

Watching the World

*British Television & Audience Engagement
with Developing Countries*

*by Adrian Cleasby
Preface by Michael Ignatieff*



*Third World & Environment
Broadcasting Project*

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Broadcasting Project (3WE)

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**Third World & Environment
Broadcasting Project (3WE)**

Established in 1989 by a consortium of Britain's leading overseas development, environment and human rights agencies, the Project works for imaginative, sustained and fair media coverage of developing countries, their people and the environment in which they live. It is supported by: Christian Aid, WWF-UK, CAFOD, ACTIONAID, UNICEF-UK, United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, VSO, Intermediate Technology, Oxfam, Save the Children Fund and Friends of the Earth.

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Chaired by Sir Jim Lester MP in November 1995, the APGOOD forum on television coverage of international affairs brought to light a new level of concern among broadcasters, NGOs, MPs and Peers alike.

The Project would also like to thank the Heads of Research at BBC Television, ITV Network Centre and Channel Four Television for kind permission to reproduce data from the Broadcasters' Audience Research Board (BARB) Network Reports on their respective channels.

Many thanks are also due to ***Christian Aid, WWF-UK, CAFOD, ACTIONAID, UNICEF-UK, VSO, Intermediate Technology, the United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Oxfam*** for their continuing support.

Thanks finally to Kim Bedi for long hours freely given.

Executive Summary



How can programme-makers draw significant audiences to in-depth factual programmes on developing countries, their people and the environment in which they live?

With the future of minority interest programmes on public service channels a matter of widespread debate, and with ruthless competition and commercial pressures rising throughout the media industries, this is a key question for programme-makers, channel controllers and commissioning editors alike.

It is equally pressing for those who recognise the vital importance of television as the primary source of information on world affairs for the overwhelming majority of British people. Global concerns impinge more and more on everyday life, politically, culturally, economically and environmentally. Insularity would seem an absurd choice in such an inter-dependent world.

Yet, only with significant popular appeal can in-depth programmes about developing countries avoid draining scant resources, disenchanting viewers and undermining the very public service remit their supporters advocate. In part, the rapid recent decline in the amount of in-depth Third World coverage suggests that programme makers have encountered considerable difficulties in achieving such popular appeal.

As ratings and audience share play an increasingly important role in driving programme schedules, what level of demand exists for those factual portrayals of developing countries which make it to the screen? Is the pressure to enhance audience share squeezing programmes that cater for a sizeable minority of viewers? And just what picture of the world are British viewers being offered in this age of globalisation?

New Research

This report presents new evidence which suggests that in-depth foreign coverage is not the automatic turn-off for viewers many within the television industry believe. It seeks to open an informed discussion about the problems - and the possibilities - of bringing complex stories from seemingly remote places to the widest possible audience at home.

The report analyses data collected from three annual samples, each of two months duration, of peak-time factual programmes filmed wholly or significantly in developing countries and broadcast by the UK's four terrestrial television channels in 1994, 1995 and 1996.

Key Findings:

- ✦ ***Of 2,848 hours of sampled peak-time output, there were just under 98 hours of factual programmes filmed in developing countries (3.4% of total peak-time output)***

- ◆ **93% of these programmes were broadcast by BBC2 and C4, with few programmes on the more popular mainstream channels**
- ◆ **Peak-time factual programmes filmed in developing countries shown on BBC2 and C4 gained average audiences of 1.96 million viewers**
- ◆ **Around 40% of those BBC2 and C4 programmes achieved an audience share of 10% or more, maintaining or enhancing these channels' overall share of viewing**
- ◆ **Average audiences for these 'achievers' rose in each of the three years sampled**

(2.8 million in 1994, 3.1 million in 1995, 3.2 million in 1996)

- ◆ **Despite this, hours of peak-time factual programmes filmed in developing countries fell by 14% over the sample period**

(35.2 hours in 1994, 32.3 hours in 1995, 30.3 hours in 1996)

- ◆ **67 different developing countries were featured in the programme sample, indicating the range of locations portrayed**

(44% of the programmes were filmed in Africa, 23% in Southern and Central Asia, 12% in South East Asia, 12% in Latin America and the Caribbean)

The Programme Sample

What kinds of programmes featured amongst the most popular? With some

notable exceptions, natural history, travel and celebrity-led programmes proliferated. Many of the most popular programmes were overseas editions of leisure interest series, some of which dealt with topics only superficially related to life in the developing country where they were filmed.

Few current affairs programmes featured among the most popular in our sample, despite a noticeable recent shift in style. Single-story programmes like BBC2's *Assignment* have been supplemented by multi-story magazines like BBC2's *Correspondent* and C4's *Africa Express*. With audiences of around one million viewers, these programmes offer much needed breadth to coverage of the Third World. Yet the future of such significant minority interest programmes becomes more doubtful as the pressure to enhance audience share grows.

Notable in our sample were those programmes whose popularity did not depend primarily upon celebrity appeal, obvious UK links or residual audience interest in a leisure pursuit. These included C4's *Beyond the Clouds*, *Karachi Cops* and editions of *Encounters* as well as several editions of BBC2's *Under the Sun*.

This prompts three key questions:

- ◆ **Do car, cookery and travel programmes offer viewers anything more than trivial, uninformative, light-entertainment?**

An alternative view would be to suggest that programmes like *Jeremy Clarkson's Motorworld* from Bombay were untenable until relatively recently, not just because cars commanded less audience interest

but because of a prevailing view of India as a pre-industrial nation. The context of urbanisation in southern Asia is far from fully explored by such a programme but Clarkson at least introduces an aspect of everyday life in India with which many British viewers themselves identify.

