of such erasure is Michael Buerk's coverage of the 1984-5 Ethiopian famine, where he only spoke to a white Western aid worker for the duration of his seminal report[94], and the black Ethiopians affected by the crisis and working to alleviate it were just part of the scenery. Buerk's coverage altered the way Africa is reported (see Franks, 2013), and, as 'Rowan', who works for a small INGO with a focus on enhancing African diaspora involvement in Africa's development, comments, it turned back the clock on who's perceived an authority on the continent's issues:

> 'Before Band Aid if you went to Africa to talk about problems, you generally spoke to an African, after Band Aid you were talking to a white NGO representative.'

'Rowan's' unprompted reference to 'white' NGO representatives speaks to the way race is engaged with by my interviewees. Most of them, black and white, peppered our conversations with mentions of the words 'black' and 'white', some with ease and others more self-consciously, to describe aid workers, journalists, audiences, donors, beneficiaries and locals. Or they used the latter adjectives in such a way that it was clear in the context of the conversation what the assumed racial identity of these actors is.

Race consciously and unconsciously enters the debate because the issue of Western INGOs being dominant sources in mainstream UK news on SSA, is entangled with critiques of the whiteness of those sources, whether people overtly articulate that or not. Band Aid was a watershed moment when issues related to race and aid were felt by many, and that sense that race had *something* to do with it had personal, organisational and eventually, as discussed in due course, political ramifications.

I was a child living in Mozambique during the 1984-5 Ethiopian famine. We heard the news on the BBC World Service and saw grainy images in local newspapers. Even in those pre-social media times, there was an instant sense that something was wrong with the way the help emphasised was overwhelmingly Western and, apart from Quincy Jones' relatively racially diverse collection of American artists singing, '*We Are the World'*, largely white. In our own pre-teen ways, my friends and I felt patronised and marginalised by the song title: '*Do they know it's Christmas?'* and the later, '*USA for Africa'*. On our miniscule platform, only seen by our peers, teachers and parents, we tried to subvert the Western saviour narrative, before the phrase was widely used, by putting on a school play that was premised on the notion of: 'Africa for Africa'. Back in the UK, some journalists (including 'Rowan') working for Britain's black press also immediately critiqued the coverage of the Ethiopian famine. 'Rowan' explains:

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[94] Aired on BBC News, 23.10.1984 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XYOj_6OYuJc) Accessed 01.02.2015

'We got into trouble when I was at (name of newspaper). Geldof mentions us in his autobiography as we were very critical of Band-Aid […]. We came at it from the perspective of, 'if you're going to do a concert saving Africans, what about having some African performers on stage?' (Geldof) was like, 'oh no, we just want big stars because we want to raise money'. And we were like, 'the reason you're having to raise money for Africa is that people have these attitudes that Africans can't (so they) aren't included. That's part of the problem and you don't tackle it by reproducing the problem'. We raised this at a press conference with him and he got very upset […] and later wrote about it. I think he thought we were some ungrateful Africans […] (laughs). So we formulated […] a critique, […] a feeling on our part that this stuff wasn't right.'

'Rowan' later left journalism to join a UK based development organisation whose founding purpose was to create prominent platforms where Africans, both on the continent and in the diaspora, could articulate their truths and demonstrate their agency. In a sector where African agency was seen by many, including the organisation 'Rowan' joined, to have been taken over by the aid industry, which was, and is (Milton, 2014), overwhelmingly dominated by white Westerners, race silently demarcated who got to speak about African issues. The development organisation 'Rowan' works for lobbied to try and alter this imbalance. In 1997, when New Labour came into power and Clare Short became Secretary of State for International Development at the newly formed Department for International Development, 'Rowan' explains:

'They were looking for new ideas and Clare Short was open to stuff. She launched a white paper and (my boss) managed to get a meeting […] and spoke about a diaspora space in development and she was intrigued. The white paper came out and there was a line in it […] saying they hoped to work with diaspora. What we've been trying to do since 97 is turn that sentence into something.'

I'll return to the notion of a 'diaspora space' in development further on. Here, I briefly highlight how it speaks to the idea of 'seeing race', and *how* race conceivably came to be *'seen'* by those at the centre of power who presided over the government's international aid budget. This is important context and thus necessary to outline when considering the field 'holistically' (Bourdieu, 2005). Arguably, a shift in race relations in the UK, which was instigated by the racist murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 and eventually, in 1997, led to the then Home Secretary, Jack Straw, announcing a public inquiry into the police's corrupt handling of racially motivated crimes, meant race was on the political agenda. Thus, the Labour government was

arguably receptive to ideas that may help construct (or be seen to be constructing) a more diverse and inclusive public sphere. As noted elsewhere, Stephen Lawrence's tragic death, and his parents' tireless, ongoing fight for justice, saw doors slowly open, conversations change, and people in powerful positions becoming interested in aspects of, and groups in, British society that had long been overlooked. Chris Ofili became the first black artist to win the Turner Price in 1998. Zadie Smith's *White Teeth*, a rich depiction of multi-cultural London, received a chorus of praise when it was published in 1999. These hugely talented black Britons received the recognition they deserved, but may not have enjoyed as quickly, or at all, in previously less 'woke'[95] times.

But despite such shifts, race and racism continue to be words we don't like to say much. As Ahmed (2012) writes, just saying the word 'racism' does things. Mostly, it makes us feel uncomfortable. Accused. Guilty of something. Accusing of something that doesn't always seem to be there. Because we can't always see it, we can't always hear it. It is not overt. But we know it's there. Many of us feel it. It's 'one of modern society's rawest nerves' (Allan, 1999). And like a nerve, it sits under the skin – reacting, to a greater or lesser degree, to shifts in the political, social and cultural climate. Race is always there. And the media, that globally encompassing storytelling space that narrates, saturates, and is saturated by, the climate of the day, is where ideologies of race, as Hall (1990) asserts, are produced and reproduced.

When asked directly about issues related to race and racism in the INGO sector, and the extent to which they're issues that need to be considered in development/humanitarian work, and the way that work is communicated via news media, there was a notable distinction in responses from INGO interviewees. Some expressed uncertainty that race or racism are issues they need to consider in their everyday work, or simply dismissed any such responsibility. As 'Jade' commented:

> 'It's very much a case of racist stereotypes are in the eye of the beholder. I mean…(laughs)…I don't want to sound racist, but the number of black faces you see on TV now are much greater than they ever were.'

Others, like 'Leslie', head of communications at an organisation that collaborates with UK aid charities, take the view that because racism is socially pervasive it will inevitably infect their work:

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[95] 'Woke' is a slang term, derived from African-American vernacular English, which describes social awareness, particularly with regard to racism.

'We're coming out of the same culture that has those things in it and it would be naïve to think […] our good intentions mean we're immune to […] that history […]. […] it's inevitable whether people realise it […], and they probably don't […], they're probably fighting actively against it, they're part of that culture and […] that thinking is probably informing what they do. You know, and I'm probably guilty of this, there will be occasions where your starting assumption may be that somebody's skills might not be what they need to be because of their race or because of the way they speak, and that's informed by I know what a doctor is like and you don't sound like a doctor. Well, you know what a British doctor is like, you have no idea how somebody who's trained as a doctor in West Africa […] might come across. So there's all sorts of cultural assumptions, some of which are race based and indeed potentially racist, that might affect your assessment of somebody and their ability. All that infiltrates our comms.'

Whilst others are adamant that race-related issues must be taken more seriously in the field not only because, 'it matters that people, both those doing the work and those benefitting from that work, are represented fairly,' ('Shay', press officer at a UK charity that partners with local people and organisations worldwide to tackle poverty), but also because consideration of race is integral to organisations adequately addressing socio-economic disparities. 'Shay' notes that:

'Race is a big part of poverty. In places like Brazil or India […] how dark you are often affects the situation you live in […]. Until recently Haitians were paying more to […] France in reparations for lost income from slave plantations than they were receiving in aid, and we don't talk about that. We're suppressing certain conversations […]. At (name of INGO) we noted our leadership is mostly white and someone proposed incorporating black history month into our work as a way of talking about race in development […]. We have moments like International Women's Day we use to talk to the media about gender and development. Race […] influences why certain groups are living in poverty, plus most of our work is in parts of the world with majority black and brown populations, so […] why are we not talking about race and racism in the same way as gender?'

Despite differences in opinion on whether race and racism are significant enough matters in international development to be addressed in any formal way, and the suppression of conversations about race in the INGO sector because it's not perceived as relevant in the fight

against poverty even though, as 'Shay' highlights, racism, like sexism (e.g. Gender Inequality Index, 2016), is at the root of much poverty, overall my interviewees concur that, post the critique of the Ethiopian famine coverage, the perception that white Westerners lead development/humanitarian interventions in SSA is problematic. This is not only because of the racialised power relations it perpetuates, but simply because it's not an accurate depiction of what happens on the ground. As 'Rowan' explains:

'I was driven into journalism because I was concerned about who gets to tell the story, what is it we're telling, and the reason I got involved [...] had to do with a humanitarian crisis. I grew up during the (name of African country) civil war, [...] and [...] it was traumatic, but it was also an incredible moment of solidarity amongst ourselves - people coming out and saving each other. You never saw any human rights workers. So it was [...] strange when I came to the UK afterwards, and a current affairs programme was on about [...] the war. Seeing this war described in a way I didn't recognise, the people who had agency were [...] white aid workers. [...]. I just thought this is wrong.'

As highlighted, the idea that white Western aid workers are predominantly depicted as having agency in relation to African issues 'is wrong', is now a broadly accepted critique. In line with this, INGO research participants say things have changed and, globally at least, rather than just in the UK, there are now more people of colour at the international aid decision making table. But when it comes to communicating *who* is at the table, particularly the involvement of 'locals', there's still a lack of balanced representation. Arguably, this is due to the aforementioned 'market rationality' (Fenton & Titley, 2015) that legitimises the erasure of certain groups within the dominant public sphere.

'Market rationality' and the erasure of 'locals'

As touched on elsewhere, the way economic rationalities subsume ethical rationalities leads to racist practices and representations being excused. This includes airbrushing 'local' (read not white European) people out of stories that they're central to. My findings show that attempts to square the ethics of their practice with fundraising requirements generates tensions for INGO media managers who say they want to feature more 'local' people in their press material in more authoritative roles (e.g. as narrator, expert etc.):

'Because [...] on the ground in most [...] crisis [...] the locals [...] are [...] doing the work. Unfortunately, people put forward as spokesperson [...] aren't the same people.' ('Lee', communications manager, NGO with a focus on African diaspora involvement in Africa's development).

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'Robin' concurs:

> 'I worked (overseas) during various natural disasters […] and if you looked at the UK
> press you'd have thought the help […] was provided by big UK organisations. But the
> reality is 90% of local people had no interaction with any of the big international
> organisations, it was the local communities […]. The international media […] is incredibly
> inaccurate in reporting crises and it's not terribly surprising they have the narrative they
> do and an incorrect perception is portrayed in terms of it looking like it's just the big
> organisations dealing with it […]. Sadly, the situation is probably going to get worse
> because […] news media is getting less sophisticated at investigating. It's much faster
> and superficial and large INGOs are not necessarily interested in promoting what small,
> local organisations or local people are doing. It's a lot of talk the talk. I'm sure big
> organisations would say they're trying […] to get a more coherent narrative portrayed,
> but how […] much they push it when it's not in their interests to is a really important
> issue.'

What's clear here, again, is the relative power large INGO sources have in the field of
international reporting, and thus the responsibility they must take when distributing material
to mainstream media. Unfortunately, the fundraising needs of INGOs, and the logics, or
'evidence', as some of my interviewees put it, that inform how these needs apparently *must*
be fulfilled, combined with the marketised structures of dominant Western news organisations
where sales, clicks and advertising share inform content, tend to lead to a doubling up of
'market rationality' (Fenton & Titley, 2015). Thus, ethical concerns related to whether Others
get to speak (see also Spivak, 1988) in dominant Western news narratives about themselves,
or the extent to which representations are dignified and pluralistic, are marginalised.

Drawing on Brown (2005), Fenton & Titley (2015) highlight how this kind of amplified market
rationality is a growing problem media scholars must attend to. Particularly in relation to ideas
of the public sphere, pluralism and communicative freedom that are held up as a benchmark
against which the 'unachievable idealism' (Fenton & Titley, 2015:554) of these ideas continues
to be tested even, they argue, as the democratic principles at the core of public sphere ideals
are being 'hollowed out' by 'market rationality' (Fenton & Titley, 2015:554). Khiabany &
Williamson (2015) are also concerned with what they refer to as the 'significant limits of
liberalism' (2015:571). However, they outline how liberalism and associated ideas of freedom,
such as free speech, are *historically* hollow concepts, which have always been delimited by
race, class and gender (see also Goldberg, 1993). Khiabany and Williamson (2015) draw on
Marx to refer to these circumstances as the 'democratic swindle', whereby the universalising

idea of freedom obscures how those lacking in social, political and economic power are 'de-emancipated' by the very institutions that are meant to uphold freedom and freedom of expression – such as the media and, I suggest, INGOs.

While some INGO practitioners, from those working for small grassroots organisations to those employed by wealthy aid charities, are critical of the way 'locals get written out of the script […] when it comes to fundraising' (Coulter in Cottle & Cooper, 2015:82), others seem oblivious to the possibility that 'locals' could even be featured in any serious role in material constructed for international news media. As 'Jade' says:

'You (INGOs) have a great deal of power (at the beginning of most crisis) in commentating that story because no one else is there, then eventually they'll (mainstream media) get people out there.'

The idea that there is 'no one else there' simply, but powerfully, erases the agency of local actors and highlights their seemingly non-existent credibility as authoritative authors of events that have directly affected them, and/or their fellow citizens. Consideration of who is, and isn't, deemed a credible source seems to boil down to a perception of who that source is thought to be speaking *to*, rather than who that source is speaking on behalf of. In other words, the assumed audience matters. And, generally for INGOs, audiences that matter first and foremost are those who give the most money. Clearly, such circumstances don't bode well for reaching a stage where the poorest are ever consistently likely to be given a global media stage to speak their truths. As 'Sandy' explains:

'If you're going to raise money, […]40% or more of the money within the global organisation comes from the UK. In an emergency, all we care about in the first few hours is […] raising money because we need to pay for a response. So at that point we focus […] on the North because that's where the money is.'

That the money largely comes from the North means narratives are going to be angled to appeal to Northern audiences 'back home'. Constructing narratives to appeal to audiences 'back home' is also what foreign correspondents reporting on Africa for *global* news outlets do, and these audiences, as highlighted, are imagined to be white (Nothias, 2017:75).

Raced perceptions of who the audience is not only leads to locals being 'written out of the script' (Coulter in Cottle & Cooper, 2015:82), but also speaks to problematic assumptions on the part of some of those producing INGO press material and mainstream news that audiences, whoever they are, suffer from 'cognitive inertia' (Entman & Rojecki, 2000:60) and are incapable of shaking it off. This means audiences rely on 'prototypes' that 'encode habitual

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ways of thinking that help people make sense of a complicated […] world.' Like stereotypes, prototypes generate social expectations and lead to people being categorised by characteristics such as skin colour, which limits or enhances our expectations of them (as per 'Leslie's' comments above). Thus, an adjustment of cognition is required if we're to alter our expectations of what, say, an aid worker or an authoritative figure looks and/or sounds like. Clearly, such an adjustment won't occur if little, or nothing, is done to trigger it.

Raced perceptions of the audience 'back home' by foreign correspondents (Nothias, 2017), and, as I've found in some of my encounters with INGO press officers, by those in the aid sector, also erases black publics living in the North. As highlighted elsewhere, such ways of seeing (or not seeing) lead to Northern black publics not being acknowledged as a worthwhile audiences for dominant Western news, nor as groups who donate billions in remittances (The World Bank, April 21, 2017) to their countries of origin and heritage. In addition, such a narrow perception of audiences fails to leave room for acceptance of the fact that global media, as dominant mainstream UK news has become, has a *global* (and thus incredibly diverse) audience, whether the target audience is domestic or international.

'We need recognisable heroes'

The erasure of 'locals' as protagonists in development narratives highlights an important connection between market logics and racial logics, whereby racialised exclusions from the dominant public sphere are justified by market logics that dictate that black people can't be protagonists in mainstream narratives, because black people don't sell/help generate funds, and so can only be accessories in white people's stories.

Coulter's remarks (2015:87), which many of my interviewees concur with, highlight how we may link 'market rationality' with 'hollowed out' (Fenton & Titley, ibid) representation in the charitable sector, and thus in mainstream news depictions of SSA, when he says that if representation 'works in terms of raising money at more or less any price', then *misrepresentation* of 'the beneficiaries' of development intervention 'can be justified.'

I came up against this kind of market-orientated justification at a conference I presented at[97]. An audience member, who works for an INGO, said I was correct to critique the way a programme on the 2014 Ebola outbreak in Sierra Leone used a European, as opposed to an African, doctor to narrate the health crisis (see Chapter 8 for further discussion). But the audience member argued:

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[97] NORDEV15.

'(Name of INGO) had no choice but to bang the drum hard. Heroes need to be someone who can be *recognised* as a hero. The simple mandate of (name of INGO) is to save lives. If they need to feature a Westerner so they can raise money to save lives, it's *worth* it.' (Audience member, NORDEV15, 06.11.15, emphasis added)

The same audience member argued that I must address why INGOs *need* to use Western 'heroes' to narrate stories about non-Westerners. If I were to do that, he said, my paper would be highly policy relevant.

There is certainly an urgent need to address why many INGOs apparently feel the *need* to use Westerners to narrate African stories, and notions, such as the supposed 'cognitive inertia' (Entman and Rojecki, 2000) audiences suffer from, contribute to developing an understanding of this 'need'. To understand this perceived 'need' more, it's also worth returning to Hall's (1973) point that news, and our reading of it, is rooted in what we already 'know' of the world and Others. As such, there's always a backstory that's old, rather than new, and embedded in the discourses which underpin society.

With this in mind, I could have responded to the audience member by agreeing that because what's already *known* about INGO intervention in SSA is that Westerners save Africans, the INGO was arguably left with no choice but to abide by such societal expectations. In other words, this organisation had to 'infer what is already known' (Hall, 1973:183) for viewers to relate to the story and donate, as per prototype theory (Entman and Rojecki, 2000).

However, because this audience member's preceding point made the link between people not donating if Africans, as opposed to Westerners, are cast as 'heroes' in development/humanitarian narratives, I responded by asking whether he meant Western audiences would not donate if development narratives did not feature a 'hero' who look like the majority of Westerners (i.e. white). 'Yes,' he replied. I wondered what his evidence was. I explained I believe that such assumptions are just that, assumptions, rather than fact. And such assumptions, which I've come up against on numerous occasions as a journalist, are constantly trotted out in the media industry, and they're almost always justified by calling on the kind of market logic that dictates that white people save black people in Africa, and narratives that flout such colonially rooted expectations will dent fundraising efforts (see also Coulter, 2015). The same logic is also used by editors who say they can't put black models on magazine covers because they don't sell; or the broadcasting and film industry elite who say they can't cast black actors as leads in films or television programmes because ratings will fall. Such logics, I suggested to the man in the audience, are pervasive, despite the fact that the same market *rationale* used to justify them, is defied by the *actual* market where black actors

Samuel L. Jackson (first highest grossing), Morgan Freeman (second highest grossing), Will Smith (nineteenth highest grossing) and Eddie Murphy (fifth highest grossing) are among the top 35 highest grossing film stars of all time at the worldwide box office (Chakravorty, IMDB, accessed 14.02.16).

Meanwhile, in the magazine world, where I constantly came up against the fallacy that issues with black people on the cover don't sell, when Vogue Italia published their July 2008 issue that featured all black models, in the same year Barack Obama became the first black president of the US, the Guardian reported (Mower, The Guardian, 27 July 2008) there was such an unprecedented demand that Conde Nast, publisher of Vogue, printed 40,000 additional copies. The issue sold out on the first day in the UK, with Borders saying demand was up by 654 per cent on the previous issue. Edward Enninful, then a black British Vogue fashion editor (now the magazine's editor), said:

> 'I never thought I would […] see something like this - my people, my race, wearing the collections […] in that way. But the most important thing is: *this proves we are bankable.'* (Mower, 27 July 2008, my emphasis)

For some INGO media managers there's no disputing the fact that a person's characteristics (be it skin colour, gender, nationality or so on) has no bearing on whether funds are generated. Indeed, 'Hilary' was adamant that, in their more than 20 years in the sector, it's the quality of storytelling that influences donations:

> 'Key things have made our fundraising buck the trend and one of them is […] keeping the human at the heart of the story, whether that human is an expatriate […] or national member of staff […] or a carer. At the heart of the story needs to be a human tale, something people can relate to because we're not that different from each other**.'**

This cosmopolitan view of how best to communicate messages for fundraising and campaigning purposes is, 'Hilary' says, easier in owned communications, but increasingly possible in mainstream media due to the growing use of INGO supplied material. However, 'Leslie' states this isn't their experience of owned *or* mainstream communication. Whilst there are shifts, they explain, in terms of trying to put 'local' spokespeople in the frame to avoid the tired white saviour narrative, and:

> 'The comms people get it, […] within fundraising it's still a […] mixed picture. Not to say that fundraisers are bad, but […] they know what works because they see the money. […] sadly even though I might want to believe that if I got closer to the source of the crisis and had someone who was affected by the crisis speaking that was going to […]

generate the most income, I know from bitter personal experience that […] if I have a person I fly in from London who *looks* a bit like the donors I'm trying to connect to (I) might find it easier… even though they know far less about the situation or aren't directly affected, that person might […] generate more interest and help raise more income. That's […] difficult because I want to believe if I did the right thing in terms of pushing forward people from affected communities, that would be a virtuous and effective thing to do. I still think it's the right thing to do, but I'm not convinced it's the way to raise the most money or […] awareness […]. Unfortunately, when I tried to do that I found repeatedly that videos that focused principally on people affected by crisis and leave out Western aid workers don't do as well. That argument (about putting white Westerners in the frame) keeps coming back. The reason it keeps coming back isn't because aid workers are predominantly stupid or racist, although some of them might be both at times, the reason it keeps coming back is because fundraising is easy to measure. So when you try and do the right thing and […] run the campaign in a way you think portrays […] people the way they should be, it's often harder to get a connection with the audience to raise money.'