Moreover, cookery programmes like BBC2's *Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India* and C4's *A Taste of Africa* and *Taste of the Caribbean* raise a serious question about authenticity of voice. Despite their popularity, these programmes comprised three of only five series in our sample which relied upon Black or Asian presenters. This suggests that, whatever picture of the Third World British viewers are being offered, it is one mediated largely by white presenters.

✦ ***If we analyse ratings for those programmes which were 'primarily about' life in a developing country, rather than those where the Third World location was of subsidiary interest, do we find a raft of wholly unpopular programmes?***

While it is difficult to avoid controversy in drawing such a qualitative distinction, controversy does not in itself invalidate the exercise. The research therefore divided the programme sample into two broad categories:

- those where the primary focus was an aspect of life in the Third World; and
- those which focused on natural history, star presenters, an obvious UK link or leisure interest.

Of 134 peak-time BBC2 and C4 programmes in the sample:

- more than half (73 programmes) were *primarily about* the country or territory in which they were filmed
- the average audience for these programmes was 1.55 million and the average audience share was 6.7%.

Average audiences of 1.55 million attest to significant minority interest. Nevertheless, such programmes are increasingly threatened by the mounting pressure on editors and producers at BBC2 and C4 to deliver a minimum 10% audience share.

✦ ***What can be learned from those programmes whose popularity did not rely upon a star presenter, an obvious UK link, or residual interest in subject matter essentially unrelated to the area portrayed?***

The prominent scheduling and high profile marketing campaigns that supported series like C4's *Beyond the Clouds* and BBC2's *Under the Sun* cannot be unrelated to the popularity of the programmes. The international acclaim and sales they generated underlines the quality of the programme making. Yet *Under the Sun* involved expensive, time-consuming and risky pre-production research trips while *Beyond the Clouds* took several years to make. The kind of investment and long-term support these programmes require is increasingly rare for projects filmed in developing countries. The most important learning point from successful programmes like these has to be that the risk was worth taking.

Key Recommendations



- 1) A reassessment of current thinking about the low priority and restricted appeal of in-depth, sophisticated and complex portrayals of life in developing countries is long overdue.***

On the evidence of this study, substantial and sustained audience engagement with in-depth programmes on developing countries, their people and the environment in which they live is not only possible but fairly common.

- 2) An ongoing commitment to this kind of public service broadcasting should be reinforced as a matter of policy at every level within both BBC Television and Channel Four.***

In light of television's importance as the UK's primary source of information on the world in which we live, this commitment should unambiguously be made a matter of public record.

- 3) Such a commitment must involve a long-term reversal of recent cuts in budgets, slots and resources for high quality factual programmes on Third World subjects which offer millions of viewers insights and perspectives on an increasingly inter-connected world.***

*Third World & Environment
Broadcasting Project, 1996*

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Preface



Television and the World 'Out There'

by Michael Ignatieff

The sharp drop in coverage of international subjects on television, which prompts this report, presents a complex set of problems. I do not claim to have a clever story to tell but I think it is worth looking in a more abstract way at some of the changes occurring within the culture in which television works. If we could climb, as it were, to 35,000 feet, what would we make of the context surrounding the Third World and Environment Broadcasting Project's figures?

As a programme maker, I have a strong intuition that a domestic audience's involvement in international subjects depends upon pre-existing narratives of moral and social concern. There are, to simplify grossly, four narrative traditions that have guided audiences, engendering involvement, concern and care about Rwanda, Yugoslavia, the TransCaucases and so on.

The first of these is socialist internationalism - the important historical tradition in British life of concern for the condition of working people across the world; the sense of an international working class, the sense of a world-wide Communist movement. Whatever one thinks about that tradition, it did generate a 'language' of internationalism and that

language, as we know it, is in serious trouble. Whether it is in terminal decline, I do not know but it generated something we can now perhaps barely remember; British workers and British intellectuals with a deep-seated interest in funny places like Angola, Mozambique and Cuba, say, or Vietnam because they thought the revolution might be made there. This tremendous mechanism of involvement in international issues has now died, politically. This is not meant to be a party political point but it is not clear that Britain's 'New Labour' has found a language of internationalism to replace that old one.

The second narrative framework is the old language of British imperialism. There is very little good to be said about Empire but it did provide vernaculars of moral concern with the world beyond these shores. It produced an enormous middle and working class population that had direct, material interests overseas and a British middle class which was particularly 'outwardly-turned', with whole parts of the world for which it had tender feelings, especially British India. All of that has fallen away within our lifetimes. Many people with imperial pasts turned energetically to the business of

decolonisation. Many became embroiled in the decolonisation struggles of the 1960s and '70s. Now they, too, are over and the moral narrative of Empire and de-colonisation is played through.

A third potential language of moral involvement in Third World matters is, I think, underdeveloped in this country. That is the language coming out of the multi-cultural communities within Britain itself who have tremendous historical, cultural, personal and emotional ties to places like the Caribbean, places in Asia and so on. Yet, somehow, that language of concern for their other homelands, their shed homelands - however one wants to term the relationship between these communities and their countries of origin - that language of moral involvement and social concern has not translated itself into continuous pressure on broadcasters to produce programmes that reflect the enormous interest there is in parts of Britain in the outcome of the Pakistani election, or the Indian election, or Jamaican election, or whatever. The indigenous domestic British interest of the multi-cultural communities in this country is not translating itself into, or having an impact on, broadcasting.

The fourth framework of engagement is the liberal internationalism that I think many people in non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are enlisted in. It is the human rights internationalism, the sense of 'One World', under-girded by ecology on the one hand and humanitarian law on the other; the moral

charter. One of the things not said frequently enough about this liberal internationalism is that it is now tremendously exposed. Socialist internationalism and Empire have fallen away, leaving liberal internationalism as the Last Good Cause, as the last language of involvement in Third World development and environment issues.