As 'Leslie' articulated the above there was genuine questioning in their voice, as if they couldn't understand why getting 'a connection with the audience' was harder when they'd constructed stories where 'locals' took centre stage. In the absence of qualitative analysis of the audience response to specific pieces of media, the easiest assumption to make is that there may have been a disconnect because 'local' as authoritative figure doesn't fit most people's 'maps of meaning' (Hall, ibid) or 'prototypes' (Entman & Rojecki, ibid). Conceivably, 'they' don't fit 'our' maps of meaning because 'they're' rarely afforded authoritative positions on those maps, hence the aforementioned vicious raced circle. Alternatively, returning to 'Hilary's' experience, the *quality* of the material may not have been strong enough to enable the audience to transcend their 'maps of meaning'. Without a sustained, genuine organisational desire to broaden representation, black and white data, in the form of money in, which fundraisers can supply, means market rationality will reign supreme. What's interesting though, regarding the fact that 'Leslie's' experience is countered by 'Hilary', who works in the press office of an equally big international humanitarian organisation, is 'Hilary's' assertion that the increasing racial and cultural diversity of their organisation is changing the way their media team operate:

'National staff are at the heart of what we do, but what we've been doing better over the last 20 years […] is the diversification of the workforce is better represented. The reason our representation has improved is because the diversification of our workforce has

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improved. The first time I went to Somalia 20 years ago you'd sit round a table and everyone's from Canada, Denmark or France […] and most of them are white. When I went 3 or 4 years ago you'd sit round the table and the head of […] emergency […] is a black guy from Cuba, the head anaesthetist is Zimbabwean, […] the lead obstetrician is from Beijing […], so it changes the dynamic around the table, it makes it a more interesting conversation. It also changes the way you look, because it changes the way you are.'

Many of the international staff who work for 'Hilary's' organisation are expatriates, so part of different diasporas. The diaspora space in development, highlighted earlier, is also, as evidenced via my interviews, becoming important to the way news on SSA is communicated by INGOs and, in turn, mainstream UK news. Positioning actors in the frame who are 'them' *and* 'us', may be seen as a means of 'mitigating difference' (Orgad, ibid) and fitting audience 'maps of meaning' (Hall, 2003), as well as disrupting the white saviour image.

Diaspora: the happy middle ground?

The story of African diaspora working in international development is probably as untraceably long and complex as the story of international migration. Simply, it's a story of people leaving, voluntarily or forcibly, their countries of origin, and sending money and goods home, or returning to their region of origin or heritage with skills, to help family, friends and/or the broader community who are materially worse off than them. The most common way diaspora aid is spoken about is in relation to remittances. In 2016, remittances to SSA totaled US$33 billion (The World Bank, April 21, 2017), almost equivalent to the US$36 billion SSA received in overseas development assistance in 2013 (Anderson, April 8, 2015, The Guardian). 'Rowan' relayed an anecdote during our conversation about an event that triggered their move into the world of development. At a basic level, 'Rowan's' experience captures how diaspora have long practiced development in their countries of origin and heritage, and why 'Rowan', and others, have spent years trying to get the work of diaspora in development formally recognised and organised into a coherent strategy in the UK and beyond:

'I was making a film about Africa […] and I was at an event […] with […] the big NGOs, key note speaker was Bill Clinton and the former Kenyan President Arap Moi. […] this woman from the World Bank described projects they were doing in Africa […]. She […] told a story about some women in Ghana who'd had to walk a mile […] to get water and a project she'd worked on had got a pump, put it in the village, trained women how to use the pump and now they didn't have to walk a mile. I thought that's great. But it was her closing line that freaked me out because she said, 'we did this with just $60,000'. I

thought, I've just done that in my village for $4,000! […]. That's when I realised I was a development worker and that was why when I moved into this sector I had authority because I brought that in under budget, and […], it transformed the village […]. But when we started lobbying (for recognition of diaspora in development) you mentioned migration and development and the industry just laughed, 'who are you guys?' (We'd) get meetings and speak about remittances and no one was interested. Then two important things happened.'

The two important things were, as noted, Clare Short taking an interest in the idea of a diaspora space in development. Second, the inclusion of an intention to work with diaspora in DFID's first White Paper (1997:68), which read:

'We will seek to build on the skills and talents of migrants and other members of ethnic minorities within the UK to promote the development of their countries of origin.'

Since that short statement, there's been much work, mostly instigated by individuals and small NGOs, advocating for the recognition of diaspora as partners in development. Broadly, this advocacy includes lobbying government within Europe and the African Union, which views African diaspora as its 'sixth region'[98] (Faal, 2014:14), and at UN level, as well as major INGOs, to influence policy.

My interviewees who work in international development demonstrate differing degrees of awareness of, and interest in, diaspora as partners in development. For some, working with diaspora is a formalised part of how their organisation approaches development. For others, it's something they claim they'd like to do, but feel they don't have the capacity to formalise. Finally, some view the idea as 'interesting', but low on the list of organisational priorities. 'Robin', who works for an organisation that fits the former category, explains the rationale for formalising partnerships with diaspora groups, as well as how such formalising can effectively manage *out* differences diaspora may bring to international development:

'It was recognised that diaspora communities brought something *different* to international development. They had a different connection to local communities, a different understanding, and in the UK they came with a different approach to working on development […]. There's often a greater connection to entrepreneurs and private

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[98]The African Union views the diaspora as 'peoples of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent.' (Faal, 2014:14)

sector in the UK, so it was about bringing new ideas into development, a better understanding of local context and better connections. That recognition has […] remained, but whether it's come to fruition is tough. Since 2006 or 2008 the (name of funding organisation) has supported over 100 initiatives with a good 80 diaspora organisations, so […] there's a body of work […] there. Although […] ummm…they did an evaluation […] and […] said with hundreds of initiatives supported resulting in excellent work across Africa, so purely on paper it was successful, […] projects were being supported, people were benefiting. However, they said […] the original concept was these organisations were important because they brought something different […] to development, and we ended up working with them to make them not innovative, but just like everyone else and […] it wasn't an effective way of working […] Phase 2 of the […] initiative is trying to work on that to look at what's exciting and […] different about diaspora and build on that so they're doing more on looking at the role of remittances.'

Logically, whatever 'difference' diaspora are thought to bring to development, should also translate to diaspora news media practitioners communicating about their regions of origin and heritage differently. In other words, if diaspora are involved in the construction of news narratives about their regions of heritage, the different forms of understanding and connectivity they bring to development should also, in theory, be apparent in communication, making coverage of places that, as discussed, has long been critiqued for being one dimensional and/or racially stereotypically, more nuanced. The difference diaspora media practitioners may make to the production of news about SSA is considered in Chapter 8.

Whilst research (e.g. DEMAC, 2016) shows that key Northern stakeholders are increasingly recognising the role of diaspora in humanitarian/development work, a recurring theme in my interviews is the troubling way diaspora in development are also viewed with suspicion by many in the 'mainstream' international development sector, meaning that bridge only goes so far.

'Diaspora is certainly being recognised verbally […]. Whether that's resulting in action (laughs) is another matter […] it is in a number of cases, but not across the board by any means. You see better inclusion within country, but […] in the UK […] not only is it a mixed picture, there are cases where there's active hostility…no, hostility isn't the right word, mistrust.' ('Robin')

The distinction between inclusion 'in country' and 'in the UK' is important as it speaks to centre/periphery power divisions and the way those remain raced. Indeed, a number of interviewees highlighted the fact that, even where INGOs employ many local people *in*

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country, including in media and communications roles, decision making remains at the centre, because that's where the money is. That there's 'mistrust' of diaspora in the UK suggests a reluctance to genuinely share power with people 'from the categories of people whose issues (INGOs) represent' (Faal, 2014:27). The marginalisation of diaspora groups by many major INGOS also suggests there's an inability to see race as an important point of connection between individuals. The 'inclusion' of Others 'there', as opposed to Others 'here', also worryingly echoes the mentally unstable 'you're not like our blacks' sentiment. That form of racism where black people 'at home' are seen as a national problem, to be monitored, scrutinised, doubted, *mistrusted*, but black people who are just visiting or live elsewhere in the world, are seen as interesting, exotic, or perhaps not seen as being close enough to power to pose any real threat to power, so are not seen at all.

The kind of threat that 'blacks at home' may be seen to pose, and the ways we may be consciously and subconsciously viewed as problematic, and/or angry, was evident in the way 'Leslie' described feeling 'brave enough' to go an event related to the involvement of diaspora during the 2014-16 Ebola crisis. 'Leslie' laughed awkwardly immediately after mentioning their 'bravery' at going to a diaspora event, reflecting that:

> 'It's […] pathetic I have to be brave enough to do that. But […] there's a reluctance to get involved in something where the risk is, at least the perception is for many aid agencies, that you'll be subject to […] criticism you […] feel is unfair, and the action that communities are trying to take for themselves, not in countries but at a remove in the diaspora, may not always be helpful or appropriate. […] aid workers […] would be more inclined to want to […] directly work with the affected communities and organisations whose legitimacy they can see evidently on the ground. […] they're wary of actors they may speak to in the diaspora not necessarily being representative of the communities they originally came from. […] they might […] ethnically or socio-economically come from one slice of that community and that might distort the message you were getting about what was happening in the affected countries. But I think that's not always fair […]. Actually, even where people were being critical (of aid agencies) the experience I had (at the diaspora event) showed that it was worth […] engaging with people and if you do you're potentially able to form a […] positive partnership […]. There are examples where diaspora communities have been incredibly important in the response, they've been major partners […]. They've lobbied me and helped change my mind about how I was seeing the developing situation.'

'Leslie's' explanation of their reticence about attending diaspora led events, which my data indicates reflects that of many in the mainstream sector, is revealing of whose critique is deemed worth listening to; an arrogance and/or desire to hold onto power rather than work collaboratively to the potential benefit of those deemed to be 'beneficiaries' in a billion-dollar industry[100] that is renowned for its inefficiencies and failures, as much as its successes. The questioning regarding the 'legitimacy' of diaspora actors, their potential 'distortion' of messages, and whether they are 'representative', transfers the same questions that have been asked of dominant development actors for years, focusing scrutiny on smaller, less powerful development actors, arguably serving to leave power/whiteness intact. Such questioning also amplifies a sense of 'us' and 'them', rather than welcoming inclusive ways of working towards what should be a common aim of ending requirements for foreign aid and with it that baseless argument loved by racists: that Africa is undeveloped because Africans are. For 'Lee' the marginalisation of diaspora in development stems from and perpetuates racism:

> **'**Racism in the sector […] needs to be addressed because it filters through. After Band-Aid there was a lot of money and the money's grown. The argument then was we can't give it […] to diaspora organisations, because they don't have the capacity to manage themselves. […] that's still the argument used today, […] and that's not […] valid […]. But it's something people hold onto. So it becomes a Western organisation is better placed to manage these funds, this research, this policy, […] than people in or from their own country. They wouldn't say it's racist, they would say it's where we are at the moment, but it's inherently racist.'

As such, diaspora are 'misframed' (Fraser, 2007) by some in major INGOs, in as much as their role in development is viewed in such a way by those in more powerful positions that they may be more likely to be unofficially, but *legitimately,* excluded from participating in public discourse because they don't have the 'capacity' to participate.

It was only when 'Leslie' went to a diaspora event and was privy to conversations that may usually be aired in 'intimate' spheres (Benhabib, 1992) that they realised what diaspora 'could'[102] bring to international development:

> 'Diaspora […] could play an enormous and valuable role in terms of helping people understand what's happening in a disaster, helping inform and if necessary challenge

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[100] The total aid spending by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries in 2014 was US$135 billion. (OECD – Paris, 8 April 2015).

[102] The use of this word erases what diaspora are already bringing, and have long brought, to international development. The emphasis should therefore not be on what they could bring, but rather on pushing for more formal recognition of what they *already* do.

the narrative of aid agencies. […] we should be open to that even if it's uncomfortable. […] I've seen diaspora and communities based in the countries […] affected connecting through digital media and providing more direct feedback than often many people working for aid agencies get. […] Secondly, there is the opportunity to collaborate on response. Finally (working with diaspora) can help you make sure the people whose needs you're trying to represent aren't abstract. There's a line in the Red Cross Code about treating people as human beings and not objects of pity. That's really important and it's much harder to do that to somebody if they and /or parts of their community are in your face.'

The notion of diaspora groups needing to be 'in your face' to be seen and heard speaks volumes about the extent to which those groups are outside power and the paradoxical hypocrisy that exists within a sector that professes to be seeking equality for those who lack power. Although this research participant did acknowledge the importance of working with diaspora, their use of the phrase, 'in your face' to describe people of colour who are vocal on behalf of themselves or communities they are from, also problematically speaks to how advocacy undertaken by those who do not occupy positions of power may be framed as aggression by the powerful. In turn, such framing may be used as a legitimate reason to discredit or silence marginalised Others (e.g. Lorde, 2018:23).

<u>Conclusion</u>

The aims and organisational structures of INGOs included in this study (see Chapter 4), the majority of which are among the wealthiest in Britain, differ significantly, meaning they cannot be viewed as homogenous (Deacon, 2004; Fenton, 2010). However, my findings show that well-resourced INGOs share elite source status in relation to news on SSA in mainstream UK media. This status, which I argue is sustained by the ability of INGOs to 'float' and 'jigsaw' messaging across the journalistic field, combined with their general role as advocates for disadvantaged groups in regions like SSA, means, theoretically, that INGOs should contribute to making the dominant public sphere more pluralistic (e.g. Beckett, 2009a&b) and cosmopolitan (Chouliaraki, 2013) by supplying leads that give marginalised groups, such as black Africans, more space to speak their truths on dominant global news platforms. Whilst some INGO media managers say they want to do this, racialised market rationality, which informs INGO fundraising logic *and* structures mainstream news production, curtails their ability to do so.

Racialised market rationality is used by some of my interviewees to excuse racist coverage of SSA and the absence of local Africans as spokespeople in narratives about themselves,

problematically positioning INGOs as cogs in the wheel that keeps inequality turning. Further, it implicates INGOs in a collusion of position, rather than a 'war of position' (Gramsci, ibid) whereby individuals and organisations outside the elite, as INGOs are traditionally perceived to be (Deacon, 2003), might seek to counter the racialised, capitalist discourse on SSA that mainstream UK news too often perpetuates. But INGOs that are 'multi-million pound concerns' (Deacon, 2003:99) seem so set on maintaining their financial position that they're reluctant to challenge racist discourse if it serves their economic interests.

Covert racist attitudes in the INGO sector are also apparent in prevailing attitudes vis-à-vis the inclusion of African diaspora in the dominant sector. However, due to efforts on the part of some within the sector, instigated by black African diaspora who have long contributed to development in their countries of origin and heritage, the visible inclusion of black African diaspora in the construction of INGO press material and related mainstream news narratives on SSA, is growing (see Chapter 8). I suggest this 'inclusion' is symptomatic of broader recognition regarding the need to diversify public and private institutions in all fields, including the journalistic field. In the sub-field of reporting on SSA, the logic, whether articulated or not, is that the involvement of black African diaspora in storytelling will help disrupt racial hierarchies, whereby white Westerners speak for and about distant black Others.

Whether the inclusion of diaspora makes any difference to representation is addressed in the following chapter. Also touched on is the question of whether such inclusion obscures power relations whereby Westernised diasporic narrators are deemed preferable to 'local' narrators, thus arguably maintaining the production of news through a Eurocentric lens that, as critical race studies of news media show (Saha, 2018), preserve the power of whiteness and the ability of INGOs to continue to float and jigsaw a historicised, racialised, capitalist, moralising discourse on SSA across the mainstream UK news field.

Chapter 8

INGOs, black journalists and representations of sub-Saharan Africa

This chapter considers what impact the involvement of black journalists and INGOs in the construction of news on SSA has on narratives about black African Others. Using Foucauldian inspired discourse analysis as a method for investigating race and racism in news (see Chapter 4), as well as drawing on theorists (e.g. Hall, 2013; Mbembe, 2003) who build on Foucault's concepts to consider how racial discourses are operationalised, I analyse coverage of West Africa's 2014 Ebola outbreak, which some of my INGO and black journalist interviewees were involved in reporting. Via the lens of postcolonial journalistic field theory, which enables us to unpack racialised, capitalist relations between individuals and institutional structures, I attempt to go beyond surface level representations by including journalist and INGO press officer accounts of their involvement in reporting. In particular, how their habitus and standpoints may have helped shape narratives. Further, how the institutional doxa individuals did their reporting through and within, may have informed, constrained or enabled any attempts to move beyond racially stereotypical reporting.

First, I outline the difficulties encountered by organisations and individuals who tried to generate mainstream UK news coverage of the 2014-16 Ebola crisis, and the way, when there finally was widespread reporting, much of it was racialised. I then touch on how, at the same time, stories of the few white Westerners who became infected with Ebola were propelled to the top of the news agenda, as opposed to stories of any one of the thousands of black Africans who were afflicted, some BAME media practitioners, including journalists, came to occupy prominent roles in the narration of the crisis. Drawing on my data, I suggest that the involvement of black narrators, whilst not necessarily deliberate, was useful for mainstream news organisations and INGOs conscious of not wanting to be seen to be perpetuating the white Western saviour narrative. In addition, a number of journalists of colour involved in the reporting say they consciously sought to break with racially stereotypical narratives. What difference their involvement may have made is considered via analysis of three journalist led reports, and one INGO constructed report, produced for mainstream UK news organisations. These reports formed a 'volunteer sample' within the case study (Seale, 2012)[103].

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[103] See Chapter 4 for further discussion.

In addition to Foucauldian discourse analysis, the 'grammar of racialized discourse' (Goldberg, 1993: 46) in each report is unpicked using theoretical tools discussed earlier. These include Hall's argument that race is a signifier that shifts and slides (2013), a notion which illuminates an attempt by a black journalist and an INGO to extend representations of 'blackness'; Chouliaraki's (2013) conception of cosmopolitanism is drawn on to think through a journalist's efforts to close gaps between 'us' and 'them'; and Mbembe's (2003) work on necropolitics, coupled with Butler's (2004) extension of necropolitics where she asks, 'what makes for a grieveable life?', are utilised to argue that by discursively positioning themselves as administrators of what I term 'life-in-death', INGOs are able to distance themselves from the racialised necropolitics that seep into development/humanitarian discourse and news narratives informed by it.

These explanatory frameworks can be sewn together via Mbembe's (2001) notion of 'entanglement' which illuminates how historical discourses, and the representations that spring from them, don't radically change. Instead they're sieved and shaped through time so that, as we will see in each report, contemporary discursive practices may bear the scars of the past whilst simultaneously shifting racialised narrative patterns.

Some context: getting Ebola into the news

The Ebola outbreak[104] in March 2014 in West Africa was an anomaly in many ways. It was the longest, deadliest outbreak of the disease ever known, and it had devastating humanitarian consequences. From the outset, the dramatic and unexpected nature of the outbreak seemingly fulfilled a key criterion for foreign news being featured in Western media (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). As 'Shay', an INGO press officer based in West Africa when the outbreak occurred, says, 'you have to find the most extreme stories so hopefully journalists will want to write about it'. The 2014 Ebola outbreak was certainly extreme. But despite a well-resourced INGO sounding the alarm early on and experienced journalists, including 'Billie', a broadcast journalist, constantly raising the need to cover the unfolding crisis with their editors, it didn't make headline news in the UK until months after hundreds of people had died.

> 'I fought for that story. Right from the beginning I was fighting to get out there. I was pitching and pitching and it was, 'no money, it's not the right time to go'. There was concern. March is when it started, and I pitched to go in April. I got out in July.' ('Billie')

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[104] The disease began spreading in a village in Guinea in December 2013, but it wasn't officially identified as Ebola until 21 March 2014.