To argue that television commissioning decisions are structured by a growing trivialisation, or some other narrow effect within British television culture, would be to miss these larger changes. A BBC Channel Controller is as much part of the wider culture as he is of the TV world and we should look to the wider culture to understand why he is having trouble getting turned on by a five part series on the fate of the UN, or six part series on environmental problems, or whatever. Something has happened to our sense of narrative engagement with these issues. That is one phenomenon. The other is, simply - and I think one can register it directly in the Third World and Environment Broadcasting Project's research - there used to be a narrative of involvement with non-UK subjects which was dynamic in 1989-90; the fall of Communism. This great transition ended an enormously important historical epoch and took us one step into the new. Television commissions captured the excitement that - literally - the twentieth century ended in 1989. Commissioning editors, programme makers, everybody sensed that excitement and wanted programmes to make sense of the historical *caesura*.

Which leads to my final point; what is the narrative that we now put in place for the new century? It seems to me that commissioning editors and programme makers have a deep sense of puzzlement about what story to tell.

Recently, I made a film about the United Nations called *Guardians of Chaos*¹.

The implicit narrative there was that the world is chaotic. Beyond a zone of safety - perfectly symbolised by the ordered proportions of the Parliamentary Committee Room in which this paper was first delivered - there is a zone of danger, of chaos, a zone of ethnic nationalism, imploding and collapsing states, inter-tribal warfare, famine, destruction and death. How are we to make any sense of it? What analytic lines can be drawn through it? There are lines of pure emotional empathy with the starving the suffering, the dying and the massacred but they are, in a sense, very flimsy lines of identification. They are unsustainable over any extended period because they do not form part of a 'bigger picture'.

Television people have the same problem as their audience; not knowing what story to tell about that bigger picture. It is a substantial intellectual difficulty. People have turned to the OJ Simpson trial, to Princess Diana's *Panorama* story because the narrative is there. And what a narrative! A personal, driving, dramatic, gripping story. It is hard to tell

a narrative that makes sense of the serial forms of chaos in the world 'out there'.

Of the narratives of moral concern that traditionally connected 'here' to 'there', two of them have fallen away, a third - the product of demographic change in this country - has not generated a narrative of mainstream moral concern. The fourth, liberal internationalism, looks isolated and embattled, without enough troops on the ground to compel editors to act. If there are challenges facing television makers and internationalists, one is the need to unearth narrative frameworks that engage a wide audience with wider views of the world in which we live.

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¹ *Guardians of Chaos*, (dir. Tim Lambert)
BBC2, 30/10/95

Research



Background

This report signals a new departure for the Third World & Environment Broadcasting Project (3WE). A rapid decline in the amount of in-depth television coverage of developing countries has been documented by four separate research papers produced by 3WE since 1989. This report addresses the implications of rising commercial and competitive pressures on minority interest programming and assesses the level of demand for a key component of public service broadcasting; factual programmes on developing countries, their people and the environment in which they live.

The advent of new channels and new technologies like satellite, cable and digital delivery systems, has hiked competition in an already saturated market. Maintaining and enhancing audience share has become an increasingly important consideration for programme commissioners and producers alike.

Public service channels are not immune to this pressure. Since the 1990 Broadcasting Act turned Channel Four into a 'stand-alone' commercial broadcaster, its minority interest remit has been tempered by the need to sell air-time to advertisers. One way of balancing these often conflicting needs has been to 'cross-subsidise' minority

interest programmes with more popular output, such as hit US comedy imports like *Friends*. Implicitly, such a strategy suggests that programmes attracting peak-time audiences below, say, 1.3 million are increasingly vulnerable in the C4 schedule.

At the BBC, a significant drop in television audience share would severely weaken the case for retaining the licence fee when the Government reviews the Corporation's funding arrangements early next century. To safeguard and enhance the BBC's position as a national public service broadcaster, ratings and audience share have come to play an increasingly important role in driving programme schedules. On BBC2, this means programmes which the Channel Controller and his commissioning editors expect will attract less than 10% of available peak-time viewers are less likely to be commissioned.

Significantly, this added pressure to respond to audience demand coincides with a widely held view within the television industry that, other things being equal, factual programmes on developing countries are by far and away less popular than most other kinds of programme.

Regardless of statutory obligations to cater for minority interests, it is difficult to justify slots for expensive ratings-losers. Given the relatively high costs of overseas production, and the consensus about their low popularity, factual programmes on the Third World seem to suffer both maladies.

Yet television is the primary source of information on world affairs and developing countries for an overwhelming majority of the UK population. According to research carried out by the Independent Television Commission (ITC), over 70% of all viewers cite television as their primary source of information on world affairs. An independent public opinion survey commissioned by the charity World Vision UK in 1993 found that 82% of respondents claim television is their primary source of information on developing countries.

Global concerns impinge more and more on everyday life, and television coverage of international affairs has enormous impact on levels of public awareness. A poorly informed public will be ill-equipped to contend with such pressing issues as the globalisation of world trade, rising ethnic intolerance, global warming and the widening gap between rich and poor.

High quality international news coverage is a key factor in informing national debate on such issues but equally important is the crucial contextual information about norms of life in developing countries which documentaries and feature programmes

offer viewers. Such background knowledge can be essential in developing an understanding of the issues and extraordinary events reported by news coverage of developing countries.

Research indicates that the amount of programming on overseas subjects is significant in itself. According to a 1987 report from the then Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), the amount of international coverage has a direct bearing on viewer perceptions of the relevance overseas stories have to life in the UK. The IBA report, 'Television and the Third World; A British View' concluded that, *'The more that people have seen of countries on television, whether they are Third World or non-Third World members, the more that people think events in those countries affect Britain.'*

Unfortunately, the converse may also be true; the less people see of the wider world, the less relevant it seems and so factual programmes on the Third World become less popular. The smaller the audience for such programmes, the harder they are to defend in the increasingly competitive peak-time schedules.

To break out of this damaging spiral, we need first to establish the level of demand for those factual programmes on developing countries which make it to the screen.

Though soap-operas and dramas tend to be the most watched programmes on British television, documentaries and factual programmes seem to reach a

wider audience than any other programme genre. According to the BBC's Report and Accounts 1994/95, 85% of the population tune in to at least one documentary programme a week. In its annual 'Sensor' survey in January 1996, CIA MediaLab, the research arm of one of the biggest independent media buyers in the UK, found that most respondents (58%) wanted to see an increase in the amount of documentaries on television above all other types of programme.

Objectives and Methodology

Given the contrast between the broad appeal of factual programming and the consensus view that programmes on Third World subjects generally attract relatively few viewers, the research set out first to establish what level of demand there is for those factual programmes which portray aspects of life in developing countries.

Since public opinion surveys in this area often indicate respondents' *intention to view* rather than reflecting *actual viewing habits*, the research focused on consolidated audience and audience share figures compiled by the Broadcasters' Audience Research Board (BARB).

The competition for audiences is most fierce during peak-viewing periods, so the sampling focused on programmes broadcast during the peak-time hours of 6.30pm to 10.30pm.

To establish viewing trends, the research compiled data based on three

annual samples from 1994, 1995 and 1996.

In each year, the research monitored all peak-time programmes broadcast on BBC1, BBC2, ITV and C4 in February and March. Details were recorded for all non-news factual programmes filmed wholly or significantly in an area of the developing world.

February and March were monitored because of the relatively high incidence of relevant programming during these months.

Though there is no universally agreed definition of what counts as a developing country, the research classified territories using World Bank listings. This was supplemented by an ad-hoc geographical classification to distinguish between programmes which featured locations in Africa, Southern and Central Asia, South East Asia, Central and South America and the Caribbean, and those filmed in a variety of these locations.

Location details for each programme were sourced primarily from Radio Times listings, supplemented by extensive viewing experience and information from relevant programme departments, executive producers and series editors.

Consolidated audience figures and audience share details were sourced from BARB's Network Reports with the kind permission of the respective Heads of Research at BBC Television, ITV Network Centre and Channel 4.

Exclusions

Mixed-genre programmes were excluded from the survey since its primary objective was to assess the level of demand for factual programmes. Special note should be made, however, of BBC1's *Night of Comic Relief*, broadcast on 17th March 1995. An entire evening of fund-raising and comedy programmes was interspersed with short documentary reports from African countries and the UK. The popularity of *Comic Relief* was such that it gained an overall peak-time share of viewing of around 38%, well above BBC1's average audience share.

The Sample

In total 2,848 hours of peak-time programmes were monitored. Of these, just under 98 hours were factual programmes filmed wholly or significantly in the Third World, representing 3.4% of total peak-time output.

In the two months monitored in 1994, a total of 944 hours of peak-time

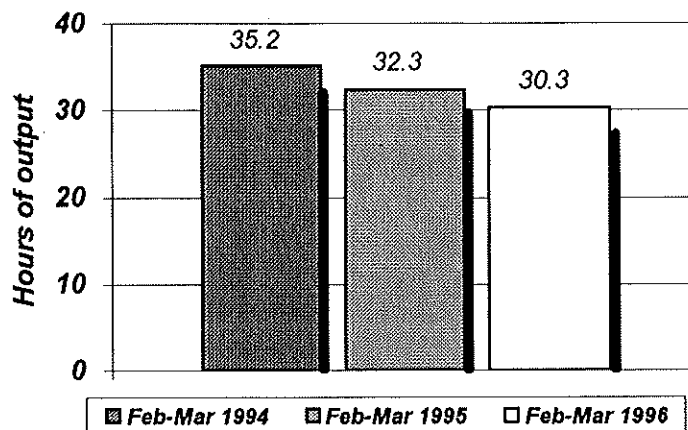
programmes were broadcast by the four terrestrial channels. Of these, there were 35.2 hours of factual programmes filmed wholly or significantly in developing countries. For the same period in 1995, factual programmes filmed in the Third World accounted for 32.3 hours of peak-time output. In 1996 (a leap year), out of 960 hours total peak-time programming, there were 30.3 hours of factual programmes filmed in developing countries.

As Exhibit 1 shows, this means the amount of factual programmes filmed in developing countries fell by 14% over the period of the sample. Previous research reports from the Third World & Environment Broadcasting Project have documented a conspicuous fall in documentary coverage of international issues between 1989-90 and 1993-94. The current sample offers no evidence to suppose that this decline has been halted or reversed.

The sample comprised 143 separate factual programmes filmed wholly or significantly in the Third World.

Exhibit 1

Hours of peak-time factual programmes filmed in developing countries



Geographical Spread

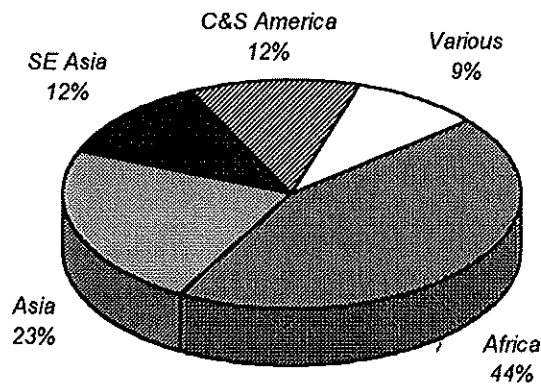
67 different countries and territories in the developing world were featured in the sampled programmes.