'Hilary', a media manager at the international humanitarian NGO that was one of the first to sound the alarm, expands:

'We really struggled during Ebola. […] we threw the kitchen sink at it and we didn't make much impact outside the global health, Africa […] news people […] until Western people started getting sick and not just getting sick in Africa, but getting sick in America. […] then people are interested because then it becomes a mainstream thing […]. It started kicking off in March, way before that, and I felt like changing my fucking name to Cassandra, I felt like I was prophesising doom, and no one was listening. It was immensely depressing, stressful and upsetting. It was […] a tough year […]. I came home every night […] ranting […]. The money wasn't the problem […], we were being offered donations by governments to deal with the problem, the British government were ringing us saying, '[…] please take some money.' We turned down donations from governments because […] we could fundraise enough ourselves […]. We needed capacity on the ground and we needed other people to […] get involved […]. We needed more nurses, more doctors, more people to bury people, more facilities to treat people, more people to help. We didn't need governments to try and sub-contract the whole thing to us.'

Problematically then, a focus on finance led to 'hollow' (Brown, 2005) engagement, by those in power, with the complexity of the issues at stake. An economic focus also produces tensions which manifest in representation. I discuss such tensions further on. Here I want to highlight that what's clear from my interviews is as well as being a devastating health crisis, killing 11,315 people[105], Ebola also triggered a crisis of information. A crisis of information which meant the public in countries directly affected were initially ill informed about what precautions to take to protect themselves from the disease; a crisis of information which led many governments and INGOs to respond too slowly when Guinea's Ministry of Health issued their first Ebola alert to the World Health Organisation on March 13th , 2014[106]; a crisis of information which meant dominant global news media were reluctant to send journalists to cover the outbreak; a crisis of information which, when international news media *did* start paying attention, arguably led to an amplification of misinformation, fear mongering and racialised reporting. 'Billie' explains:

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[105] This figure is a count of probable, confirmed and suspected Ebola deaths up to 13 January 2016. 4,809 deaths were recorded in Liberia, 3,955 in Sierra Leone, 2,536 in Guinea, 8 in Nigeria, 6 in Mali and 1 in America (WHO, January 14, 2016)

[106] WHO, January 2015

'There were so many things I saw that made me want to bury my head in my hands. (Name of Western news organisation) had […] the famous picture of the virus and it said: '*Ebola: The Isis of biological agents*'. I was like, 'what does that even mean! What?!' […]. Another one was – I think an American network went out and when they came back they had three weeks in a hotel in South Africa and they were broadcasting […] saying, 'we're being contained, we're not allowed to leave the hotel for three weeks.' I was like, 'why? That's completely unnecessary'. I can see how editors may have come to that conclusion, but it was the wrong conclusion and even if you decide to do that please don't go on air and be like, 'we're trapped […] under quarantine'. Why are you under quarantine! That decision may have been made for their colleagues or families so they weren't worried […], but it […] probably made people in their lives more scared and it's certainly made everyone watching more scared – it was the wrong thing to do […]. Then […] the [name of British tabloid] did something about a zombie coming back to life […], his eyes were popping out of his head and it was just like, please, really – it's sooo damaging and not true. That was infuriating, and it just made people more scared. When people are scared they make strange decisions, so the UK really took their time sending people […]. (That kind of reporting) is […] unhelpful, […] not true and why do that? There's enough of a story if you just tell the facts!'

Arguably, the harm media misrepresentations can do, particularly when 'media audiences' vision of distant Others is limited to the view that media offers' (Couldry, 2013:51), was compounded in the case of Ebola because many of the facts were so easily attached to historically rooted, racist ways of seeing Africa as the 'dark continent', and Africans as 'sub-human'. Thus, there was an enhanced risk of storytelling being constructed in ways which perpetuated racist stereotypes; reproducing, as news does, what's 'already known' (Hall,1973:183). A number of journalist and INGO interviewees say they were conscious of this danger. As 'Sandy', a senior press officer at a well-resourced international charity, says:

'You're always aware of the (stereotypical) pitfalls coverage can slip into, and that was the case with Ebola.'

Most journalist and INGO interviewees say they became even more conscious of potential racialised pitfalls, and the 'entanglements' (Mbembe, 2001) such pitfalls highlight, as coverage of the Ebola crisis evolved. The unbalanced nature of reporting became starkly apparent when global media interest escalated in August 2014 in response to Western lives being at risk. By then, over 900 people in Sierra Leone, Guinea, Liberia and Nigeria (WHO, August 8th, 2014) had lost their lives to the disease. In August 2014, 1 white British nurse became infected whilst

working in Sierra Leone. He was admitted to London's Royal Free hospital. Other Western countries also treated people who had contracted the virus in West Africa. Suddenly, there was an international media storm and major INGOs, besides the one that first raised the alarm, began paying more attention. 'Sandy' explains:

'We only got big on Ebola once the media got interested, and the media only […] got interested once it looked like it was getting […] out of control and spreading beyond the borders of Liberia, Guinea, Sierra Leone and Nigeria. At that point it was a classic scare story although people didn't know what they were dealing with. […] suddenly the world got very interested and suddenly we got interested […]. It sounds brutal, but you […] end up having to be pragmatic, you have to say this is where we can get people to pay attention. That isn't how we prioritise what we *do*, we have been doing stuff people don't […] know about all year, but […] if you're in a country, it's suddenly in the news and you have an opportunity then you do it.'

Because of the health and safety concerns which, as 'Billie' says, were misguided and largely panic, rather than fact, driven[107], dominant global media institutions were reluctant to send journalists to the worse affected countries in West Africa. This created a unique opportunity for wealthy INGOs, that already had staff on the ground, to construct narratives and supply content.

'Ebola was […] the first time we were being directly approached [by mainstream UK news media] to record our own footage and send it. I was in conversation with [name of public service broadcaster] and they were saying they'd take our footage, it would be marked, it's not like they disguise it, but […] they'd take it.' ('Sandy')

In theory then, INGOs were also in a unique position to display their awareness of the racially stereotypical 'pitfalls' coverage could easily fall into, and attempt to mitigate against that by seeking to counter problematic themes that would invariably be 'entangled' (Mbembe, 2001) within their reports. One such way, as argued below, was to include diaspora actors as narrators in coverage.

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[107] Ebola is spread via the blood and body fluids of an infected person or animal. It can be spread by touching an infected person who has symptoms, or who has recently died, or by touching their body fluids. You may also catch it by handling raw infected meat. You cannot catch Ebola via routine social contact with people who don't have symptoms. International responses, such as airlines cancelling flights to affected countries and large media organisations not sending journalists, created the impression that Ebola is caught more easily than this.

INGO inclusion of diaspora in media

When Comic Relief was founded in 1985, Lenny Henry, one of the co-founders, stood out. Not only because there were so few black people featured in prominent roles on television then, but because he was one of the only black people featured in an authoritative role as a narrator in the charity fundraising show which was largely focused on projects where black African people were singularly represented as passive beneficiaries. In around 1987, not long back in the UK from living in Mozambique, seeing Henry in this capacity was a welcome relief for my family and I, for whom representations of lots of white celebrities 'helping' black people didn't match the reality we knew of ordinary, and prominent, black people within and outside the African diaspora, helping each other. My little sister somewhat, if only momentarily and unwittingly, contributed to an expansion of the range of representations of blackness (Hall, 2013:262) in the media-INGO world, when she appeared on television with Henry because her Brownie club had raised money for Comic Relief that year. She and Henry were the only people of colour on the screen who weren't positioned as needing British charity. They were, in effect, 'floating signifiers'[109] (Hall, 2006), inviting viewers to *shift* their perception of blackness as a mode of being that may otherwise have only signified poverty and helplessness in this media-INGO context. I draw from the notion of 'entanglement' (Mbembe, 2001) in my use of the word 'shift', to reference circumstances where meaning has altered but also remains the same: past is present and blackness is at once 'them' and 'us'. My mum, older sister and I watched with excitement and pride as Henry took the time to speak to my little sister: recognising, we wanted to believe, the significance of that moment of 'shift' too.

In recent years, diaspora have increasingly been positioned as narrators of/and/or prominent actors in aid appeals (see Orgad, 2015) and related news stories on SSA. In contrast to my black journalist interviewees (see Chapter 5), most of whom felt, or had been told by editors, that they'd been placed on particular stories (including Ebola coverage) because they're black, or they'd sought to do such coverage for the same reason, none of my INGO interviewees, black or white, said they'd deliberately included, or sought to work with, black actors as leads on stories (be they journalists, celebrities or experts) to convey messages differently and/or subvert the white saviour narrative. However, all my white interviewees who've worked on campaigns or been involved in the production of news where black diaspora actors led the storytelling, said they were 'pleased' this was the case. Such expressions of pleasure at apparently chance inclusions of BAME actors in INGO narratives on SSA speak to the way the

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[109] For Hall, the term 'floating signifier' is a means of discrediting any attempt to ground race scientifically and emphasise that 'race is a discursive category' that can only be explained socially, culturally and historically.

INGO sector has long acknowledged its dominant representational practices need to change but, my findings indicate, prefers to take a colour-blind approach to such 'change'. This leads to a lack of engagement with racism as a significant issue that is structurally embedded within institutions, including those we expect to treat us equally, and thus as an issue that's inextricably entangled with questions of what needs to change and/or certainly *shift*.

Paradoxically, despite hesitant and/or rather limited engagement with race and racism as factors shaping approaches to representation (see also Chapter 4 & 7), my white INGO research participants, like my black participants, feel the inclusion of black narrators makes a difference to how stories are told, and audience response to stories. 'Leslie', who helped steer a media campaign to fundraise for the Ebola crisis, explains they were '*extremely* happy' ('Leslie's' emphasis) about the choice of the black diaspora individual who narrated the campaign:

> '[name of actor] is bloody great and […] I would have been delighted for [name of actor] to front any of our appeals, but I was conscious we always get the best results and […] appeals from people who have a personal connection of some description, even if it's a little tenuous. People are fine […] having a face they know and trust asking for money on television, but it makes sense to them if it feels like there's a reason it might be *that* person doing that and I think that's easier if people have some current, historical or ancestral connection that means it makes sense. For example, we had (name of actor) […] front our (name of country) appeal. They were a passionate advocate of that appeal because […] part of their family is from (name of country), so that made […] sense.'

Here, the perception (conscious or not) of diaspora actors as bridges across divides in 'maps of meaning' (Hall, 2003), thus embodying a *shift*, is evidenced by the suggestion that the audience's ability to connect to media about a cause affecting distant Others may be enhanced if someone who is perceived to be connected to those Others (in other words, they're black like 'them'), however distant the connection, but is also recognisably culturally connected to 'us', is featured in an authoritative role.

Because 'market rationality' ('people are fine […] having a face they know and trust *asking for money*'), as discussed in Chapter 7, enters the thinking behind prominent inclusion of diaspora actors in aid narratives on SSA, one must question whether there's any intention here to shift representational practices to counter racialised narratives, or whether consideration of the market is the primary focus. What's interesting is that whatever the intention, the inclusion of diaspora does *something*, and the *something* it does generates 'the best results' for the organisation. It's beyond the scope of this study to consider what may be going on here from

an audience perspective[110]. However, as highlighted, I will unpack what's *done* at the level of representation via analysis of content alongside journalist's explanations of their intentions.

Diaspora as 'valuable assets'

First, to further contextualise the disconnect between INGO representational practices and institutional race awareness, which my findings point to, it's worth recalling the dismissive attitudes to diaspora as equal partners in development expressed by some in the mainstream INGO sector, as noted in Chapter 7. This is because it brings a problematic double standard into view. By this I mean major INGOs may be happy to work with diaspora actors if it's a case of including such actors in media campaigns devised for, and by, the INGO, but *not* as equal partners on policy and implementation issues. In other words, not as equal partners in power.

'Shay' experienced this kind of double standard at the well-resourced INGO they work for when the organisation didn't want to implement a strategy, proposed by some black employees, of formally incorporating black history month into their organisational calendar (see also Chapter 7). The idea, 'Shay' explains, was to celebrate black culture in an industry where blackness is typically negatively represented, as well as to provide a platform to generate institutional reckoning with the historical and contemporary connections between racism and poverty, and formulate media to highlight those links. Despite not wanting to institute ways of addressing race internally, the same organisation liked the fact that, when 'Shay' put themselves forward for a media job in West Africa during the Ebola crisis, they could be presented *externally* as the black face of the organisation during the crisis:

'My face fitted, even though I'm not from the country I went to.'

Having a face that 'fits' is an unspoken (and sometimes spoken) prerequisite in many fields, but particularly the journalistic field where people are often employed because they're perceived to represent the media brand and its target audience. Therefore, it's assumed they'll form a connection with audiences which sustains and/or builds brand loyalty. During the current moment when featuring 'locals' as lead narrators in mainstream narratives is, as discussed in Chapter 7, generally not deemed 'market' friendly, but, according to 'Hilary', 'we've moved beyond the white hero saving the little black baby dynamic. Certainly, the kind of people who support (name of INGO) tend to be intelligent, switched on, done some travelling, know that's bullshit so it wouldn't work for us even if we did sell it like that,' putting

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[110] Although it's worth noting that this indicates audiences clearly have the capacity to shake off 'cognitive inertia' (Entman & Rojecki, 2000) and respond positively to narrators who don't fit expected, racialised norms (see Chapter 7).

diaspora actors in the frame seems to represent a comfortable midway point. 'Sandy' describes how their media team were 'lucky' when, during the Ebola crisis, a British-(name of West African country) went to (name of West African country) to cover the outbreak for the INGO's media team:

'We were *lucky* […] we had a British-(name of West African country) in (name of West African country) who was a great interviewee, […] had a natural understanding of being able to tell stories and […] was immensely brave and willing to do this because they cared about what was happening. That became an incredibly valuable asset. […] we also have […] a strong spokesperson in our (name of West African country) office and they did […] media too. But I think UK media…it gave them […] more of a link in, as (name of journalist) had come straight out of a London pub so they […] know what people in London pubs are talking about […]. They also had the access, trust […] and understanding that no UK journalist just arriving will ever have. They know people, […] could speak the language […], got family there. You […] get a different insight, a more informed and reflective insight that reflects how (name of country) is thinking about this.'

This comment highlights the troubling erasure of local commentators from dominant discourse because they are apparently less relatable to than those who 'know what people in London pubs are talking about'. Diaspora narrating stories about SSA in conjunction with INGOs for mainstream news platforms may also be viewed in two other key, overlapping ways. On the one hand, diaspora storytelling could offer a means of accounting for how stories of Others that move 'us' to *recognise* (Taylor, 1994) them, work to produce meaning about Others in ways which instigate greater solidarity in the West (Chouliarki, 2013:112). If we follow Chouliaraki's argument, which sets out an ideal discussed further on, linking rational debate with representations that generate recognition of 'them' being like 'us' may enhance the cosmopolitanisation of the public sphere.

On the other hand, inclusion of diaspora in INGO news media narratives on SSA could be viewed as a 'non-performative' (Ahmed, 2012), and as reductive of 'blackness' as stereotypical storytelling.

Diaspora journalist seeks to extend depictions of 'blackness' (with some INGO engineering)

'Jamie', a senior broadcast journalist[111], filed reports on the Ebola outbreak during the height of the media storm. The content considered here plays out the 'complexities and ambivalences of representation' (Hall, 2013:263), demonstrating how normative ways of framing SSA can be 'shifted': both maintained and disrupted within one news report, simultaneously sustaining and contesting 'a racialised regime' (Hall, 2013:259) of representing SSA.

The hook for the news story is the opening of an Ebola treatment center, run by a British INGO. 'Jamie' explains that when they were deployed by their news organisation to cover the crisis, they:

> 'Wanted to tell as rounded a story as possible […]. I wanted to get across that for any country with the kind of infrastructure some of these countries have, the paucity of resources, they would be wiped out as well. […] I wanted to get across that this would be as difficult for the UK, […] for any country. It's […] about context and trying to dispel the suggestion that this is only happening in Africa because (says sarcastically) they're not very clean […] or whatever. You know, it's showing there are a range of issues that affect this story and it's about trying to bring all that into it so you go beyond stereotypes and […], I hope, get a fuller picture.'

Jamie explains key sources for their story included British INGOs, whose leads were 'the starting point', and also helped facilitate the trip. A local stringer, 'who knows their stuff', was also central:

> '(Name of stringer) can say, 'look (name of INGO) are spinning a line here'. […] (name of stringer) is our guide and we have that kind of person across the globe. (Name of stringer) can point us in the right direction in terms of the validity of what the NGO might be saying […], so that's very helpful.'

Several key points foregrounding representation are important to consider here before exploring the actual news report. The first is the journalist's intention to attempt to avoid

[111]My findings indicate that when the crisis was deemed significant enough to be headline news, the journalists covering the story became increasingly senior, even though it was originally more junior members of staff, freelancers or local stringers who'd instigated initial coverage. This is important to note as whilst there's a push at some news organisations to use 'local' journalists more prominently (see also Bunce, 2011) to report on regions like SSA so news can be seen 'as *authentic* as possible' ('Jamie',emphasis added), 'authenticity' isn't enough to drive stories up the news hierarchy. In practice, this means that a SSA news event might hover on the margins of the news agenda if a 'local' journalist is telling it 'authentically' (and both 'local' and 'authentic' can be read as racialised terms in this context). But, as several interviewees confirm, the same news event will be more likely to move up the news hierarchy if a senior British journalist gets behind the story. Thus, power structures and, arguably, normative ways of framing SSA are maintained.

stereotypical reporting and place this West African crisis in a global context, rather than racialising the crisis by suggesting it could *only* happen in Africa, thus activating temporal comparisons between 'us' ('modern, always ahead, West') and 'them' ('primitive, always behind, Africa'). The second point is the primary source status (Hall et al, 1978) of British INGOs as the initial source of information and important facilitators during the trip. Finally, the use of a local stringer to help with checking and balancing information from the primary source is important. This approach to storytelling in the field, whereby dominant sources consist of local journalists, as well as INGOs already operating on the ground, offering opportunities for journalists to be 'embedded' (Cottle & Nolan, 2009) with them, coupled with 'Jamie's' seniority, their African diasporic heritage and stated desire not to produce racially stereotypical coverage, are all factors that should, theoretically, combine to contribute to a contestation of the 'racialised regime of representation' (Hall, 2013:259) that exists in relation to dominant Western depictions of SSA.

Normative framing

We don't see the journalist during the report, which is just under 2 minutes. Thus, the previously discussed strategy, where news organisations visibly position a journalist of colour to report on Africa as a means of activating a 'slide' (Hall, 2013) of meaning, and seemingly break with stereotypical modes of reporting whereby members of the 'white British boys club' (Bunce, 2010) narrate news on SSA, is not enacted. Instead, the journalist does the report in voice over, somewhat distancing themselves from the unfolding scenes. These begin with footage of a bare footed, bare chested black man stumbling around in the rain and mud outside what the journalist describes as 'the treatment centre'. The man is referred to as 'this man', and a 'potentially walking time bomb', and he remains nameless and voiceless throughout the report. In addition, at no point does 'the man' face the viewer. It's unclear whether he knows the camera's gaze is on him.

These opening shots are reminiscent of the critiqued, but recurring, style of racially problematic news coverage on SSA, whereby black bodies are objectified, stripped of name, voice and any sense of their being rational subjects. The man is objectified further when he's described as a 'timebomb', a term which reduces him to the status of a bio-hazard. That said, the journalist also informs us that 'the man' is 'the first to turn up at the treatment centre' and 'now he wants to leave'. These statements arguably lend 'the man' some agency.

Two white people enter the frame. First, a man clothed in medical attire, holding a walkie talkie in one hand and talking and signalling to the black man. He and another white colleague walk alongside 'the man', keeping their distance. The journalist tells us that 'the man' 'can't be

restrained and no one can get near him'. The use of the word 'restrained' discursively folds into and recuperates 'already existing themes' (Foucault, 1972 in Stoler, 2002a) linked to profoundly racist constructs of black men as out of control, criminal, animalistic and thus requiring restraint. Such language, considered in the context of regimes of representing SSA in dominant Western discourse, which, whatever the journalist's intentions regarding the construction of the report, is the regime they're operating within, silently resurrect and sustain themes that have been discursively layered (Stoler, 2002a) through time.

Although the journalist describes the man as 'dazed' and 'weak', these words, which signify his vulnerability as a seriously ill person, are somewhat overshadowed by the addition of '*but*', and the subsequent information about the apparent danger he poses as a 'timebomb'. The 'danger' posed by 'the man', as opposed to his vulnerability, is further emphasised by the visual of him walking along a road, towards the bush that flanks it, with the two fully clothed white people alongside him, maintaining a 'safe' distance, one with a walkie talkie, requesting help, then a shot of a different white person listening to instruction on another walkie talkie. The absence of any personal context regarding 'the man' makes this footage disturbingly redolent of a wounded animal being rounded up, thus reinforcing some of the deeply problematic ways black bodies are subordinated within representation (see Hall, 2013).

None of the white people featured occupy speaking positions either, but they are given more context than 'the man'. We're told they're staff at the British treatment centre, and we learn the name of the INGO they work for. The camera then briefly cuts to a shot of another black man, standing alone outside the tented sides of the treatment centre. He's fully clothed and wears a medical mask over his nose and mouth. He's filmed from a distance. We're told he's a family member, which somewhat anchors 'the man', but the camera quickly cuts to another white actor: a close-up of 'a nurse', crouching in the rain, head bowed, eyes downcast, lips pursed. We're told she's taking 'stock'. We silently learn of her pain, her difficulty at contending with the crisis. For that second, we *feel* the crisis through her, rather than through the sick man, or his relative. After being told 'the man' has finally been convinced to return to the British treatment centre, we see some black staff carrying large bins and others cleaning the walkway outside the centre. Their seemingly menial roles, in contrast to the white professionals shown in the footage, speak to old racial hierarchies of power/knowledge, whereby black Africans were represented as incapable of governing themselves in any capacity, so required white/Western rule.

Mitigating raced difference

However, the 'moral' obligation encased within development discourse, which 'old' racialised ideas underpin, that white Westerners should 'help those […] who could not develop' (Ferreira da Silva, 2014: 42), is visually contested in the final segment where we're introduced to a black scientist working in the Ebola treatment centre.

The first, and only (other than the journalist's narration) speaking position in the report is given to this black scientist, who we see at work. We're told where the scientist is from in the UK and their professional status. The first thing the scientist says is:

 'If I was in their shoes I'd like to think that the rest of the world would come and help

 me. Sometimes we sit in our […] bubbles […] thinking nothing will happen to me […].'

This short quote and the visual of a black person in an authoritative position, arguably goes some way towards fulfilling 'Jamie's' original intention of positioning the crisis as a global issue (we may sit in 'bubbles' but *any of us* could be 'in their shoes'), and avoiding non-stereotypical representation of an African news event, whereby white Westerners occupy the role of saviour. 'If I was in their shoes', suggests to the British viewer that this British scientist, thus feasibly any of 'us', *could* be in 'their shoes', situating the crisis as something that could happen in any region of the world, rather than just SSA.

The scientist's blackness can be seen to (or at least as an attempt to) activate 'slides of meaning' (Hall, 2013: 259) by erasing the appearance of 'racial' difference between an 'expert' and those who I've suggested are objectified in this report. Such a strategy, referred to as 'mitigating difference' (Orgad, 2015:125), has been found to be increasingly popular in INGO media. This strategy involves including particular 'mediators' in INGO communication to avoid reproducing 'us/'them' binaries, by inserting signifiers that symbolically bridge the social, cultural and racial gaps between these binaries. Such tactics may invert binary oppositions and:

 'Construct a positive identification with what has been abjected. It greatly expands the

 range of racial representations and the complexity of what it means to 'be black', thus

 challenging the reductionism of earlier stereotypes.' (Hall, 2013:262)

Further, in trying to 'construct a positive identification with what has been abjected' and expand the range of ways black people are represented in dominant news discourse, the 'mitigating difference' strategy can also be interpreted as a mechanism to try and make Western audiences feel more familiar, and therefore able to connect, with distant Others. In the process, 'compassion fatigue', which some theorists (e.g. Moeller, 1999) argue prevents

Western audiences engaging with news on 'distant Others', may also be redressed. However, more than redressing 'compassion fatigue', which a number of INGO interviewees say they see no evidence of in as much as public financial giving in response to aid appeals is not waning, I believe the 'mitigating difference' strategy is more aligned with attempts by INGOs and dominant news organisations to construct a racially 'progressive' brand image so as not to be seen to be perpetuating stuck racialised ways of doing and seeing.

In relation to the news report considered here, a 'mitigating difference' (Orgad, 2015) mechanism can be seen to be operating in relation to the representation of voiceless black Africans ('them'), and a black British scientist ('us'). In this context, even though the North/South binary is at play (Northern science and charity/Southern helplessness), racialised differences between 'us' and 'them', and the colonial regimes of representation that having a white Western aid worker in the frame may revive, are seemingly mitigated by having a black scientist in place who, to reiterate, occupies the only speaking position in the piece. 'Jamie' explains that featuring the black scientist was intentional:

OD: 'You interviewed a black British scientist. Was that significant for you?'

'Jamie': 'Yes, yes, that was very important! I […] think (name of INGO) made sure they were available for us. […] quite a few of the press people at (name of INGO) are ex journalists. Quite a few are ex (name of news organisation 'Jamie' works for) and they know where we're coming from […]. I […] remember thinking (says excitedly), 'oh, it's a black person – […] absolutely straight in there, get the mike in front of that scientist'. That was absolutely important, and I don't think anyone thinks about that now, […] I don't think anyone thinks, 'oh, that's a black person'. Because the whole idea of diversity and inclusion is such a part of our society now, […] of who we are as a nation.'

OD: 'But do you think it registers on a sub-conscious level?'

'Jamie': 'I think it does, yeah. For black people – I think for black people it registers, absolutely, […] and it certainly registers for me, absolutely, which is why I wanted to do it.'

What's interesting here is 'Jamie's' description of their rush to get the microphone to a black (British) person, when we saw at least 5 other black people, who seemed to be local, in the report before we got to the scientist. This speaks to ongoing North/South hierarchies, and the way non-white Britons become an acceptable face of Britishness when positively representing the UK overseas (Gilroy, 1987). Also important to note is the expression of how at an overt level, 'as a nation', we're apparently acclimatised to, and accepting of, diversity and inclusion.

Yet, paradoxically, at a covert, subconscious level it remains 'very important' for the journalist personally (also see below), who will also be trying to fulfil institutional doxa, and the INGO that 'made sure' the black scientist was available, to actively seek and feature black British people in this kind of news report, so they can represent the extent to which we *are* a diverse *and* inclusive nation. This, coupled with the assertion that seeing a black (British) person featured in an authoritative position registers 'for black people', highlights how 'the whole idea of diversity and inclusion' is *not* one our society has fully come to terms with. Hence, the entanglements (Mudimbe, 2001) contained within this news report, where the journalist set out to tell the story in a non-stereotypical manner. Reflecting on the report considered here, and their overseas reporting generally, 'Jamie' says:

> 'I realise now […] I […] do those stories for me – the more I think about it – and my sensibilities. I want to go beyond what Michael Buerk was doing and talk to local people […], which was the most glaring thing for me in his reporting. […] you can only be true to yourself in all of this.'

Those intentions, and attempts to be 'true' to oneself, to your habitus and standpoint, were arguably aided and undone by different factors here. These included: who the primary source was (an INGO) and what/who that source enabled access to, the time constraints of broadcast news and the dominant regime of representing SSA which, whatever one's positioning and intentions, individuals and institutions are all caught up in.

Widening access, and storytelling, via 'raced' ties

'Emerson', who covered Ebola for a British broadsheet and online, was determined to centre the stories of West Africans living in the countries affected by the crisis. 'Emerson' believes being a black journalist, and the moments they operated in the field without accompanying Western INGO staff, helped them gain access to people, and thus stories, in ways that enabled them to produce content where local people were the dominant sources of information:

> 'Being black impacted the way people responded to me as a journalist […] a lot. When I was covering Ebola […] in Sierra Leone we went to this isolated village […] and I felt for the first time […] that it's really scary if you live in the middle of nowhere to have people coming in in those protection suits […], looking like a spaceman […]. These people were isolated, and we went in with a bunch of […] white aid workers. When we went in with the white aid workers you could see the fear, they were like, 'you're bringing Ebola, we've never had this problem.' […] We got stoned […]. Whereas when I went in with

local […] burial teams, there was a bit of tension towards them […] but the reception was different. I was able to get people to sit aside – villagers – and talk to them, which I hadn't been able to do when I was with white people because annoyingly you get […] smeared with the same brush as them when you're with them. But […] I could make myself anonymous […] that helps. […] It came up in (news) conference […] at one point and I thought, 'you know what, let me just […] say it', because […], especially at the (name of broadsheet), talking about race would make some people really uncomfortable so you have to be careful, […] you're always feeling like you're looking out for their feelings […]. But I remember saying, 'with Ebola, as a black person, I'm going to have an advantage. I'm not saying as a white person you can't do the job, but […] let's play to our strengths. If you're covering a rape story, maybe you should send a woman to cover it if it's a woman who's been raped'. […] Everyone fell silent, then just mumbled something and pretended I hadn't spoken […]. So on the one hand you have more access, but it was a real struggle for that to shine through because people weren't willing to give you a chance.'

However, during the Ebola crisis 'Emerson' did, as highlighted, feel they had more space than usual to shape content from a black, West African perspective, rather than a white, European one. A large part of that, they explain, involved avoiding making Western INGO voices prominent in pieces, even though the 2014 Ebola outbreak was one of the few times 'Emerson' worked relatively closely with INGOs.

'I try not to work with them because they try and control everything and unfortunately INGOs usually paint a narrative which is poor starving Africans […]. I get it, they need to do that for their purposes I guess. I'm not saying they're not doing a good job […] but I […] try not to use them […]. A lot of my colleagues (from the same broadsheet and foreign correspondents from other global news organisations) […] rely on them though. The Africa correspondent at the (name of broadsheet) completely relied on them (…). Everyone was like, 'are you going to do any reporting, or are you just going to re-write NGO press releases?''

In a broadsheet article on Ebola that 'Emerson' wrote, 'Emerson' explains they deliberately avoided making INGO voices prominent. The report begins with the story of a young local Sierra Leonean. We learn, via quotes from the young person interwoven with 'Emerson's' own words, that they sat university entrance exams just before the outbreak and have ambitions of becoming a doctor. However, when Ebola hit their community, people were quarantined, the bank and schools closed, their world was turned upside down and they found themselves

burying the bodies of Ebola victims. In addition to painting a portrait of *who* the local volunteer is, representing them as a relatable subject with agency, hopes and fears, as well as someone who's resident somewhere with banks, universities and so on, depicting their home as a place that functions in ways that are recognisable to a UK readership, the journalist also tells us early on that this local volunteer is 'at the *frontline* of battle' (my emphasis). This wording emphasises local, over international, involvement and the risks ('at the frontline') locals took to help. Other journalist interviewees who covered the crisis also sought to highlight how the majority of those helping were from the countries affected. 'Emerson' explains:

'Aid workers coming in from abroad are doing an equally thankless, dangerous and brave job, but why do we always have to do it from the perspective of white people coming in (sighs).'

Apart from centering local stories, 'Emerson's' article also quickly contextualises the disease. A lack of context is something that news, as a genre, is frequently critiqued for by media practitioners and academics, particularly in relation to SSA. But such critique became amplified (e.g. French, 2015) in relation to dominant Western coverage of Ebola. Arguably, this was because so much of the coverage reproduced, in relation to one news event, some of the worst historical themes (see also Foucault, ibid in Stoler, 2002a) connected to racist discourse on SSA. 'Emerson's' article highlights how, although there have previously been Ebola outbreaks in areas of the region, it's the first time the young volunteer at the center of the story has encountered the disease. They are, we're informed, more familiar with diseases like malaria and cholera that kill thousands every year in their region. Not only does this convey the point that the 2014 Ebola outbreak was as unexpected and shocking to West Africans as it was to the rest of the world, it's also a reminder of the lack of attention dominant Western news pays to other African stories.

The localisation and contextualisation of the 2014 Ebola crisis is also enacted in 'Emerson's' report when they highlight how the life-saving advice on isolating infected people was 'bewildering' for local people who, like anyone anywhere, wanted to tend to ill relatives, so had to find a way to 'accommodate' this advice. The terms 'bewildering' and 'accommodate', *Others* advice that's foreign to local people, rather than local practices being Othered, as was the case in some coverage which portrayed locals as ignorant for touching the sick and wanting to maintain traditional mourning practices, such as washing the bodies of those who die. 'Emerson' explains they chose their words carefully:

'It's hard to contextualise […] but I think people who are on the ground, if you actually
[…] saw it you have no excuse for writing: 'you're not supposed to touch, but people are

still touching their sick children'. Obviously if your child is dying and they're sweating, you're going to wipe the sweat off their face – it's a human impulse. It (that kind of coverage) makes me really upset and angry […] It's hard being angry all the time […] you're already covering a tough subject and feeling emotionally drained, and then having to fight this narrative […] about being brave, white journalists going to that part of Africa (sighs). […] But I do have […] colleagues […], like a white American photographer, who sat me down at one point and said: 'I'm not going to take a picture of a single dead body because it's not dignified […].' So a lot of my colleagues who aren't black who are based in the region also felt upset (at some of the coverage), but I feel […] it particularly affected me being black.'

Despite producing content which, I contend, fulfils 'Emerson's' original intention of centering the voices of West Africans most affected by the crisis, 'Emerson' felt the framing of some of their reporting was racially skewed by the headlines attached to it.

'I never wrote the headlines for the (name of broadsheet), but I had real issues with them. […] One referred to infectious dance songs […]. The undertone was black people are dancing, singing and smiling their way through this crisis, rather than this is really serious, which was the aim of that piece.'

Such gaps between journalist's intentions regarding stories they construct, and their final representation, is revealing of the tensions that exist between individual habitus and institutional doxa, as well as, again, the way racialised themes are easily attached to content produced by individuals who strive to avoid such themes. Indeed, how stories get presented through headlines and layout is an important and neglected aspect of the politics of representation, which deserves further study. Not least because this is the point at which intermediaries working with an arguably more commercial rationale get involved and they can frame stories, as 'Emerson' highlights, in ways which alter the journalists' intended angle.

'These are people, that's all you need to know': split logics beneath a cosmopolitan approach.

'Billie', who did on the ground reporting during the Ebola crisis for public service broadcast and online platforms, explains they were 'very mindful' of trying not to reinforce a stereotypical narrative 'of black people suffering' and 'not having a voice to tell their own stories.' Recalling the point made in Chapter 4 that, for Foucault, part of the process of discourse analysis involves considering what *logic* informs the way terminology is constructed

within discourse and the purpose of the discourse, I suggest there are split logics at play in 'Billie's' report, which I describe shortly.

The first half of the logic is institutional and speaks to how historical ideologies underpin mainstream institutional doxa, and norms, regarding news coverage of SSA. In the case of Interviewee 'B's' broadcast employer, the institutional expectation is, as 'Billie' says, 'to have the British in.' And 'the British' may be an INGO spokesperson because, as we've seen, INGOs are institutionally accepted as authoritative news sources on SSA.

The second half of the logic relates to 'Billie's' habitus and their desire to humanise groups of people, who they've frequently seen misrepresented, by attempting to cultivate viewer's cosmopolitan sensibilities towards subjects in their stories. 'Billie' explains:

> 'You grow up talking about racism and seeing how certain communities are represented unfairly and what impact that has. […] all I ever wanted to do is give people a voice to tell their own stories […]. In the piece, this woman I spoke to was pregnant, she lost her baby […], she's a sister, she was going to be a mother and she's a daughter and as soon as you state that […] and speak to her as that, you hope people at home […] actually see a person, and it's not, 'scary Ebola in Africa'. I obviously outline the fact of what was happening, but it was also about not showing space suits and bleeding out of your eyeballs and […] like it's from another world. […] It sounds obvious, but it was like these are people and that's all you need to know!'

The statement, 'these are people', simply but powerfully speaks to how racist ideologies constructed to support notions of black people as sub-human are so entrenched that a journalist working for a mainstream UK news organisation in the 21st century feels compelled to state the 'obvious'. I suggest 'Billie' draws on a cosmopolitan sensibility to try and contest the covert 'grammar of racialised discourse' (Goldberg, 1993:46) which shapes representations in ways that risk us not viewing Others as people. I use cosmopolitan in the way Chouliaraki (2013) utilises the concept to discuss the mediation of the vulnerability of distant Others in the public sphere. Chouliaraki highlights the tensions that arise between cosmopolitan conceptions of the public sphere and the national Habermasian conception of the public sphere. The former was 'born out of the 18th century culture of sympathy' (Chouliaraki, 2013:105) and is seen as a space that encompasses all of humanity, whilst the latter is reserved for the few. Chouliaraki describes how the Kantian[119] view of cosmopolitanism, which 'is predicated upon free discourse among rational human beings who, through this very

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[119]Kant, we must remind ourselves, was insanely racist and 'insisted upon the natural stupidity of blacks'. (Goldberg, 1993:6)

discourse, reveal the bonds of humanity that bring them together as a species' (Chouliaraki, 2013:105), is at odds with the fact that 'the public sphere emerged within a Westphalian global order that divided the world into hierarchies of nation-states, where some were more equal than others' (Chouliaraki, 2013:105). She notes how such divisions, which were drawn between the West and the Global South, have formed the basis of postcolonial critiques of modernity, where non-Westerners were dehumanised and thus not equipped to participate in free discourse. 'Billie's' assertion that: 'these are people and that's all you need to know' is indicative of their awareness of such divisions, which are geographical and raced, and the structure of their report is demonstrative of an attempt to bridge such divisions.

Striving to give subjects due recognition

The report opens with a close-up of a young woman holding a baby. She's looking at the camera, meeting the viewer's gaze, her mouth is moving in speech while the journalist's voice over introduces her. We're told her full name, age and that she's one of just a few women who has survived Ebola through pregnancy. We then hear the journalist address the woman, thanking her for taking the time to talk and telling her it's appreciated. Within the first few seconds then, the Sierra Leonean woman is positioned as the central character in the story, alerting the audience to her agency because her participation, we must assume, is something she took an active decision in, rather than her being given no speaking position and used as a backdrop to a summary of events. The journalist tells us that the baby the interviewee is holding is not hers, as she miscarried her child when she was ill. We're told she's caring for the baby, who has Ebola. This information positions the young woman as someone who has not only recovered from the virus, but is now actively trying to help others, reversing the misconception that white Westerners mostly occupy the position of helper in Africa.

The young woman then speaks, via a translator, of her own battle with, and recovery from, Ebola. We learn her family got her to the treatment centre when she became ill, which again highlights local agency and response to the outbreak, as opposed to the passive victim status black Africans in dominant Western news narratives are frequently reduced to.

After hearing from the young woman, the aforementioned split logic is enacted when the camera cuts to a white doctor working for an INGO. This dials up institutional doxa, fulfilling the requirement to have 'the British in', and historical legacies that shape dominant discourse on SSA. The doctor delivers the expert view, explaining the risks pregnant women face if they contract Ebola. Although he's an authoritative source, he's given less airtime than the young Sierra Leonean woman, around 15 seconds compared to her 40-odd. We're then shown an INGO treatment center and the journalist does a brief piece to camera before the camera cuts

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to a shot of mostly black health workers, then an interview with another white Western medic who explains the risk of Ebola to pregnant women and their unborn baby. The interview with this expert lasts a few seconds, before the report returns to footage of the young woman it began with. The journalist informs us that the woman is well enough to return home, but she doesn't want to leave the ill baby she's caring for. In this final frame the journalist directs the narrative back to the habitus side of the aforementioned split logic, humanising and centering this young woman, as per the journalist's intentions, whose actions personify local charity and care. Indeed, it's emphasised as much as, if not more than, foreign charity. The report also goes some way to enhancing the cosmopolitanisation of the public sphere, positioning the young woman as a rational subject who is equipped to participate freely in discourse and is acting to address the needs of those who are suffering (i.e. the ill baby), just as we in the West are being called upon to do so. For 'Billie', constructing the report was a case of having to tread a line between their habitus and institutional doxa:

> 'I tried to make it not all desperation […]. In Ebola there's hope, I saw it everywhere. […] good news stories tend not to get on as much […] but you can do it *within* stories […]. For example, we made sure we spoke to West African doctors doing the healing in other stories […] cos you don't want to do the whole Brits going to save the day. […] but at the (name of organisation) having a domestic in the story is always helpful when you're going through the commissioning[120] process. It's […] tricky […]. The first Ebola piece got commissioned because (name of UK organisation) were in Guinea – that was the in for that story.' ('Billie's' emphasis)

'Billie' is clearly perturbed as they recall this, shaking their head as they reiterate how they'd said Ebola was a story long before there was any significant UK involvement, simply because lives were being lost at an extraordinary rate. We shall see, in relation to my final content analysis, how black African lives are devalued in ways which not only influence decisions about whether events affecting their lives are deemed newsworthy, but also in the way those lives are represented. 'Quinn', another senior journalist who covered the Ebola crisis for tabloid print and online news, explains that overtly racialised differentiation between whose lives are deemed important within mainstream UK newsrooms, and whose are not, is often stark:

> 'When something like Ebola happens not only does it take you back to the […] starving children narrative […] but […] there's that unspoken thing in newsrooms where African

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[120]Commissioning is central to getting any journalistic story off the ground and onto dominant news platforms, with commissioning editors acting as gatekeepers between the reporter and their source(s) on one side, and the news, or overall editor, on the other.

lives matter less. [...] 80 people dying [...] in Nigeria is not the same as 80 people dying in Germany. [...] I've heard people talk about it in mainstream newsrooms where they've basically been like the unwritten rule is [...] two white people can die and that's a story, but two people can die in a country of brown faces and it's not a big deal.'