As Exhibit 2 indicates, 44% of the programmes featured countries in Africa, 23% featured countries in

southern or central Asia, 12% featured countries in South East Asia, 12% featured countries in Central and South America and the Caribbean, and 9% featured countries from a variety of continental areas.

Exhibit 2

Continental spread of sampled peak-time factual programmes filmed in developing countries

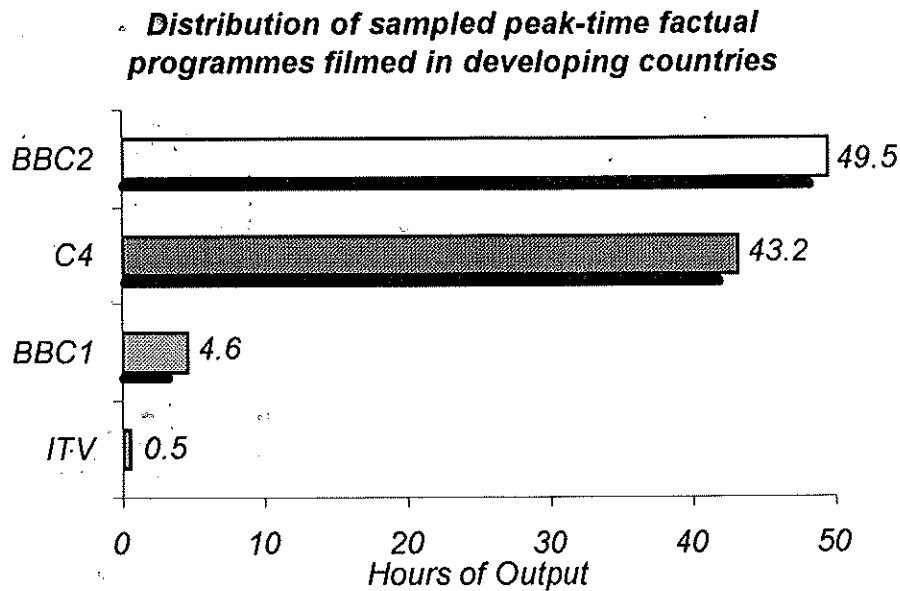


Distribution of Sample

Over 93% of those sampled factual programmes filmed in the developing world were broadcast by BBC2 and C4 with few such peak-time programmes carried by BBC1 or ITV.

As Exhibit 3 shows, BBC2 broadcast 49.5 hours of peak-time factual programmes filmed in the developing world, C4 broadcast 43.2 hours, BBC1 broadcast 4.6 hours and ITV broadcast 0.5 hours.

Exhibit 3



Audiences

The average consolidated audience for those factual programmes filmed in developing countries and broadcast on BBC2 or C4 during the period of the sample was 1.96 million viewers.

Though the number of viewers watching each channel is in constant flux, an average weekly audience share is recorded by BARB for each channel. Over the period of the survey, the weekly share for both C4 and BBC2 averaged slightly over 10%. This figure provides a bench mark against which to measure the performance of the programmes in the sample.

A BBC2 or C4 programme which attracted less than 10% of all viewers

would damage the relevant channel's overall ratings performance. One attracting 10% or above would maintain or enhance the overall share.

Given the consensus that factual programmes on developing countries are by far and away less popular than most other types of programme, we should expect few, if any of the programmes in our sample to attain or exceed the 10% share.

Exhibits 4, 5, and 6 plot the share of viewing recorded by BARB for each peak-time factual programme filmed in the Third World and broadcast on BBC2 or C4 during the period surveyed.

Exhibit 4) Audience shares for peak-time factual programmes on BBC2 and C4 filmed in the Third World (Feb-Mar 1994)

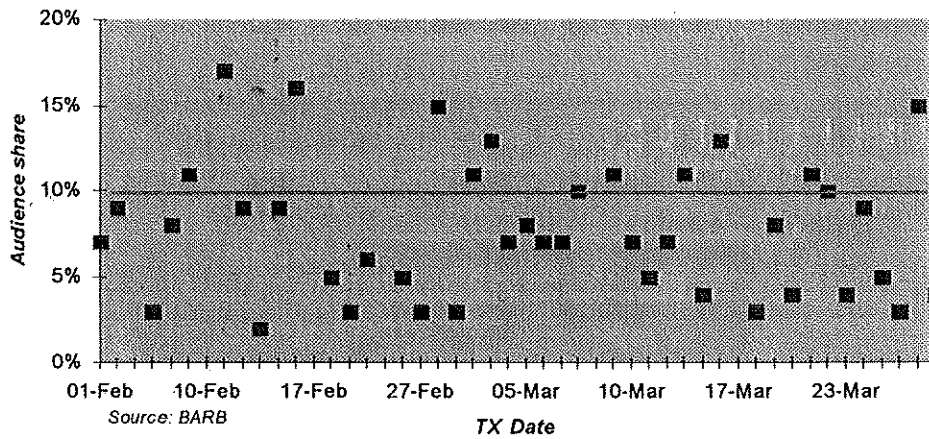


Exhibit 5) Audience shares for peak-time factual programmes on BBC2 and C4 filmed in the Third World (Feb-Mar 1995)