I now move to closer consideration of whose lives are, and aren't, valued in mainstream UK news, via analysis of content an INGO constructed for a public service news organisation.

Life-in-death: INGO constructed coverage of Ebola for mainstream media

Because of the aforementioned reluctance of mainstream news organisations to send staff to the countries worse affected by the 2014-16 Ebola crisis, INGOs had greater opportunities than usual to insert themselves into coverage (see Chapter 7). Here, I consider content that was commissioned by a public service news organisation and produced by an international humanitarian NGO with little involvement from the media organisation's editorial team. This content is analysed using Foucauldian inspired discourse analysis which, as discussed, enables us to make connections between past racialised discourses and contemporary discursive practice. Because the content overtly deals with life and death, I also use Mbembe's (2003) conception of necropolitics (death-worlds) to think through the continuities of racialised histories in our present, and Butler's (2004) extension of Mbembe's work. Specifically, how those histories are attached to us in life, as much as they are in death. I do this by considering how the politics of life and death which, I suggest, are entangled within development, are racialised. I'm interested in thinking through how development, which is largely thought of in the West as 'doing good' for distant Others, manages, through it's 'goodness', to airbrush how race operates as a criteria in accounting for life and death. How do these racialised criteria enable the bodies of Others to be r*epresented* in particular ways in life and death?

Media-INGO depictions of bodies enduring life and death

The content considered here was aired on a mainstream television platform in a prime-time current affairs[121] slot. The programme followed a British doctor who volunteered for the INGO commissioned to produce the story. 'Hilary', the well-resourced INGO's media manager, explains how their organisation came to be in the position of producing content on Ebola:

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[121]Although my concern is with the way mainstream UK *news* organisations collaborate with INGOs to report on SSA, I take current affairs to be an extension of the news format – providing longer form analysis of recent or ongoing news events and so still sitting beneath a news banner.

'We were encouraging people to […] tell the story and we weren't having much luck […]. I had such fights with the high-risk people at the (name of media organisation) it was beyond fucking absurd […]. Ebola […] turned everyone into hyper drive and people were incredibly reluctant to send news journalists out. There was a young man, I think reporting for (name of online news organisation) […], who got infected and that was a point where the (name of broadcast news organisation) were basically, 'we'll take anything you can provide because we can't get our own people there. We know you guys are on the front line, we know what you're seeing is real, if you can get us an audio diary, if […] your staff can provide any content, we'll take it.' […] so when we did (name of programme) […] it was filmed entirely by a (name of INGO) cameraman […]. The only way we could do it was for us to say we'll take all the risk, […] we'll give you the […] unedited footage, […] we want to see it […] before you broadcast it so we can check for representation […] and decency, […] but […] we'll film it, […] and absorb the risks so if […] a member of our staff gets Ebola the (name of media organisation) has no liability. […] I had sleepless nights about it […] but it was the only way to do it otherwise it wouldn't have got made.'

Here was a moment when an INGO was virtually given carte blanche to cover an event from their perspective. This INGO, as 'Hilary' explains, has guidelines that recommend the international make-up of their workforce, which largely consists of nationals from countries they operate in, is clearly represented.

'Only about 10% of our staff in any location are expatriate […], 90% […] are national and […] they're the ones who hold it together […]. Expats come and go, but really good national staff, they know everything [...] and they're often the ones on the frontline when international staff get pulled out.'

Given this, and as per this INGO's guidelines, one might expect they would have grabbed the opportunity to make the role of a local medic prominent in their Ebola coverage. Instead, the narrative centers on a British medic's experience of helping Ebola patients. A camera was attached to the medic, so we can witness their work up close. We see patients sprawled on beds, we also watch them arrive at the centre. New patients sit on one side of a fence while staff stand on the other, assigning incoming patients with a number.

This admission process has an instantly de-humanising effect, whereby the black African patients are presented as bodies to be treated. They're given no names, no voices beyond their responses to the Western doctors who have travelled to treat them. The staff are mostly

black Africans (unsurprising given the centre is in Sierra Leone), yet we barely hear from them either.

Why did the programme makers feel it necessary to show a British doctor's journey to Sierra Leone, as opposed to following a local medic, who may have been stationed there longer than the British doctor's 4 week stay, and therefore had more insight? Apart from the fact that the medic featured 'was basically willing to do it' ('Hilary'), I suggest an additional answer can be found in Butler's essay, *Violence, Mourning, Politics* (2004) where she extends Mbembe's (2003) concept of necropolitics (as explored in Chapter 2) to ask, 'what makes for a grieveable life?' Butler argues that where our bodies are positioned in hierarchies of power dictates the degree to which we'll be perceived as vulnerable, and our loss felt. Thus, we must question whether, by virtue of being a Western body, the British doctor's vulnerability and potential loss were they to acquire Ebola, is deemed greater than that of an African body. Therefore, the British doctor was the obvious choice for the programme's producers who no doubt required the content to have an emotive effect.

Interestingly, while the featured medic is British, they're not white. This somewhat disrupts stereotypical story-telling around development whereby white Westerners journey to unchartered territory to save black Others. However, 'Hilary' says the lead doctor's:

> 'race wasn't a factor […] for us, not in a positive way, not in a negative way. […] we were looking around for someone who could do it and (name of doctor) was up for it.'

'Hilary' goes on to explain that conveying the diversity of their staff in their media output is:

> 'important, in the UK in particular […]. British audiences expect diversity.'

Arguably, given this awareness, coupled with 'Hilary's' aforementioned assertion that their organisation's guidelines require them to represent the INGO's diverse workforce, whilst they may not have consciously sought a doctor of colour to be the report's central narrator, the fact that someone of colour was selected is a factor that fulfils their institutional doxa, as well as a desire not to offend the type of 'British audiences' who 'expect diversity' and whom their brand seeks to appeal to.

The potential disruption of the white saviour narrative is extended when the featured doctor articulates during the programme that it was only when Western lives were at risk that the West took notice of Ebola. This observation speaks to a point Mbembe notes as being characteristic of modernity:

'The perception of the existence of the Other as an attempt on my life, as a mortal threat […] whose biophysical elimination would strengthen my potential to life and security.' (2003:18)

I'm not suggesting that the discourse around Ebola in mainstream UK news centered on literally eliminating those with the disease. But it does extend the doctor's point, which was echoed by all my interviewees who covered Ebola, that it was only when black Africans with the disease were deemed to be a 'threat' to *our* 'life and security' that *we* went not to eliminate 'them', but to attempt to eliminate the thing which had turned 'them' into biohazards for the rest of 'us'.

Butler (ibid) asserts that our bodies put us at risk of becoming agents and instruments of touch and *violence*, and our skin exposes us to the gaze of others. In this INGO-media generated content, the black *skin* of the bodies the doctor attempts to help are exposed to the gaze of others. Others ('us' watching on our televisions) these bodies can't see. Worse, due to their ill health, these patients may not be aware they're being gazed at through a camera lens.

This uninvited gaze goes to another level half way through the programme when, via the camera's gaze, these patient's bodies are exposed to an act of violence separate from the disease they're fighting. This *violence*, to quote Butler (2004:33), is that of 'derealization'. She argues this applies to lives which 'cannot be mourned because they are already lost or, rather, never 'were''.

This violence is enacted thus: we see the doctor going to do another round. The doctor discovers a number of patients, some of whom we saw admitted as numbers (they never *'were')* at the beginning of the programme, have died. We learn this not just through the doctor's telling, which would have been enough to convey the horror of the disease, but thanks to close-up, lingering shots of their *dying* and *dead* bodies – faces uncovered, fully identifiable.

What, to borrow from Butler's questioning (ibid:49), allowed us to encounter these bodies in this way? Would this have been deemed acceptable if these were close-ups of dying and dead white people in a hospital in the West? Would we have been shown the doctor's dead body had they contracted Ebola and died during filming? What consent did the families of these mostly nameless black Africans give for their relatives to be shown in this way? 'Hilary' explains their organisation is careful to get consent from those they feature:

'We don't use written consent forms because we're not […] convinced people know what they're signing. We do on camera consent in their native language and if we can't

get consent from them because they're a child or they're not well enough we get consent from their next of kin and if we can't get consent…my god the consent was a nightmare because some people died […]. (Name of media organisation) are very careful about it and if we couldn't find the consent thing we had to blur their face. The little girl featured at the end, we got consent from her uncle.'

That little girl is the one Sierra Leonean whose name features prominently in the programme. This highlights Batty's (2000) argument that the use of images of children by INGOs and media perpetuates a colonialist mentality by depicting the absence of parents. These seemingly abandoned children fuel perceptions of the helplessness of the developing world, and its need to be parented by the West.

The British doctor cradles the little girl towards the end of the programme. She was cleared of Ebola. Her father died during filming. We're shown his dead body on the floor of a make-shift shower cubicle. 'Hilary' explains their discomfort with this element of the content:

'I was happy with the end product. I mean there was one shot I wish they'd cut, one shot of the man who died in the shower, they changed it, the initial one was much worse. But I think (sighs) it was a little undignified for him and I would have wanted them to have been a bit more…to edit that out. But other than that, I was very moved by it and […] by the reaction of the British public.'

Clearly the little girl featured could not have consented to these images of her father's body being televised. In addition, no thought seems to have gone into the idea that this baby will one day be a woman who may look back at this programme and be confronted with this footage. Why was this footage permissible? I believe some answers can be found in Mbembe's theorising of necropolitics (2003), which is discussed in detail in Chapter 2. But, to reiterate in brief, Mbembe's argument that race is used as a technique for distributing life and death can be extended to illuminate how race is used to justify the undignified treatment of raced bodies *in* life *and* death, as well as what's considered acceptable in demarcating how the lives and deaths of raced Others are represented.

Conclusion

Via analysis of four mainstream British news reports of the 2014-16 Ebola crisis, this chapter unpacked the ambiguous and complex nature of representation, and the difficulties, as well as the possibilities, of disrupting racialised discourse on SSA. We've seen that even when those involved in the production of news, be they journalists of colour or INGOs, set out to offer

alternative narratives which break from the 'entanglements'[123] (Mbembe, 2001) of racialised regimes of representing SSA, it's incredibly difficult, perhaps impossible, to completely step outside such regimes. This is because they're so tightly woven through the journalistic field they form a 'preconceptual plane' (Goldberg, 1993:46), on top of which rest layers of constructed 'knowledge', which meaning is drawn from (e.g. Foucault, 1975-76; Hall, 2013; Stoler, 2002a). Such circumstances are conceivably why, even when news practitioners manage to frame storytelling in ways that don't overtly reproduce racially stereotypical tropes, tensions between individual habitus and institutional doxa remain.

Whilst completely breaking with the 'grammar of racialised discourse' (Goldberg, 1993: 46), which is reliant upon, 'traditions, conventions, institutions, and tacit modes of mutual comprehension' (Goldberg, 1993:46) for its efficacy, is far from straightforward within the journalistic field, and is arguably impossible simply because the past is always *there*, shifts do occur. However, as Foucault's conception of discourse reminds us, we cannot risk assuming the field has shifted, let alone changed (which suggests absolute breaks from the past), just because singular narratives or lone practitioners set out with intentions to, or manage to, produce content that avoids overtly activating the grammar of racialised discourse (Goldberg, ibid). For sustained change to racialised representations of SSA to occur within the journalistic field, my interviewees concur that counter hegemonic ways of narrating SSA must become a welcome norm, rather than an anomaly, at both institutional and individual level. Only with acknowledgement, by media and INGO professionals and institutions[124] of the 'entanglement' (Mudimbe, 2001) all news representations of SSA are caught in, coupled with media-INGO anti-racist praxis premised on shifts and disruptions to racialised narrative patterns becoming the expected norm, can we hope to rewrite the grammar that's foundational to SSA's discursive production in dominant UK news. I concur with Goldberg's assertion that:

> 'To change a discourse […] requires […] fundamental shifts […] in whole ways of world making. […] For example, a discursive shift from communism to capitalism as a legitimizing economic doctrine […] will prompt […] conceptual and material changes at the social, political, legal, and cultural levels […]. The combined effects of this nexus of alterations will simultaneously prompt […] transformations in the ways agents are

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[123] To reiterate, the notion of entanglement (Mbembe, 2001) contends there's no before and after, just the here and now which is a fusion of what preceded the now and what will succeed it. If we apply the idea of entanglement to thinking about representations that are produced as a result of media-INGO relations, and the involvement of black media practitioners in their construction, we can unravel what's at stake in such representations: what is entangled within them.

[124] It's worth remembering institutions are peopled entities where, as Eddo-Lodge (2017:222) highlights, 'groupthink' is amplified so it becomes structural.

conceived […], and how they come to see themselves. Such changes will not alone necessarily erase racist expression, though if sufficiently deep they may.' (Goldberg, 1993:10)

We must hope that depth of change arises. In the concluding chapter, I suggest that thinking with phenomenology may contribute to such change.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to extend academic and practitioner led research on the intensifying relationship between mainstream UK news media and INGOs in reporting on SSA by bringing important new questions related to race and racism to the forefront of debate. The intention was to contribute vital knowledge to journalism studies, particularly the growing body of research on the representation of Africa in international news. A central argument was that race is integral to the power dynamics at play in the field of reporting on SSA, as well as representation of the region, and these dynamics are productive of, as well as the product of, a historicised, racialised, capitalist, moralising discourse on SSA. Such a discourse, which floats, net like, over the 'subfield' (Marchetti, 2005) of reporting on SSA, sustains narrow, racially stereotypical representations of the region in mainstream UK news. Theorists have long argued these narratives must be broadened (e.g. Moeller, 1999), because acts of representing orchestrate and animate our social and cultural worlds and our experiences within them (e.g. Fanon, 1986 [1952]; Hall, 2013; hooks, 1992; Said, 1978). Therefore, the politics of representation must be taken seriously as part of the struggle against racism. It is my contention that we can only hope to broaden such representations, thus perceptions, of SSA in seen, felt and *lasting* ways, if we attend to the way racialised ideas manifest within the 'journalistic field' (Bourdieu, 2005) as a *whole*.

I have argued that race is at the root of ongoing academic concern about whether dominant international news coverage of SSA is 'positive' or 'negative'. Yet while race is alluded to, it mostly exists on the margins of such scholarship, with studies finding that representations of SSA in international news are more 'positive' than they once were (e.g. Bunce, 2017). This marginality limits understanding of how the journalistic field is generative and reproductive of ideas of race (Hall, 2013; Law, 2002). It is my contention that not attending to race as an issue that's central to the field of journalism focused on SSA undermines critical questions about why and how certain actors, journalists of colour and INGOs here, are positioned within that field, and how their positionalities may enable or disable the generation, reproduction and/or subversion of racialised ideas in news coverage of SSA.

My approach entailed attending to how the production of ideas of race within the journalistic field are operationalised at the level of the text, as well as *within* organisational contexts that produce such texts. A holistic approach was imperative because ideas of race, and the racism they're informed by and inform, are both symbolic and lived, as well as constructed and

experienced on an individual and institutional level. It is only by mapping the field holistically, as field theory (Bourdieu, 1998, 2005) offers us some of the tools to do, that we can adequately account for the systemic nature of ideologies of race that are generative of narrow depictions of SSA. To be clear, such an approach entails revealing the multiple layers beneath which historicised, racialised, capitalist, moralising discourse festers and, in doing so, aims to contribute towards discarding these unsavory layers and the social, political and economic inequality that's embedded within them.

To conduct this innovative study of relations between structures, agency, race and representation within the subfield of reporting on SSA, and help move race from the margins to the centre of debates on international news coverage of SSA, I drew on critical race (e.g. Crenshaw, 1989; Hill Collins, 1998, 2000) and postcolonial theories of colonial discourse and modes of Othering (e.g. Said, 1978; Fanon, 1986 [1952]; Hall, 2013). Such theories were connected to Bourdieu's (2005) notion of the journalistic field to develop a new theoretical tool: postcolonial journalistic field theory (PCJFT). PCJFT enables original knowledge to be generated about the representation of racialised Others in dominant news media by enabling a move beyond a theoretical binary position of either/or, positive/negative, in relation to such representation, and consider the complex relations between journalists, sources, structures and texts and how they are sandwiched together to construct racialised news narratives on SSA.

The notion of sandwiching is a useful means of conceptualising my main findings in relation to my research questions (see below) in this chapter, as it enables us to visualise not only how the subfield of reporting on SSA is layered, but how the ingredients from each layer – journalists' 'standpoints' (Hill Collins, 2000,1998) and 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 2005), INGO sources, and the 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 2005) of dominant UK news institutions - seep into one another to produce particular representations, or tastes, of SSA. Crucially, the sandwich is skewered together with ideologies of race. This central skewer must not be removed and discarded by researchers if we hope to fully comprehend the field of reporting on SSA.

As the key concern was with centering race to better illuminate the power dynamics at play in relation to the production of news on SSA in the dominant UK journalistic field, as well as representation of the region, standpoint theory was utilised as an epistemological framework. Standpoint theory compliments PCJFT, as it enables an unpacking of the racialised context in which news on SSA is produced, by privileging accounts of reporting on SSA by black journalists. Because such journalists have skin in the game, in as much as racist representations of black people, wherever we are in the world, impact negatively on our sense

of self (e.g. Fanon, 1986 [1952]; hooks, 1992) and conscious and sub-conscious perceptions of us by others (e.g. Hall, 2013), journalists of colour have an important stake in subverting such representations. In addition, recent research (e.g. Ogunyemi, 2017; Bunce, 2014) suggests black journalists within and outside the African diaspora may be able to alter the way the continent is narrated in international news. However, this important scholarly work does not adequately unpack *how* or *why* this may, or may not, be the case. To this end, and to address the aforementioned issues regarding the positionalities of INGO sources in the subfield of reporting on SSA as well as the doxa of dominant news organisations, my research questions asked:

1. What are black journalists' experiences of reporting on SSA?

2. How do INGOS engage with issues of race and racism, and how might such engagement impact on their media work and related news narratives about black African Others?

3.What are the organisational and production contexts of reporting (on sub-Saharan Africa) by black journalists?
4.What do the above mean for news media representations of sub-Saharan Africa?

Chapter outline

The purpose of this chapter is to summarise my main findings in relation to my research questions and further elucidate their theoretical significance, as well as highlight possible routes out of historicised, racialised, capitalist, moralising ways of seeing and doing in the sub-field of reporting on SSA. To address the sandwiched layers of my research, this chapter is divided into three sections. The first is most closely related to the historicised, racialised components of the aforementioned discursive net. It addresses how research questions 1 and 3 were answered, and deals with the psycho-social and emotional (Fanon, ibid; Hall, 1990) connects and disconnects to SSA that my findings revealed as a particularly significant theme in relation to black journalists' experiences of reporting on SSA for dominant UK news media. Such connectivities, whether genuinely felt or assumed, are foundational to the engagement of many black journalists in the subfield of reporting on SSA in dominant UK news media, or expectations by some white editors that black journalists *should* engage with this field.

A conceptualisation of these connectivities as manifesting at a psycho-social level, led to the important notion of quadruple consciousness being developed during the research process. This new way of conceiving of black identity in particular social and institutional contexts as a

quadruple-ness, a four-pronged form of inclusion and exclusion, rather than the 'two-ness' of black diasporic identity that Du Bois' (1994 [1903]) powerful concept of double consciousness is premised on, draws from Du Bois (ibid) as well as black feminist theorising of 'outsider-within' locations (Hill Collins,1998). Such locations mark boundaries between groups of unequal power, and speak to identities acquired by those who occupy such locations (Hill Collins,1998).

The second segment shows how research questions 2 and 4 were tackled and clarifies the concept, and theoretical significance, of PCJFT. Specifically, how PCJFT extends Bourdieu's (2005, 1998) conception of the journalistic field and makes an important new contribution to journalism studies by elevating a racially marginalised group within the journalistic field to 'ingroup' status. Further, PCJFT centers race as a crucial element to the study of the 'journalistic field'. Such elevation was achieved by validating the importance of black journalists' standpoints, habitus and associated experiences as knowledge claims in relation to the centrality of race within the mainstream UK journalistic field, and the production of news on SSA within that field. PCJFT also importantly illuminates the capitalist and moralising elements of the discursive net by showing how, despite institutional differences between mainstream UK news providers, economic imperatives contribute to making them complicit, in contradictory ways, in the production of a historicised, racialised, capitalist, moralising discourse on SSA. The moralising aspect of this discourse is reinforced by well-resourced INGO sources. INGOs are increasingly integral to the mechanics of mainstream news production on SSA (Franks, 2010; Anyangwe, 2017), and tend to be seen by mainstream news organisations as 'authorised knowers' (Fenton, 2010) on SSA, and as occupying the moral high-ground because of their 'good works' (Deacon, 2003).