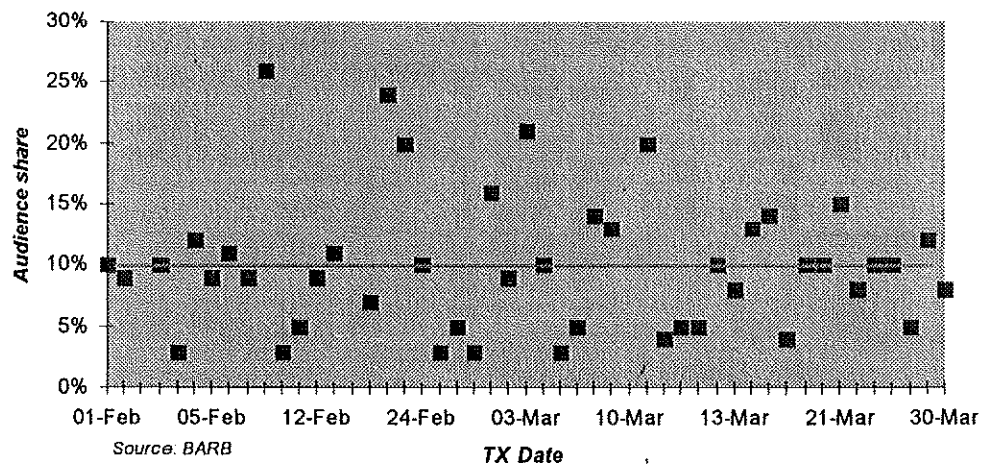
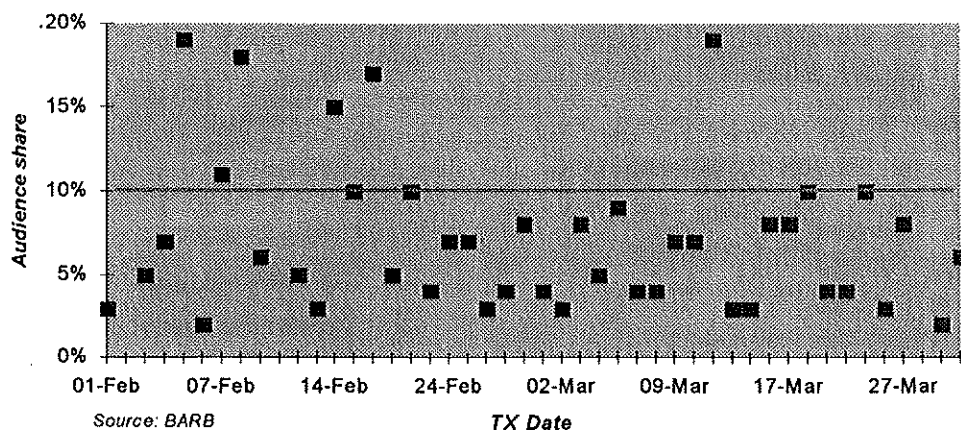


Exhibit 6) Audience shares for peak-time factual programmes on BBC2 and C4 filmed in the Third World (Feb-Mar 1996)



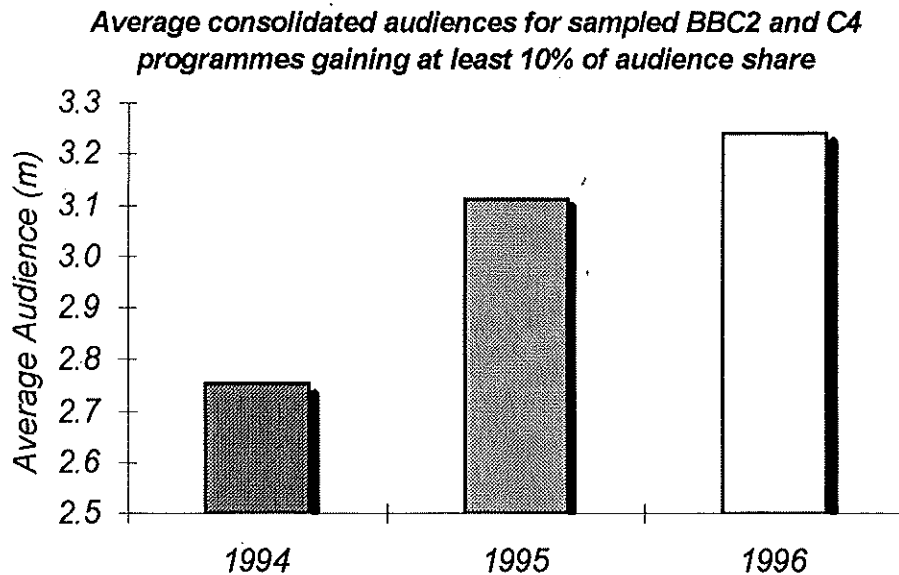
In all three years sampled, a significant number of relevant programmes gained 10% or more of total viewership.

131 peak-time factual programmes filmed in developing countries and broadcast on BBC2 or C4 during the period of the sample had recorded audience share details. Of these, 47 met or exceeded the bench mark channel average. This means that 36% of the programmes in the sample maintained or

enhanced the overall audience share BBC2 or C4 when they were broadcast. These 47 programmes attracted, on average, audiences of just over 3.0 million viewers and gained an average audience share slightly above 13%.

As Exhibit 7 shows, average consolidated audiences for these 47 programmes rose throughout the period of the sample from 2.8 million viewers in 1994, to 3.1 million in 1995, to 3.2 million in 1996.

Exhibit 7



Programmes in the Sample

What sorts of programmes featured among the most popular in the sample? Does their popularity indicate a groundswell of interest in the developing world, its people and the environment in which they live?

Natural history programmes like BBC2's *The Natural World* accounted for seven of the 47 sampled peak-time factual programmes filmed in developing countries which maintained or enhanced BBC2's or C4's overall audience share. Some of these wildlife programmes addressed environmental concerns, such as C4's *Flight of the Rhino* in 1994. However, the popularity of these wildlife programmes probably stems more from a widespread fascination with animals and safaris than from any sense of engagement with aspects of life in the developing world.

Celebrity travel programmes, leisure and consumer interest series also proliferated among the most popular programmes in the sample. The key question raised here is whether such star-vehicles, car, cookery, angling and gardening programmes offer viewers anything other than trivial, simplistic, uninformative glimpses of the developing world.

The popularity of celebrity-led travel series, like Clive Anderson's *Our Man In...* on BBC2 in 1995 and 1996, probably derives more from the audiences' pre-existing disposition towards the personality in question, than from a sense of that personality's grasp of, or connection with the developing world.

This seems less likely, however, with travel programmes in the sample like BBC2's *Great Railway Journeys* and C4's *Travelog*. Both series attracted significant audiences with or without celebrity presenters yet both revolve around their presenters' personal perspectives on the cultures and countries portrayed.

A pre-existing interest in the subject matter may best explain the popularity of those series which dealt with leisure pursuits and consumer concerns like gardening, cookery, angling, motoring and so on. Many of these programmes address topics only superficially related to the area of the Third World in which they were filmed, though it is apparent that popular series which are predominantly UK-based can venture into less familiar territories without compromising their popularity.

An alternative view here would be to suggest that programmes like the Bombay edition of *Jeremy Clarkson's Motorworld* on BBC2 in 1995 may well have been untenable until relatively recently, mainly because of a traditional and widely-held British view of India as a post-Raj, pre-industrial nation. The context of urbanisation in southern Asia is far from fully explored by such a programme but Clarkson at least introduced an aspect of everyday life in India with which 6.2 million BBC2 viewers seemed to identify.

Moreover, cookery programmes like BBC2's *Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India* and C4's *A Taste of Africa* and *Taste of the Caribbean* raise a serious question

about authenticity of voice. Presented respectively by Madhur Jaffrey and Dorinda Hafner, these programmes attracted up to 3.5 million viewers and - as well as recipes - they offered sensitive, informed and imaginative portrayals of diverse Indian, African and Caribbean cultures. Yet, despite their popularity, they comprised three of only five series in our sample which relied upon Black or Asian presenters.

This suggests that, whatever picture of the Third World British viewers are being offered, it is one mediated largely by white presenters.

Fears of a growing trivialisation of Third World factual coverage would be allayed if natural history and light-interest programmes formed part of a broad mix of well-funded, adequately resourced programmes on developing countries. Given the rise in competitive and commercial pressures on broadcasters, it is disquieting to note that, for all their considerable merits, programmes on Third World politics, economics and current affairs did not figure among the most popular programmes in the sample.

Over the three years of the survey there was a discernible move away from traditional current affairs styles and formats towards more personal, reporter-led, multi-item magazine programmes. BBC2's *Assignment* series of 45-minute, single-story programmes was supplemented in the schedules by *Correspondent*, featuring several reports from different locations in each 45-minute edition. Another relatively new magazine

programme, C4's *Africa Express*, featured African reporters and stories not covered by the traditional news and current affairs agenda. With audiences of around one million viewers, such programmes add much-needed breadth and depth to factual coverage of developing countries. Yet the future of such significant minority interest programmes becomes more and more doubtful as the pressure to enhance audience share grows.

Notably, reporter-led series like BBC2's *Beloved Country* on the end of apartheid in South Africa and *The Giant Awakens* on China's economic resurgence, both broadcast in 1994, had no counterparts in the 1996 sample.

Does this mean that - aside from wildlife, leisure interests and celebrity travel series - the sample contained a raft of wholly unpopular programmes? How popular were those programmes which were *primarily about* aspects of life in the developing world, rather than those where the location was of subsidiary interest?

While it is difficult to avoid controversy in drawing such a qualitative distinction, controversy does not in itself invalidate the exercise.

The sample of 134 BBC2 and C4 programmes was divided into two broad groups by extracting all natural history programmes, all gardening, angling and motoring programmes, and all celebrity-led and multi-item travel programmes. Also extracted were history programmes like BBC2's *Ruling Passion* and the *In Search of...* series which dealt with subjects only superficially related to the

area of the developing world in which they were filmed.

Programmes with an explicit and overriding UK interest were also extracted from the sample. These included the first edition of BBC2's *Modern Times* in 1995 - on the relationship between an English tourist and the younger man she had met in Gabon - as well as BBC2's *The Big Trip* in which three groups of young British tourists recorded their holiday adventures on video.

The programmes which remained following this process of extraction are listed in Exhibit 8. They include all the sampled current affairs programmes, in-depth travel programmes, observational documentaries and anthropological series. Given the high level of cultural commentary, the list also includes the three food programmes discussed earlier - BBC2's *Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India* and C4's *A Taste of Africa* and *A Taste of the Caribbean*. Science, arts and history programmes on subjects intrinsically linked to aspects of life in the Third World also figure among the remaining programmes.

Analysis

Of 134 BBC2 and C4 programmes in the original sample, 61 dealt primarily with natural history, leisure pursuits, celebrity travel or subjects only superficially related to the developing countries in which they were filmed.

The remaining 73 programmes gained average audiences of 1.55 million viewers with an average audience share of 6.7%.

Most notable was the popular appeal of programmes like BBC2's anthropological series *Under the Sun* and observational documentaries like C4's *Beyond the Clouds* on life in rural China.