As highlighted in Chapter 8, due to the 'entanglement' (Mbembe, 2001) of past, present and future ways of seeing and knowing, ongoing historicised, racialised, capitalist, moralising discourse on SSA is incredibly difficult to entirely erase. However, in the third segment I argue that phenomenology, specifically how it's utilised by scholars of race (e.g. Fanon, ibid; Ahmed, 2007) to explore our embodied realities and address how constructed raced subjectivities are real and lived, should be an integral part of praxis in the subfield of reporting on SSA in mainstream UK news. Such praxis would help cut larger holes through the discursive net, which, to reiterate, this research has found floats over the sub-field of reporting on SSA, capturing particular ideologies of race.

Unpacking the historicised, racialised elements of the discursive net

Postcolonial theory, in its broadest sense, is concerned with generating understanding of the impact of colonialism via analysis of its cultural legacies. Foucauldian discourse analysis, which is also drawn on in this research, is focused on accounting for the historical conditions that led to people becoming the subject and object of particular discourses. These critical theories take a historicised view of the world that's vital to my argument that centering race in contemporary debate about the journalistic field matters, because the weight of the historical legacy of ideologies of race continues to shape discourse about black African Others that's generated by mainstream UK news. Via in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 26 journalists and 6 individuals in commissioning and hiring positions in mainstream UK news organisations, my findings, particularly in relation to research questions 1 and 3, reveal that colonial legacies also inform the positionalities of journalists of colour in the dominant journalistic field, and the subfield of reporting on SSA. A view of reporting on SSA as historicised and racialised is further elucidated when we unpack the psycho-social dynamics of such reporting. These dynamics were revealed during the process of qualitatively analysing my interview data with 20 BAME journalists, from the pool of 26 journalist interviewees, who have covered SSA (see also Chapter 4).

Race and the psycho-social dynamics of reporting on SSA

The powerful concepts of 'outsider-within' (Hill Collins, 1998; Gold, 2016) and 'double consciousness' (Du Bois, ibid) were incredibly important in drawing attention to the experiences of black journalists reporting on SSA for mainstream UK news, and the way their being in the field holds the potential to subvert racial stereotypes and enrich dominant mainstream news reporting on SSA. However, exploration of the experiences of black journalists within the field also drew attention to how neither the notion of 'double consciousness' nor 'outsider-within' are sufficient for explaining how racialised dynamics that reside beneath news texts at the level of production are experienced by journalists of colour. Further, how these dynamics are productive of a kaleidoscopic prism through which SSA is seen by such journalists: a lens that holds the potential to shatter the 'white' 'prism of hegemony' (de Uriarte, 1997:144) that dominant Western news on SSA is typically produced through (e.g. Bunce, 2010; Boyd-Barret, 2000).

To effectively articulate the experiences of black journalists when reporting from the field in SSA, it was necessary to bring the binarised 'twoness' of Du Bois' double-consciousness (ibid),

which deals explicitly with issues of identity, into contact with the notion of 'outsider-within', which is focused on the special perspectives of 'nearness and remoteness from power hierarchies' (Gold, 2016) afforded to marginalised groups. This is so we can further clarify what I term 'quadruple consciousness'.

Clarifying quadruple consciousness

The psycho-social divisions this research found black journalists, be they outside or within the African diaspora, experience in the sub-field of reporting on SSA occur across four distinct but interconnected levels, hence the quadruple form they take. Such quadruple-ness, as opposed to the two-ness of black people's double consciousness conceptualised by Du Bois (ibid), affords black journalists who report on SSA ways of seeing which are largely unaccounted for in literature on representations of Africa in dominant Western news media. This research found that the quadruple positioning of journalists of colour in the field of reporting on SSA, and the layers of consciousness these positions unveil, contribute to building the layered theoretical approach, as I have attempted to do via the notion of PCJFT, to gaining a more comprehensive understanding of the narration of SSA in dominant UK news than we have to date. Specifically, the centrality of race to such narration and the complex ways ideologies of race, and their real, felt (Fanon, ibid) effects, manifest in the journalistic field.

It's worth reiterating Du Bois' conceptualisation of double-consciousness refers to:

> 'the real power of white stereotypes in black life and thought and […] the double consciousness created by the practical racism that excluded every black American from the mainstream of […] society, […] an internal conflict in the African-American individual between what was 'African' and what was 'American'.' (Dickson, 1992:301).

The concept continues to be used (e.g. Gilroy, 1993) to articulate the ways the Western world is experienced by black people. For instance, Newkirk (2002) describes black journalists encountering US newsrooms within the veil that was defined by Du Bois (ibid) as emblematic of a division between black and white worlds. The notion of quadruple consciousness builds on such work to articulate the way this study's findings revealed how black journalists experience a quadruple-ness in the field of reporting on SSA for dominant UK news media. Here, they find themselves doubly outside (*outside* the racial majority because they are in the British press pack and *outside* the British press pack because they're in the racial majority) and doubly within (*in* the corporeal norm in SSA and *in* a dominant group as members of the British press pack).

Research participants described how this quadruple insider-outsider status in the field of reporting on SSA manifests in multiple ways. It was found to lead some to remove themselves from the sub-field of reporting on SSA, others to leave the journalism profession altogether, and some to use their 'delirium' (Bhabha, 1986), which gifts them with a kaleidoscopic sight, rather than just a 'second-sight' (Du Bois, ibid), and anger (Lorde, 1997 [1981]) over racism they experience in the field, as tools to enrich their reporting on SSA and try and make it work harder to counter racist stereotypes. As 'Addison', a print and broadcast journalist, said of accepting a position as Africa correspondent: 'my motivation for taking the job (was) changing the perception.'

Experiences for journalists of colour in the field of reporting SSA for mainstream UK news include, as discussed in Chapter 5, witnessing overt racism expressed by some white colleagues in the field towards local black people, and gaining greater access than their white colleagues to certain stories. My data indicates that the former experience occurs due to the way the metaphorical veil (Du Bois, ibid; Newkirk, ibid) between black and white journalists seemingly lifts in the field in SSA, so that for white journalists their black colleagues become 'insiders' in this context because their professional status, and thus their 'Britishness', springs forward, as opposed to the way their blackness takes precedence in the UK (Gilroy, 1987:61). In becoming 'one of us', black journalists are privy to overtly racist utterances. For instance, 'Kim' (a seasoned staff journalist) recalled white British colleagues in SSA, seemingly oblivious to the fact that 'Kim' is black, racially ridiculing local people in front of 'Kim', including a white man laughingly referring to a woman's 'big African titties'. Such comments would arguably only be made by 'well-educated white men' (Stoler, 2002a:377), who dominate mainstream UK journalism (Thurman, 2016) and with whom overt racism is less associated than it is with 'poor whites' (Stoler, ibid), in 'intimate' (Benhabib, 1992) spheres back in Britain.

The latter experience of enjoying greater access to certain stories than white colleagues because, as one broadcast journalist put it, 'in certain contexts black people feel more comfortable talking to other black people rather than middle class, Oxbridge educated white people who represent the old colonial system or, for some, current systems of oppression' ('Nicky', broadcast and print journalist), lends black journalists in the field a degree of privilege. However, such privilege, based on assumptions of inter-cultural and racial empathy, were found to be a double-edged sword. This is because when black journalists seek to write across a range of issues, they frequently find they are expected to shoulder the burden of representation and, as 'Kim' put it, they're 'taxed' for their 'blackness' by editors.

Privileges in the field may also be quashed due to what 'Frankie', a freelance journalist who covers Africa for UK news organisations, put down to the problem of lingering 'colonial mentality'. This postcolonial concept[125], whereby internalised inferiority that may lead racialised Others to project their own sense of self-doubt onto others who are raced, helps explain why some black journalist interviewees reported that in certain situations in the field in SSA they've not received the same level of status and/or access to stories that white Western journalists may enjoy. For instance, print and online journalist, 'Emerson', explained how, during the aftermath of a plane crash, a crowd of onlookers formed a protective barrier around 'Emerson's' white partner, also a journalist, and led their partner through the crowds[126]. But 'Emerson' was left to fend for themselves and ended up getting 'whipped by the

[125] See also Srivastava & Bhattacharya (2012).

[126] The lack of access and/or protection that black journalists in the field, particularly those who are 'local', may be granted is an issue that's being increasingly addressed by scholars and practitioners (notes from conference, '*Reporting Africa: Reaching beyond the Dark Continent*', 02.11.2016, City University) in relation to concerns about the shrinking number of Western foreign correspondents in regions like SSA. Such concerns are compounded by restrictions on press freedom in some countries, meaning 'local' reporters potentially put themselves at risk if they report negatively on their country.

Whilst it's right this issue is debated, it's problematic that Africa and Africans are usually collapsed in discussions, where the central argument tends to be that the presence of (white) Western foreign correspondents in SSA is essential to the maintenance of 'quality' reporting. Problematically, there's little acknowledgement of the fact that a black Namibian journalist (Namibia is ranked 24 out of 180 countries on the 2017 World Press Freedom Index (Reporters Without Borders), above Japan at 72 and America at 43) is not going to encounter the same safety issues as an Eritrean journalist (ranked 179) when reporting on their country, and both could conceivably report safely on and from each others countries. Nor does the debate consider the internalisation of colonial prejudice (e.g. Fanon, 1986 [1952]) that may make those who are Othered complicit in their own oppression (Hall 1990) and the oppression of others who are racialised like 'them'.

Considering these issues in detail is beyond the scope of this project, but both warrant further research. For instance, to what extent does the ongoing global dominance of mainstream Western news on SSA, and the centrality of whiteness to narratives produced, have on maintaining 'colonial mentality'? Are dominant Western news organisations, that brand as 'global', taking African audiences, both within and outside the diaspora, seriously? Were they to, how might this alter content produced and extend their reach? Given that news audiences in SSA are in the hundreds of millions (for instance, the BBCs weekly audience in Africa is 111million (BBC Media Centre, 11.08.16) editors at financially struggling Western news organisations, where research has found that audiences for international news on SSA are perceived as white (Nothias, 2017), would do well to seriously consider the benefits of *properly* extending their reach. That means covering SSA as fully as Occident focused international news, not perceiving news audiences as only or even predominantly white, and employing more African journalists to generate such news. Editors at major Western 'global' news organisations should be mindful of the fact that, although many African audiences get their news from international providers, such as the BBC, Al Jazeera and CNNI, not actively acknowledging such audiences may mean losing their custom entirely to domestic private news organisations on the continent. Such providers, 'have emerged as clear winners among the expanding competition for news audiences. Throughout Africa, the liberalization of media spaces has led to an increase in consumption of private domestic broadcast television stations rather than international actors such as AJE or the BBC' (Arsenault 2012:88, in Seib, 2012). Further, burgeoning media spaces on the continent proves there's a vast pool of journalistic talent in SSA that UK news organisations could source leads from, as well as commission stories from. Importantly, this exposes the nonsense excuse that there's not enough 'quality', local talent in SSA to produce stories, which one research participant ('Yani') said is often used by UK news editors when they're asked why

police'. For black women research participants, such experiences of exclusion were compounded by gender. This finding points to the need for further research in the form of an intersectional (Crenshaw, ibid; Phoenix et al, ibid) analysis of the postcolonial journalistic field.

In summary, the notion of quadruple consciousness characterises the way this research found race operates as a mechanism that excludes *and* includes journalists of colour reporting on SSA for mainstream UK news outlets in multiple ways. These can broadly be split across four levels whereby black journalists are doubly *outside* and doubly *within* the dominant group.

Unpacking the capitalist and moralising elements of the discursive net

The capitalist element of the discursive net, which this research identified, is tied to the political economy of international news reporting in mainstream UK news organisations, where increased competition and cost-cutting has changed the business model for news and enabled greater INGO insertion (e.g. Fenton, 2010; Cottle & Nolan, 2009). The capitalist element is also linked to the historical connections between capitalism and racism that were instigated during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Such connections tie capitalist systems, like market driven news production where white institutions derive value from including black bodies (see also Leong, ibid; Saha, 2018) in their operations, but on unequal terms, to historical racism.

The moralising element in relation to coverage of SSA is linked to the elite source status of INGOs in such reporting which, apart from cost-cutting, has occurred due to the hegemonic view of SSA in dominant Western discourse as a region in permanent need of Western help. Thus, INGOs, as dominant providers of that 'help', are often viewed as 'authorised knowers' by journalists, hence their elite source status. As 'Jade', a senior press officer at a well-resourced INGO, explained: 'We *always* have been important sources of stories […] in sub-Saharan Africa […]. Most media outlets in the UK […] will go to organisations such as Oxfam, Save the Children and UN agencies […] to ask them what's happening and get their take.'

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cost-cutting in foreign news has led to them becoming increasingly reliant on INGO sources, rather than seeking a broader range of leads from African based sources.

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 8, INGO involvement in the narration of SSA is productive of a moralising discourse on the region because the work of development is premised on saving and improving the lives of Others, and can be seen as an invitation to 'what the good life is all about, how to achieve it, and, in the process, to become a fully moral agent' (Mbembe, 2003:13). Because of this seemingly positive invitation, I argued development discourse obscures how it inscribes racialised bodies in a hierarchy of power, with 'developers' (predominantly represented as white Westerners) at the top, and those being developed (overwhelmingly represented as black Others) at the bottom. Should black Others accept the invitation to the 'good life', which development offers, they have the possibility of moving up the hierarchy.

Such a hierarchy is connected to the emergence of race as an ethical category and the way racial categories are entangled with ideas about whose lives are valued. Further, to whom full moral treatment is extended thanks to the value they're attributed as individuals, what informs those values, and how those values are invoked as rational grounds, whether implicitly or explicitly, for the way certain lives are treated via representational practices. As 'Quinn', an editor at a commercial news organisation, highlighted: 'in mainstream newsrooms [...] the unwritten rule is [...] two white people can die and that's a story, but two people can die in a country of brown faces and it's not a big deal.' In Chapter 8, which specifically sought to answer research question 4 via discourse analysis of 4 reports on the 2014-16 Ebola crisis in West Africa, we saw how such an attitude played out in relation to mainstream news coverage and the lack of attention UK news editors, and some INGO press officers, gave the crisis until white Western lives were at risk. When there was eventually widespread international news coverage, we saw, in Chapter 8, how black African bodies are often not extended the full moral treatment in representational practices that white Westerners, whose lives *are* valued in dominant Western representational practices, can take for granted. For instance, 'Hilary', a senior INGO press officer who helped produce content on Ebola for a public service broadcaster, simply sighed[127] when discussing a shot of a dead West African man's body on the floor of a shower cubicle because, 'it was a *little* undignified for him' (my emphasis). Despite the lack of dignity given to black African subjects, who were largely voiceless in this media-INGO constructed content, 'Hilary' was happy with the end-product. The lack of value attached to black lives also, arguably, illuminates why, as discussed in Chapter 7, 'Sandy', another INGO media manager, felt able to view what they described as 'frankly racist' coverage as excusable, rather than 'egregious'. These findings came through powerfully when addressing research

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[127] This interviewee's sigh also speaks to the weight of history that makes particular frames permissible and the exhaustion attached to contesting them.

question 2, which was tackled via in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 10 individuals who work with or for INGO media teams whose work often focuses on development and humanitarian issues in SSA.

As is clear from these examples, the principles of Western moral tradition – virtue, autonomy, equality, utility and rights – continue to be delimited by race (Goldberg, 1993). This means these aspects of the Western moral spectrum allow for racialised exclusions, so that commitment to the universality of morals within liberal modernity is 'sustained only by the reinvented and rationalised exclusions of racial particularity.' (Goldberg, 1993:39)

While some INGO research participants were clearly uncomfortable with their participation in constructing what they considered to be racially stereotypical news representations of SSA, the sense was that this was a secondary concern. Problematically and paradoxically then, the 'goodness' of their work erodes the ethics: the morally right, zero tolerance approach to perpetuating racialised discourse that one would assume goes hand-in-hand with doing 'good' work and taking, to use Gramsci's phrase, a 'war of position'. This paradox is further complicated due to the aforementioned issue that the *ethics* of development discourse on SSA are raced anyway (black Others who live 'bad'/'lower' forms of life, being gifted with 'good'/'higher' forms of living by white saviours) - a point which was exemplified by the excusing of undignified, racist representations of black Africans by some INGO research participants. Such excusing, and the subsequent erosion of ethical conduct, was found to occur on two fronts. First, to reiterate, due to the way moral ideas can be used to defend INGO work as inherently good[129], and thus absolve INGOs from involvement in constructing a discourse

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[129] The recent sex abuse scandals that engulfed the UK's international aid sector brought the gap between the morally high standards INGOs are held to, and the realities of their practice, into sharp relief. At the time of writing, The Times newspaper (The Times, 09.02.18) revealed that Oxfam staff had sexually exploited victims of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti. When the charity was made aware of abuse allegations in 2011, culpable staff were quietly let go and able to move on to other jobs in the sector, rather than there being full public disclosure to the Haitian government and donors in the UK and elsewhere.

It has since emerged that sexual exploitation is rife in the humanitarian sector, with a slew of horrific allegations about aid workers operating in disaster zones and having sex with children below the age of consent (which translates, legally, as rape), and women being used for sex in exchange for aid. Concerns raised by staff over the years, including Oxfam's head of safeguarding, were not acted upon so as not, it's agreed by many, to compromise the aid sector's public image and fundraising. The initial response by some of the most powerful people in the sector, including Oxfam's CEO Mark Goldring who suggested critics are motivated by an anti-aid agenda and said: 'The ferocity of the attack makes you wonder, what did we do? We murdered babies in their cots?' (BBC News, '*Attacks are out of proportion, says Oxfam's Mark Goldring'*, 17.02.18,) speaks to the hypocrisy at play in the international aid sector. Goldring has since apologised for this comment and has announced that he'll be stepping down from his post at the end of 2018. But that he felt able to make such a comment in the first place points to the existence of a deep-seated culture of excusing abhorrent abuse and undignified treatment of Others by those in powerful positions on the one hand if, on the other hand, 'we' are 'helping' 'them'.

that perpetuates racist ideologies. Second, in the way 'market rationality' (Fenton & Titley, 2015) contributes to an erosion of ethics in relation to ensuring Others are represented in dignified, non-racialised, ways.

To be specific, some INGO research participants excused racially stereotypical news coverage of SSA (see Chapter 7) because, for them, such coverage is justified if it generates income which 'helps' African Others. This kind of market logic, which is productive of and keeps afloat the historicised, racialised, capitalist, moralising discursive net on SSA, is akin to saying it's legitimate to give with one hand and take away with the other. My INGO research participants were clearly well intentioned. However, the 'determinedly colour-blind' (White 2002:407), economically driven bottom line approach of some of their institutions in relation to generating mainstream news coverage of SSA, meant the fact that the negative impact that 'negative' representations of SSA have on the region's development and people (e.g. Schorr, 2011; De B'Beri & Louw, 2011; Borowski, 2012), is not a central concern if those same representations trigger donations for INGOs. Such an approach serves to sustain the international aid sector when the end goal, it's widely agreed by those within and outside the sector, including most of my research participants, should be to erase any need for it.

The concept of PCJFT, which I now clarify further, is designed to help us see the connections between moralising, capitalist, historicised, racialised discourse on SSA. To be clear, PCJFT provides a framework for illuminating why a culture within the journalistic field, and the subfield of reporting SSA, exists which enables some INGO press officers and journalists to seemingly place little value on representing black lives in a dignified manner.

Post-colonial journalistic field theory

This thesis has argued that a view of the 'journalistic field' (Bourdieu, ibid) through a postcolonial lens, and with it the development of PCJFT, offers a new and vital theoretical

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The UN peacekeeper sexual abuse atrocities that emerged in 2005, including a rape-for-food scandal in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Al-Hussein, Z. United Nations General Assembly, 2005), encapsulates the horror of abuses of power that take place on the moral high ground humanitarian agencies occupy. Both scandals instigated calls for more women to occupy senior roles in the humanitarian sector to cultivate working environments where sexual abuse is not tolerated.
I'm not seeking to conflate sexual exploitation and racism, but both stem from serious abuses of power. As such, in a similar vein to calls for more women in senior roles in international aid to abate sexual exploitation, this thesis has argued that a zero-tolerance approach to racism in the subfield of reporting on SSA would be aided by increased racial diversity at all levels, but especially senior levels, in the international aid and the journalistic fields.

foundation, particularly to journalism studies and race and cultural production studies more generally, on which we can account for the raced structural (doxa) and subjective (habitus) elements that may enable or disable the possibility of change to news representations of SSA. As postcolonial scholars (e.g. Said, 1978) have long highlighted, race is entwined with cultural and economic capital. These forms of power structure the journalistic field, including the sub-field of reporting on SSA.

PCJFT enables us to extend studies of race in the context of Western news, and more specifically the international coverage of Africa which, if such studies do address race, mostly only focus on the text and are thus limited in their political effects (see also Saha, 2018). Such an extension arises because PCJFT facilitates a layered approach that's necessary for engaging with the legacy of colonial power operating in the dominant UK journalistic field, and the sub-field of reporting on SSA. Specifically, how race, however nonsensical, dangerously essentialising and flawed a category it is (Appiah, 1992), remains a potent construct that shapes social relations (Ashcroft et al, 2006). Thus, race must be comprehensively engaged with as a fact that informs power relations within the journalistic field, and the production and representation of dominant UK news on SSA. As noted, via qualitative analysis of interview material with relevant practitioners and content analysis of news texts, this studies research questions enabled the development of PCJFT by unveiling the racialised structural and subjective factors which combine to construct the journalistic field. Crucially, PCJFT facilitated the unpacking of the historicised, racialised, capitalist, moralising interconnected dynamics at work at the level of news production that impact on representation in covert and overt ways. Here, we've seen that racial inequalities around power and employment persist (e.g. Thurman et al 2016), even if such inequalities aren't always visible at the level of representation. As such, PCJFT is a unique and theoretically grounded contribution to the fields of journalism and cultural production studies of race, because it emphasises the standpoints/habitus of individual journalists and institutional doxa that can help us explain why representations of race appear the way they do (see also Saha, 2018).

The theoretical toolkit offered by PCJFT enabled exploration of two important findings. First, as discussed above, was the way the moral and ethical nature of development discourse obscures how INGO sources contribute to a capturing of race within the journalistic field that's productive of, as well as the product of, a historicised, racialised, capitalist, moralising discourse on SSA. Second, as I address below, PCJFT facilitated a focus on the habitus of individuals within the journalistic field, whose ethical rationalities vis-à-vis diversity and inclusion were found to be key to challenging such discourse.

'Habitus' and ethics in the journalistic field

 Illuminating the habitus of individuals working in the journalistic field, primarily done when addressing research questions 1, 2 and 3, was crucial to understanding how racial inequalities, and the market logics drawn upon to rationalise them, are challenged. This is because institutional commitments to diversity are increasingly driven by economic imperatives (Saha, 2018), both within UK mass media and the INGO sector, which detract from attending to ethical concerns centered on dismantling racial disparities in sustained ways. This research found that it's individuals within organisations who have a particular habitus, either because they know what it is to be raced or have 'intimate' ties (Bourdieu, 2004b:433 in Puwar, 2009; Benhabib, 1992) with others who do, who push against economic imperatives to try and ensure they don't entirely detract from the ethics of improved racial diversity at an institutional and representational level (see Chapter 6).

Whilst research participants had mixed degrees of success in their efforts to get their employers to 'see race' (Eddo-Lodge, 2017) and contribute to counterbalancing the weight of market forces that trivialise and/or commodify representative spaces (Fenton & Freedman, 2018), overall their efforts were found to have made some differences. These included instigating the appointment of more BAME staff, including in relation to coverage of SSA; establishing and sustaining schemes targeted at improving the inclusion of underrepresented groups in the dominant journalistic field; producing content on SSA that, as we saw in Chapter 8, subverted racially stereotypical representations of the region in some respects; forming support systems for marginalised staff within and outside institutional structures; and holding colleagues and editors to account in relation to racially problematic content. In other words, individuals working within the journalistic field, from journalists to editors and INGO press officers, who have particular habitus and standpoints, were found to have contributed to plugging the gaping holes that exist at every layer of the journalistic field, and the subfield of reporting on SSA, in relation to improving racial diversity, inclusion and contesting racially stereotypical representation.

Many research participants felt they had to reference the economic value institutions derive from race (see also Leong, 2012) to be heard. For instance, 'Taylor', a former journalist turned diversity practitioner, explained, 'bringing audience share or profit into the conversation always makes executives, whether they're in print or broadcast, […] take notice.' However, a focus on economics didn't entirely detract from racism being addressed within organisations, as we may assume would be the case in a news media context where market rationalities increasingly erase ethical ones (see also Fenton & Titley,2015; Fenton & Freedman, 2018;

Saha,2018). This is because such individuals personally recognise the value of diversifying strategies, due to their habitus, and that this value extends beyond the economic. As such, they continue to push for deeper change within the organisations they're part of. However, as this research shows, trying to counter economic rationalities with ethical ones to address racialised inequalities in the postcolonial journalistic field is taxing work. Engaging in it left some research participants feeling, as 'Riley' (a newspaper journalist) said, that they're 'surviving, not thriving' in the journalistic field. The same sentiment was expressed by those, particularly BAME research participants, conducting similar work in the INGO sector.

Attempts that this research uncovered by individuals in the journalistic field to merge economic and ethical rationalities to fill in 'hollowed out' (Brown, 2005 in Fenton & Titley, 2015) representative structures in the dominant public sphere, speaks to the set of oppositions Du Bois' (ibid) identified as informing the double-consciousness of African-Americans. Specifically, Du Bois' call to privilege the spiritual over the commercial as a means of dealing with racism in nineteenth-century America.

Mapped onto the contemporary journalistic field, we can see how, as this research has found, a similar conflict plays out between idealised visions (the spiritual) of how the field should function to adequately represent those it speaks to and of, both within institutional structures and at the level of the text, versus commercial rationalities that suppress such visions. Further, how such visions are, in relation to the inclusion and representation of raced Others, often instigated and kept alive by individuals who, due to their habitus, have insight into both what it is to be excluded, and the day-to-day running of mainstream news organisations where commercial considerations take precedence. What this research reminds us of is that it's the habitus (of both black and white people), and the 'double-sightedness', or in the case of reporting on SSA, 'quadruple-sightedness', of practitioners of colour within the PCJF whom we're heavily reliant upon to speak up and be heard. This is so the, 'cold rationality of commercial society' doesn't entirely overwhelm all 'goodness' (Dickson, 1992:300 -301) and we can 'see apart from the possibilities for […] profit', as per Du Bois' idealised vision. To reiterate, this thesis has argued that for mainstream news media to 'see apart' from hegemonic racialised, marketised ways of narrating SSA, race needs to be seen (see also Eddo-Lodge, 2017).

I now explain how the way phenomenology is utilised by scholars of race (e.g. Fanon, ibid; Ahmed, 2007) can aid seeing race.

Cutting through the net: phenomenology and hearing

As scholars who've written on racism, the politics of emotion and phenomenology (e.g. hooks, 1992; 2000; Lorde, 1984; Ahmed, 2007; Fanon, [1952]1986) assert, taking feelings about race and racism seriously is crucial to seeing race. Such seeing and hearing, as this research shows, is entwined with attending to the standpoints and habitus of BAME individuals in the journalistic field, because it's these elements that introduce ethical rationalities into the field that help effect change.

Seeing race also means that all the players in the field as a whole, and the sub-field of reporting on SSA, particularly white people in positions of power (see also Eddo-Lodge, 2017), must be open to having frank conversations about such feelings, and acting on them in sustained ways so material changes to racial inequality within mainstream UK news organisations, as well as INGOs that supply leads to stories on SSA, can be made. Too often, as 'Kelly', the head of diversity at a public service broadcaster, said, 'when the subject of race comes up it becomes very uncomfortable'. Such discomfort, as many research participants highlighted, paradoxically makes those in positions of power resistant to actively engaging in discussions that may instigate change for the better, and thus alleviate discomfort for *everyone*.

The way phenomenology is taken up by scholars of race enables valuable insight into what it feels like to live and work in places that have long histories of excluding people of colour and/or ignoring aspects of their habitus that do not fit the doxa of the institution. If an awareness of such feelings is cultivated and taken seriously in predominantly white media organisations, this could help lead to the creation of working environments where black practitioners do not feel like tokens: like they may have broken through one or two glass ceilings in a multi-storey building but, once through, they have to contend with feeling blocked or like they are teetering on the edge of a 'glass cliff' (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). For instance, many black journalist research participants highlighted how great they felt about accessing what is a notoriously nepotistic, white industry. However, the lack of support once in, or the frequency with which they're explicitly told by bosses and colleagues how 'lucky' they are to be there, left many feeling marginalised and excluded. As 'Parker', a broadcast journalist, explained, 'they don't say that to my white colleagues, instead they're […] offered pay rises […] I find that emotionally abusive'. Unfortunately, most research participants felt unable to speak to such exclusion because of an overwhelming sense that there was no interest, as one newspaper journalist put it, in 'people like them' ('Riley').

Such feelings, I've argued, are not conducive to black media practitioners being able to leisurely 'sink into' (Ahmed, 2012 & 2007) institutionally white spaces in ways which enable fluid movement. It's my contention that fluid movement, which in practice means black media and INGO practitioners would be the corporeal norm in such institutions as much as white practitioners, present in numbers at *least* reflective of our numbers in the population and occupying permanent positions at every level of the organisation, including those that come with decision making power, is *essential* for meaningful change to occur. This is because fluidity counters 'fixated' forms of representation (Bhabha, 1983:27), and the suffocating ways of being, and being seen, that accompany such fixation. Without fluidity, inhibiting feelings of tokenism and/or the sense of occupying precarious positions, prevail: leaving BAME people contained within the institutional boxes that get ticked thanks to our being there. Either that, or in refusing to be contained and trying to break out of the box, or remaining within it which arguably makes us more easily and neatly disposed of, we risk falling off the 'glass cliff' (Ryan & Haslam, 2005).

Drawing on the work of Ahmed (2007), who follows Fanon (1986[1952]), can help us extend the usefulness of the concepts of habitus and standpoint, which are utilised throughout this research, by showing how phenomenology offers a lens through which we can see what raced bodies are permitted to do in certain spaces, and therefore what needs to be attended to when black bodies enter white institutional spaces. Specifically, as shown throughout this thesis, that our being in such spaces does not mean racism is over and black people will suddenly be more fully and fairly represented. Our being there is just a beginning: a beginning that may lead to seeing and interpreting our stories and lives differently, but only if the limitlessness of our stories is heard and the space created for such hearing is boundless. As 'Harley', a senior editor, says of the recruitment of more African diaspora and local African journalists at their public service news organisation: 'All these journalists are going to have greater opportunities to contribute. The trick is to make sure their stuff […] fertilises the *whole* organisation' (my emphasis).

What mainstream UK news media may learn from phenomenology

Phenomenology offers a means of addressing how, even though race is a socio-historical construct, we experience our constructed raced subjectivities as real and lived. In this way, phenomenology helps clarify how habitus and standpoints are formed. Using phenomenology, Ahmed (2007) asserts that whiteness is material and lived because of the histories that are

behind whiteness. That materiality impacts on what those who live whiteness, and those who don't, are able to do in white worlds; how white bodies are permitted to take up space, be seen as universal, making non-white bodies 'space invaders' (Puwar, 2004). As discussed, this is a feeling that was frequently experienced by black research participants who work for mainstream UK news organisations. To reiterate, this feeling informs their habitus which in turn informs how they may seek to operate in the journalistic field, as well as how they may be received.

We saw, in Chapters 2 and 3, how Fanon shows bodies are made black, made to *mean*, via the colonial white gaze so that race manifests 'below' the 'corporeal schema' (Fanon, 1986 [1952]:111) that phenomenology describes. Ahmed (2007:153) builds on Fanon's thesis, suggesting race doesn't just function below the corporeal schema, but 'structures its mode of operation' because the corporeal schema, the body, is already racialised.

If race structures the way bodies operate in the world, if race orientates us, then, as this research seeks to help build a case for, we must consider how institutional structures, such as news organisations and INGOs, may orientate black bodies – both those that operate within the institution, and those that are represented by it – and how such orientation may enable or disable black bodies to act, and be shown to act, in particular ways. The holistic approach this research has taken to unpack the centrality of race within the journalistic field generally, and specifically in relation to the production of news on SSA, highlights these important structural relations.

For instance, concerns expressed by black research participants about being viewed as tokens by news organisations that are seeking to meet targets and/or display their 'progressive' institutional doxa by displaying black staff, can be thought about in terms of orientations. Specifically, the ways race orientates us so certain things are made more or less 'available to us' and 'race becomes […] a question of what is within reach, what is available to perceive and to do 'things' with' (Ahmed, 2007:154). Dominant UK news organisations and INGOs need to pay attention to how, in the act of making things available (or *look* available) via targets, the display of journalists/practitioners of colour, or 'positive' representations of Others, the availability of those very same things may be de-limited by race so availability only extends so far. This research found that such empty displays of equality of opportunity were felt by many research participants. However, they were felt particularly powerfully by those who work/have worked for news organisations at the liberal and/or autonomous end of the journalistic field, where, because such organisations do a good job of presenting as being inclusive, these journalists expected to *feel* included when working there.   However, the reverse was often

true. To be sure, black bodies may be *seen* within the organisation or in content produced by the organisation, but those roles/representations may be tokenistic and/or 'hollowed out' (Fenton & Titley, 2015) in as much as they are orientated in particular ways. Thus, they may wind up, as we saw in Chapters 6 and 8, maintaining normative whiteness and racialised frames on SSA news stories, rather than orientations being limitless and leading to systemic change.

In mainstream UK news media, to re-state, a limitlessness of orientations refers to BAME news practitioners being enabled to 'sink into' roles at every level of the organisation, from producers and writers, to presenters and editors. A limitlessness of orientations also refers to an idealised vision for the content we're involved in producing. Such content may or may not be related to race or predominantly black regions, like SSA. But if it is there should be no stigma attached to our involvement, as was the experience of a number of research participants, nor any expectation that we should be involved because race is being addressed. Rather, there should be an appreciation that if we are involved it may simply be because, as a number of interviewees alluded to, the histories we carry with us imbue us with the authority of experience that makes us highly qualified for the job. Equally, those same histories should not disqualify us from any other job, because histories are not singular, and we do not, 'live single-issue lives' (Lorde 1984:138). As 'Taylor', a journalist and diversity practitioner, always reminds people from marginalised groups whom they seek opportunities for in dominant UK media institutions: the work we do as journalists should enable us to reflect the universality of our experiences in the same way our white colleagues are permitted to. We should also be enabled, if we possess the skills, experience and talent, to reach the top of the glass ceilinged tower.

Unfortunately, as we've seen, this is frequently not the case. When Steve McQueen won a Bafta in 2009 he captured the lack of a level media playing field when he said: 'I just want to say to my mum you were right, you have to work twice as hard' (The Mirror, February 8, 2009). During my journalistic career, I've watched many of the few black colleagues I've had, having to work twice as hard; constantly be better, do better, only not to get as far as white colleagues who may be less, or equally, qualified, who may work as hard, but not harder, who may not be better, may make mistakes, but who are still afforded more opportunities. These observations were reinforced and amplified during this research process, where I found myself, interview after interview, becoming increasingly unsettled and frustrated as I listened to extremely experienced and/or highly qualified black professionals, both in the journalistic field and the INGO sector, doubt themselves (or relay anecdotes about the doubt they frequently have to contend with from their peers); question their contributions to the field,

their ability to build and sustain careers, and/or to report on issues they felt were important (both race and non-race related) in ways they wanted to report them. Because of the colour of their skin. In the 21st century. I'd leave these interviews inspired by the staying power, forthrightness, intellect and awareness expressed by my research participants, who were so generous with their time, but also feeling mentally and emotionally drained.

Talking about race is draining. Because it is a nonsense. It makes no sense. But it's a nonsense that traps us in very particular ways in multiple areas of life, including in the journalistic field. Therefore, race must be addressed as, 'a reality in contemporary personal and social relations' (Ashcroft et al, 2006:5). 'Kim' referred to a 'race tax' in the journalistic field when describing how their editor at the news organisation they work for, which sits at the autonomous end of the field, asked them to do a race-related story. They'd covered a similar story a few years prior, it had been done elsewhere more than once and they didn't want to repeat it: apart from the fact that it entailed having to put themselves in a situation where they'd be overtly racially discriminated against, and then have to report on it, the story felt tired to them. 'But I lost that argument. I did the piece and then I just didn't come in for three days. I call it race tax…I'm out and I'm not sick. I'm not phoning in sick and I'm not taking it as holiday. I'm off – you've just sucked all the fucking melanin out of me. […] I mean to me that's an example where it would be like […] if you made a woman who'd been sexually assaulted, you *made* her write about sexual assault and she's the only woman in the office…' (Interviewee's emphasis).

The notion of 'race tax' aptly summarises this research on several levels. Talking about race for those of us who are raced is taxing, particularly if you're required to talk about it not on your terms and/or where you are the only person of colour in the institution. This tax does not just function on a psychological level, it also, to reiterate, operates economically. Such a lack of equality takes its toll.

How might orientations, which Ahmed (2007) shows us are inherited from racialised histories and 'gifted' to us as starting points in life, not wind up leading to dimed ambitions, and aspirations exhausted when BAME practitioners enter white dominated media institutions and INGOs? It's instructive to highlight how phenomenology enables us to attend to what is experienced, both consciously and unconsciously, from a 'first-person point of view' (Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, 16.12.13), and how experience involves being directed toward something by virtue of its *meaning* and appropriate *enabling conditions*.

If we consider this in relation to recent diversity targets set by some mainstream media institutions (see Chapter 6), I contend that fulfilling those targets must be coupled with giving people the freedom to be directed by their multiple experiences, rather than creating a

situation whereby the intentionality of diversity targets involves black practitioners being directed towards tokenistic roles and narratives by virtue of *meanings* attached to the 'fact' of their blackness (Fanon, 1986), and all the objectifying, aspiration dulling connotations associated with that. Lenny Henry is calling for a ringfenced fund at the BBC to increase mainstream media diversity. While this sounds good in theory, if it happens, it must come with a serious health warning so it does not become a constricting '*enabling condition*' that winds up fencing people of colour in, so we're only enabled to tell stories that fulfil limiting *meanings*. The same applies, as highlighted throughout this thesis, to the inclusion of African diaspora and local journalists in coverage of the continent.

How might a ringfenced fund, or any other diversity target, avoid fencing BAME people in? It's instructive to take heed of Lorde's (1984:111) assertion that denial of difference, where we're only allowed to *be*, rather than actively *being*, results in 'a total denial of the creative function of difference in our lives'. For the mainstream news media, that most powerful of creative industries, to deny such a significant source of creativity in any way is, as media institutions are slowly waking up to, commercially short-sighted[130]. But most importantly, it is morally and ethically wrong. Apart from the aforementioned reasons, this is also because:

> 'Difference must be not merely tolerated, but seen as a fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark like a dialectic. Only then does the necessity for *interdependency* become unthreatening. Only within that interdependency of different strengths, acknowledged and *equalled*, can the power to seek new ways of being in the world generate, as well as the courage […] to act where there are no charters. Within the interdependence of mutual (nondominant difference) lies that security which enables us to descend into the chaos of knowledge and return with true visions of our future, along with the concomitant power to effect those changes which can bring that future into being. Difference is that raw and powerful connection from which our personal power is forged.' (Lorde, 1984:111. My emphasis)

'Difference' is how diversity, in simple terms, is described by those charged with trying to implement it in news organisations. But key here is the notion of 'interdependence' and 'mutual nondominant difference'. I take these terms to mean an acknowledgement of whiteness, as well as blackness, as *different*. This is so whiteness is not absented because it's considered the universal norm, or perceived to be racially 'neutral', as newspaper journalist,

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[130]For instance, BuzzFeed CEO, Jonah Peretti, writes that increasing ethnic diversity at the media organisation is an 'ongoing priority' because, 'diversity isn't just a moral and cultural imperative, it is also a source of *competitive advantage* for our company.' (Peretti, J. 2017 Update on Diversity at BuzzFeed, April 26, 2017, my emphasis).

'Spencer', was told by a boss in defence of an advert featuring a white man that the publication devised with the apparent intention of attracting readers beyond their white, male demographic. Rather, we must strive to reach a place where whiteness is *seen,* rather than neutralised, and *equalled* with blackness, and vice versa.

In terms of news organisations and their diversifying strategies, I suggest that interdependence would mean black media practitioners, both in mainstream newsrooms and INGO press offices, must *extend* below the surface of institutions. This means that our being there, in our boundless heterogeneity, must involve us becoming entwined within, and integral to, the body of the organisation in ways where our differences are not subsumed or co-opted, but *forming* of the ways that dominant media organisations operate and represent in the public sphere. I contend that if genuine non-dominant interdependence is created, mainstream media organisations that do not actively cultivate such a way of doing business would be at risk of going out of business due to their failure to tap into the 'fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark like a dialectic'. In other words, they'll be left behind and out of time.

The emphasis on doing business is *not*, as I've attempted to show, to prioritise economic imperatives that increasingly underpin diversity discourse (see also Saha, 2018). Rather, it's to argue that ethical rationalities which centre genuine concern with race and unjust institutional structures that prop up racial inequality, as opposed to those that mask racist practices, as we've seen is sometimes the case in the INGO sector, must be central to any sparking and sustaining of creativity. Arguably, setting a standard where non-dominant interdependence is the overarching theme will also lead to black media practitioners and audiences being (and therefore feeling[131]), more fully included and represented, and enjoying the sense of 'personal power' and bolstered aspirations that accompany such inclusion.

The logic of non-dominant interdependence must also extend to news sources on SSA. As highlighted elsewhere, urgent issues coalesce beneath the development/humanitarian banner, and it's in the public interest for journalists to tell development/humanitarian stories. But the *dominant* source status INGOs occupy in relation to news on SSA *must* be subverted. As we've seen, this dominant positioning generates and perpetuates a historicised, racialised, capitalist, moralising discourse on SSA due to the histories that are behind development discourse (e.g.

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[131] It's important to highlight feelings in this context, as recent research reveals that the majority of BAME people in the UK *feel* underrepresented and negatively portrayed on screen (A BBC for the future, May 2016:40-41). All citizens are meant to feel that their varied lives and views are represented by national mainstream media, particularly public service media that's paid for by them. Qualitatively accounting for whether representation feels fair and adequate to all social groups is a vital means of monitoring inclusivity.

Escobar, 1995; Kothari, 2006): contributing to a 'hollowing out' (Fenton & Titley, 2015) of mainstream news representations of black African Others and stripping them of agency. As print journalist, 'Emerson', said of their Africa coverage: 'I try not to work with (INGOs) because […] INGOs usually paint a narrative which is poor starving Africans.'

We have seen that journalists of colour have a vital role to play in countering the 'grammar of racialised discourse' (Goldberg, 1993:43), disrupting the hold members of the 'white British boys club' (Bunce, 2010) have traditionally had vis-a-vis reporting on SSA for mainstream UK news, as well as drawing on their raced habitus and standpoints to try and shift narratives away from racialised discourse. But, as this research shows, such journalists, including those who are senior, cannot entirely step outside racialised regimes of representing SSA that are woven through every layer of the journalistic field. These layers are made up of the legacy of white journalists dominating the field (Bunce, 2010); the elite source status of international charities that erase African voices (see also Anyangwe, 2017; Wainaina, ibid; Coulter in Cottle & Cooper, 2015:82) and suffocate the range of mainstream news stories that are told about the continent; and perceptions that audiences for global news are white (Nothias, 2017:75) and suffer from 'cognitive inertia' (Entman & Rojecki, 2000:60). These perceptions are compounded by assumptions that such audiences will only understand news framed in relation to what is 'already known as a present or absent structure' (Hall,1973:183). As highlighted throughout this thesis, what is already 'known' about SSA is entangled with racist discourse. One of the central tenets of that discourse is that SSA is in permanent need of Western 'help'.

Fostering non-dominant interdependence between INGO sources and mainstream news journalists in relation to coverage of SSA would, I contend, contribute to dismantling the aforementioned layers. Such non-dominant interdependence would equate to an acceptance that INGOs have a role to play in supplying leads on SSA, but in a far more limited sense than they currently enjoy and in ways where marketised rationalities are not used to excuse and uphold racialised ways of representing the region. Cultivating non-dominant interdependence would equate to a *basic* change in the sub-field of reporting on SSA. Such basic change, to use Goldberg's words (1993:10), might 'prompt changes in other strands of the web of belief' that maintain historicised, racialised, capitalist, moralising discourse on SSA in mainstream UK news. However, to fundamentally change the discourse, more significant, 'shifts in whole ways of world making' (Goldberg, 1993:10) are required. My hope is that this research contributes to instigating such significant shifts. Below, I highlight some starting points.

Conclusion

Via qualitative analysis of 37 in-depth interviews with journalists of colour, other media practitioners and development and humanitarian aid workers who work for some of Britain's biggest news organisations and international charities, this thesis found that race is a property that plays out across the whole journalistic field. It works at a general level informing and being shaped by 'organisational norms, structures and practices which condition what is represented and how' (Allan, 1999:159), and operates in particular ways in the sub-field of reporting on SSA. The concept of PCJFT, which was developed here, offers a theoretical foundation that has illuminated the raced structural (doxa) and subjective (habitus) elements within the journalistic field, and the subfield of reporting on SSA. As such, PCJFT has enabled a holistic mapping of how colonial logics and effects are sewn into the field of contemporary UK news media and play out at three interconnected levels. These levels consist of: institutional culture (doxa); experiences, subjectivities (habitus) and standpoints (Hill Collins, ibid) of black journalists; and economic and racialised rationalities that influence the degree of power INGO sources have in the sub-field. These levels, which are stitched together with a capitalist, historicised, moralising and racialised discourse, combine to inform mainstream UK news representations of SSA.

PCJFT enhances the fields of journalism studies, and race and cultural production studies more generally, by extending Bourdieu's (ibid) field theory to enable close consideration of race, which is a ubiquitous social category that impacts people's everyday realities, shaping relations between individuals and social structures, and perceptions and representations of self and Other (e.g. Ashcroft et al, 2006; Hall, 2013; Hill Collins, ibid; hooks, ibid; Fanon, ibid). However, despite the ubiquity of race in contemporary society, it's an increasingly overlooked element in scholarship focused on the sub-field of reporting on SSA in mainstream Western news, where it plays out in amplified ways. To be specific, whilst issues of race and representation are foundational to the growing scholarly interest in how two types of actors – Western INGOs (e.g. Beckett, 2012 & 2009 a&b; Cottle & Nolan, 2009) and black journalists within and outside the African diaspora (Bunce, 2014; Ogunyemi,2017) may be able to alter the way Africa is narrated in international news, race exists on the margins of such scholarship. This research has sought to redress this marginality by developing PCJFT as an interdisciplinary tool, which included mixing Hill-Collins' (ibid) standpoint theory with Bourdieu's journalistic field theory, to map relations between racialised Others and institutional structures in the dominant UK journalistic field. Utilising standpoint theory as an epistemological framework to center the perspectives of journalists of colour who work in mainstream UK news and the subfield of

reporting on SSA, has enabled their experiences of the field to be validated as knowledge claims.

A central argument has been that countering the marginality of race in scholarly work on SSA's media image is essential, because not seeing race (see also Eddo-Lodge, 2017) limits understanding of how the journalistic field generates and reproduces ideas of race (Hall, 2013; Law, 2002). By conducting a range of interviews, including with 20 black journalists who report on, or have reported on SSA, and use the authority of their experiences as raced subjects to negotiate and contest stereotypical representations of black African Others in their work, as well as 10 INGO employees who work for organisations that increasingly contribute to the construction of such coverage, this research has helped overlooked standpoints vis-à-vis SSA's UK news image, and the centrality of race to it, emerge. More broadly, PCJFT offers a new conceptual framework for bringing a somewhat divided field of research on dominant news media coverage of SSA together – connecting strands concerned with the political economy of journalism, and cultural and postcolonial studies interest in race and representation. As noted in Chapter 4, the layered nature of this research reflects the complexities of investigating race and racism, and the way it is constructed and experienced on an individual and institutional level, is lived and symbolic, as well as being simultaneously overrepresented and unsaid.

This study has found that shifts must occur across every layer of the journalistic field to carve routes out of the historicised, racialised, capitalist, moralising ways of seeing and doing in the sub-field of reporting on SSA in mainstream UK news media. I use the word 'shift' to underline, as discussed in Chapter 8, that we cannot entirely break from the past because, as discourse theory (e.g. Tonkiss, 2004; Said, 1978) shows us, that would entail erasing our histories, which is neither desirable nor productive. But we can, as we've seen, shift discourses so alternative ways of seeing and doing become prominent, and discredit racialised ways of seeing and doing in the process. Such shifts must occur at an institutional, source, and representational level.

We have seen how the predominantly black, and some white, research participants in the mainstream UK news and INGO sectors – from junior freelancers and staff to senior managers and editors – have worked, and are working, to help make their sectors more racially diverse and inclusive, and content less racially stereotypical. But the problems they're trying to shift are systemic and even though these individuals are part of the system, they are not at the helm of it. Ultimately, no matter how many training initiatives there are, or how much non-stereotypical content is produced, action must be taken at the helm, by those with the most cultural and/or economic capital within the journalistic and INGO fields, for the system to change. The gatekeepers in both sectors are predominantly white men (Thurman et al, ibid; El

Tom, 2013). Therefore, the aim must be for white bodies in positions of power to think beyond simply having more black bodies in place, or more 'positive' representations of SSA, and properly address, at an industry wide level and in relation to *every* layer of the journalistic field, what else needs to change for all bodies, black and white, that form the body of institutions, to be enabled to make a sustainable, felt difference.

People will ask, have asked, 'what can be done?' to enact such difference. This thesis unveils clear starting points. For instance, some research participants reported that people in positions of power, such as news executives and INGO CEOs, often ask this question. Such a query, from people in powerful positions, is problematic because it's a denial of the power they possess to affect change. As 'Harley', an editor at a public service broadcaster, said: 'all you need is a [...] managerial leader at the top of the organisation who says, 'guys, this is what you're going to do and I want to see these people working on your programmes', for shifts to be triggered. People, including some research participants, say a lack of racial diversity, inclusion and dignified representation of black Others, within and by organisations is not a conspiracy. It is not, as 'Harley' said, 'a Machiavellian plot'. It may not be. But it is arguably lazy, blind and wilfully complacent.

When those in power ask, 'what can be done?', it's also an invitation to overlook the extensive archive of work on diversity strategies, recommendations, schemes and so on, proposed and instigated by researchers and practitioners, including some interviewed for this research who work for organisations headed by the very people who ask, 'what can be done?'. These strategies and schemes spell out a range of ideas on how to ensure mainstream media and INGOs adequately represent, and are inclusive of, the public they claim to serve. So, having done this research, my response to what I believe is a well-intentioned but lazy question, is: take race, racism, diversity and inclusion seriously enough, in the first instance, to pay someone properly to research the multitude of recommendations that exist. Decide which approach would work best for your organisation and pay someone/people, long-term, to implement and monitor it properly. If you do not have enough funds (conceivably the case for some national newspapers), to take on more staff at every level of the organisation who are more representative of our society, use a quota system for *paid* commissions from the diverse pool of journalists in the UK[132] , as well as those working for news media in African

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[132]News media organisations also need to work far harder to ensure they recruit and commission black graduates seeking careers in journalism who have less chance of finding employment than their white and Asian peers (Spilsbury, 2017). See also Footnote 76, Chapter 6.

countries[133]. Then use your power to enforce its implementation. Such a strategy would arguably force editors to confront the grinding complacency festering at the heart of most commissioning processes. The kind of blind, ignorant complacency 'Spencer' unveiled at their newspaper when they confronted an editor about the number of women and black people commissioned over the course of a month. The editor thought, 'about 30-40%' of commissions were by women. It was, in fact, 15%. Meanwhile, the only black person commissioned was Barack Obama. 'You have to be the president of the United States to contribute as a black person – it's incredible.' ('Spencer').

As for INGOs, this research suggests that if they actively and consistently engage with diaspora who have long worked in development/humanitarianism in their regions of origin and heritage, and who, as highlighted in Chapter 7, donate almost as much in remittances to those regions as INGOs, development/humanitarian work should be more effective. That is if all involved genuinely share the aim of ending inequality. In addition, INGOs must openly recognise the power they have in the field of international news reporting on SSA and take responsibility when distributing material to mainstream news media. This means that, as value driven organisations, INGOs must ensure *basic* values, like those set out in the Red Cross Code of Conduct of 1994 vis-à-vis representing Others in a dignified way, are upheld, rather than drawing on 'market logics' (see also Brown, 2005; Fenton & Titley, 2015), as some research participants did, to excuse racist representations. Racism in any form is *never* dignified.

In an era where technology means it's easier than ever to connect with people across nations and continents, African sources, rather than INGOs, must be viewed and used far more frequently as 'authorised knowers' (Fenton, 2010) on issues that affect them. This is a vital starting point for breaking the raced news cycle this research has highlighted, whereby because Others from poor nations, such as those in SSA, are rarely featured (Zuckerman, ibid) as authoritative sources, they stand less chance of ever being 'understood' (Hall, 1973) in this capacity by dominant Western audiences, and thus less chance of being featured in this role.

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[133] Jacobs (2004) argues that the racial stratification of the public sphere in America could become less binarised and alleviate African-American 'suspicions of white indifference and racism', as well as ensure 'mainstream news media […] recognise their public role in supporting civil society', if mainstream US news organisations support financially struggling African-American newspapers to establish websites and provide links to stories in the African-American press, especially during times of racial crisis. In this way, he argues, 'a diversification in the genres of crisis reporting' would be established and all news organisations would be able to 'better fulfil their civic function as the central communicative institutions of civil society'. Similarly, rather than utilising Western INGOs as dominant news sources vis-à-vis coverage of SSA, dominant UK news organisations should actively diversify their sources by forging working relationships with diasporic and local African media organisations, such as Pan-African media agency A24 Media (http://www.a24media.com/about/). See also Arsenault (2012).

Fundamental to enacting sustainable, felt difference to the inclusion and representation of racialised Others within mainstream UK news media, is hearing and acting upon the standpoints, both individual and collective, of those whose positioning, as Hill Collins (1998:281) asserts, in hierarchical power relations means they have common experiences. Such experiences can foster 'angles of vision […] essential for informed political action' (Hill Collins, 1998:281). Crucially, this research has contributed to collating such standpoints. I hope these offer fruitful points of departure for future research on news media representations on SSA.

Journalist	Ethnicity	Employment status	Gender	Seniority	Type of news org.	Reason for inclusion
'Addison'	Black African & white European heritage	Staff and freelance	Female	Correspondent, editor & writer	'Mainstream' print, broadcast & online	Extensive news coverage of SSA & experience of working with NGOs to access news stories.
'Billie'	South Asian heritage	Staff. Accessed journalism via diversity scheme.	Female	Reporter	'Mainstream' broadcast & online	Extensive coverage of African news stories, including Ebola. Works closely with INGOs.
'Charlie'	Black African heritage	Freelance	Male	Writer	'Mainstream' print & broadcast, as well as 'peripheral' print & online	Reported extensively on Africa and works in conjunction with humanitarian agencies.
'Drew'	Black African & Caribbean heritage	Freelance & staff. Accessed journalism via diversity scheme.	Male	Writer	'Mainsteam' & 'peripheral' print & online	Lots of industry experience, some Africa coverage.
'Emerson'	Black African heritage	Freelance & staff	Female	Writer	'Mainstream' print & online	Extensive experience of covering Africa,

						including Ebola.
'Frankie'	Black African & white European heritage	Freelance	Male	Writer	'Mainstream' print	Extensive experience of covering Africa.
'Gale'	Black African heritage	Staff & freelance	Male	Reporter & Editor	'Mainstream' broadcast & 'peripheral' print & online	Extensive experience of covering Africa.
'Harper'	Black African & white European heritage	Freelance	Female	Writer	'Mainstream' print, broadcast & online	Experience of covering Africa.
'Indy'	Black African heritage	Staff & freelance	Male	Reporter & producer	'Mainstream' broadcast, print & online	Experience of covering Africa, including Ebola.
'Jamie'	Black African & Caribbean heritage	Staff	Male	Correspondent	'Mainstream' broadcast	Extensive Africa coverage, including Ebola.
'Kim'	Black African & Caribbean heritage	Staff Accessed journalism via a diversity scheme.	Male	Editor	'Mainstream' print & online	Extensive journalistic experience, including Africa coverage.
'Laurie'	Black African heritage	Staff	Female	Producer & Reporter	'Mainstream' broadcast & online	Extensive Africa coverage. Also some recruitment responsibility for 'diverse talent'.

'Madison'	White European heritage	Staff	Male	Reporter & correspondent	'Mainstream' print & online	Extensive Africa coverage, particularly during a time when their publication transitioned from 'negative' to 'positive' angles
'Nicky'	South Asian heritage	Freelance & staff	Female	Reporter & correspondent	'Mainstream' broadcast	Seasoned journalist. Has not reported on SSA, but lived there.
'Onyx'	South Asian heritage	Staff	Female	Reporter	'Mainstream' broadcast	Experienced journalist, encountered overt racist abuse in their capacity as a journalist.
'Parker'	Black Caribbean & African heritage	Staff. Accessed journalism via a diversity scheme.	Male	Reporter	'Mainstream' broadcast	Junior journalist, important rich context re entry level experiences of being black in MSM.
'Quinn'	Black Caribbean & white European heritage	Staff	Female	Deputy Editor	'Peripheral' print & online, 'mainstream' online	Experienced news reporter & editor. Experience of reporting on Africa for 'mainstream' & 'peripheral'

						media.
'Riley'	Black African & white European heritage	Staff	Male	Editor	'Mainstrea m' print	Seasoned journalist, experience of covering Africa, influence over BAME journalist appointmen ts.
'Spencer '	Black African & white European heritage	Staff	Femal e	Editor	'Mainstrea m' print	Seasoned journalist, experience of covering Africa, influence over BAME journalist appointmen ts.
'Taylor'	Black African & white European heritage	Freelance & staff	Femal e	Reporter & social campaigner	'Mainstrea m' & 'peripheral ' print, broadcast & online	Experienced journalist & diversity campaigner.
'Shay'	Black African heritage	Freelance & staff. Accessed journalism via a diversity scheme.	Femal e	Writer & press officer	'Mainstrea m' print, INGO comms	Extensive experience of covering Ebola for both mainstream and INGO platforms.
'Vivian'	Black African heritage	Staff & freelance	Male	Editor & Director of an INGO	'peripheral ' print, INGO comms	Extensive experience of covering Africa.
'Whitne y'	South Asian heritage	Freelance	Femal e	Reporter	'Mainstrea m' & 'peripheral ' print &	Experience of covering developme nt issues in

					online	Africa.
'Xavier'	Black African heritage	Freelance & staff	Female	Reporter	'Mainstream' & 'peripheral' print & online	Extensive experience of covering Africa, including for an outlet with the specific remit of covering Africa 'differently'.
'Yani'	South Asian & African heritage	Staff	Male	Journalist, producer & founder of African based news network	'Mainstream' & 'peripheral' broadcast & print	Wealth of experience covering Africa, including for an outlet established to tell 'different' stories about the continent.
'Zanzi'	Black African heritage	Staff	Male	Editor	Mainstream broadcast & online	Extensive experience of covering Africa.

Interviewee	Ethnicity	Gender	Position	Type of organisation	Reason for inclusion
'Spencer'	Black African & white European heritage	Female	Editor	'Mainstream' print	Responsible for commissioning and tasked with bringing more BAME journalists into the organisation.
'Laurie'	Black African heritage	Female	Senior producer & reporter	'Mainstream' broadcast	Responsible for commissioning and tasked with bringing more BAME journalists into the organisation.
'Riley'	Black African & white European heritage	Male	Editor	'Mainstream' print	Responsible for commissioning, editing and tasked with bringing more BAME journalists into the organisation.
'Harley'	White European heritage	Male	Senior editor	'Mainstream' broadcast	Hiring and commissioning responsibilities, particularly Africa coverage.
'Taylor'	Black African and white European heritage	Female	Journalist & social campaigner	'Mainstream' broadcast & print	Campaigns for media diversity, responsible for placing over a 1000 BAME journalists in mainstream media.
'Kelly'	Black African heritage	Male	Head of Diversity	'Mainstream' broadcaster	Responsible for increasing diversity at the organisation.

Appendix 3: Table of anonymised INGO interviewees

Interviewee	Ethnicity	Gender	Position	Type of organisation	Reason for inclusion
'Sandy'	White European heritage	Male	Head of Communications	INGO	Well-resourced UK INGO with active press department & significant involvement in Ebola relief effort.
'Shay'	Black African heritage	Female	Media adviser & journalist	INGO	Well-resourced UK NGO with active press department & significant involvement in Ebola relief effort.
'Robin'	White European heritage	Male	Team leader	Civil Service	Major funder of development programmes, works on diaspora engagement, involved in Ebola relief effort.
'Leslie'	White European heritage	Male	Head of Communications	INGO	Well-resourced, UK INGO with active press department & significant involvement in Ebola relief effort

'Rowan' & 'Lee'	Black African heritage	Male & Female	Director & Communications Manager	INGO	Small, UK based INGO with a focus on promoting diaspora involvement in development. Involvement in Ebola relief effort.
'Morgan'	Black African heritage	Female	Founder of diaspora for development charity, International Grants Manager at large INGO.	INGO	Founded charity with a focus on diaspora in development, now manager at a well-resourced INGO. Involved in Ebola relief effort.
'Jade'	White European heritage	Male	Senior Press Officer	INGO	Well-resourced UK INGO with large press department & significant involvement in Ebola relief effort.
'Hilary'	White European & South Asian heritage	Female	Head of Communications	INGO	Well-resourced UK INGO with large media presence & significant involvement in Ebola relief effort.
'Corin'	South Asian & white European heritage	Female	Head of Communications	INGO	Well-resourced UK INGO with an active press department and significant involvement in Ebola relief effort.

*All names have been changed.

Appendix 4: Letter of consent sent to all research participants

Omega Douglas

ESRC Funded PhD Candidate

Goldsmiths College

University of London

London SE14 6NW

Dear XXXX,

Thank you so much for agreeing to be interviewed for my PhD research. This is to confirm that you are happy to contribute and you understand that citations, in any published format, will be anonymised.

I'd be grateful if you could sign and date here:

Kind regards,

Omega Douglas

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