Such popular successes are at odds with the view that in-depth portrayals of foreign cultures present insurmountable barriers to widespread audience engagement. These programmes portrayed cultures that were largely unfamiliar to the majority of their audience, without a mediating presenter and using subtitles.

Following a prominent on-screen publicity campaign, the first episode of Phil Agland's 1994 series on life in a small town in China, *Beyond the Clouds*, was watched by 3.1 million viewers, winning C4 a 15% audience share. The series received widespread critical acclaim for its cinematography and authenticity. Its many awards and international sales are testimony to a remarkable piece of film-making.

Commentators dubbed the series "Far East-Enders" and, though flippant, this highlighted the personal and characterful narrative portrayal of the inhabitants of Lijiang. Through dramatic and interwoven personal stories a complex picture of social and political life in rural China emerged.

Similarly strong personal narratives, played out against a complex and largely unfamiliar cultural background may well underlie the popularity of two editions of BBC2's *Under the Sun* in the sample. Patti Langton's *A Time to Woo*, focused on the marital aspirations of two women from the Ait Haddidu people of Morocco's

celebrity presenters not reviews for popularity in 1994-6

Atlas Mountains. Without a mediating presenter and using subtitles, a compelling picture of a sophisticated, politically stable, rural Islamic society emerged through the stories of participants individual journeys. Broadcast on St. Valentine's Night in 1996, the programme brought 3.3 million viewers to BBC2, comprising a 15% audience share.

A Caterpillar Moon, also broadcast in BBC2's 1996 *Under the Sun* series, gained 2.6 million viewers, with an audience share of 11%. The programme dealt with the annual journey made by a family from the Central African Republic

to collect edible caterpillars in the forest. Characterful interviews, family tensions and neighbourhood conflicts denoted the programme's strong, dramatic narrative structure.

Average audiences of 1.55 million viewers for those programmes in the sample which focused primarily on aspects of life in developing countries attest to substantial minority interest in the Third World. But it is precisely this kind of programme which seems most threatened by the pressure mounting on producers and commissioning editors at C4 and BBC2 to secure at least 10% audience share for every slot.

Exhibit 8

**Sampled BBC2 and C4 peak-time factual programmes on the Third World
(excluding wildlife, leisure interest and celebrity-led programmes)**

Channel	TX Date	Title	Dur (mins)	Countries/Territories	Aud (m)	Aud Share
BBC2	01/03/94	Assignment: Collaborators	45	Israel	0.8	3%
BBC2	08/02/94	Assignment: Dynasty	45	Pakistan	0.7	3%
BBC2	28/02/96	Assignment: Guardians/Ayatollah	45	Iran	0.7	3%
BBC2	15/03/94	Assignment: Mission Impossible	45	Somalia	1	4%
BBC2	01/02/94	Assignment: The Disposables	45	Colombia	1.6	7%
BBC2	17/03/94	Beloved Country	30	South Africa	0.7	3%
BBC2	24/03/94	Beloved Country	30	South Africa	1	5%
BBC2	31/03/94	Beloved Country	30	South Africa	0.9	4%
BBC2	11/03/95	Bookmark: Rumer Godden	60	India, UK	1	4%
BBC2	11/02/95	Correspondent	45	Pakistan/S Africa	0.8	3%
BBC2	18/02/95	Correspondent	45	Iraq, Israel, Kyrgyzstan	0.6	
BBC2	25/02/95	Correspondent	35	Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Germany	0.7	3%
BBC2	04/03/95	Correspondent	45	Brazil, Spain	0.9	3%
BBC2	11/03/95	Correspondent	45	W Sahara, Austria, US	1.4	5%
BBC2	18/03/95	Correspondent	45	Haiti, Hungary	1	4%
BBC2	24/02/96	Correspondent	45	India, Italy, Sierra Leone	0.9	4%
BBC2	02/03/96	Correspondent	45	India, Falkland Is	0.7	3%
BBC2	09/03/96	Correspondent	45	India, USA	1	4%
BBC2	23/03/96	Correspondent	45	Somaliland, Poland	1	4%
BBC2	23/03/94	East	30	Sri Lanka, Trinidad	1.1	4%
BBC2	28/03/95	East: Bandit Queen - True Lies?	30	India	1.1	5%
BBC2	08/03/94	Forty Minutes	40	Philippines	1.4	7%
BBC2	10/02/94	Great Railway Journeys	50	Bolivia	3.5	17%
BBC2	17/02/94	Great Railway Journeys	50	Pakistan	3.5	16%
BBC2	05/02/96	Hidden Empire	30	China	0.7	2%
BBC2	12/02/96	Hidden Empire: Behind the Mask	30	Benin	0.8	3%
BBC2	06/03/95	Horizon: Exodus	50	Tanzania	1.4	5%
BBC2	07/03/95	Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India	30	India	3.3	13%
BBC2	14/03/95	Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India	30	India	3.2	13%
BBC2	21/03/95	Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India	30	India	3.5	15%
BBC2	28/03/95	Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India	30	India	2.9	12%
BBC2	12/03/94	The Giant Awakens	50	China	1.2	5%
BBC2	19/03/94	The Giant Awakens	50	China	0.9	4%
BBC2	26/03/94	The Giant Awakens	50	China	0.8	3%
BBC2	23/03/95	Timewatch: Vietnam Stories	45	Vietnam, US	1.6	8%
BBC2	30/03/95	Timewatch: Vietnam Stories	45	Vietnam, US	1.8	8%
BBC2	07/02/96	Under the Sun: A Caterpillar Moon	50	Central African Rep	2.6	11%
BBC2	14/02/96	Under the Sun: A Time to Woo	50	Morocco	3.3	15%
BBC2	28/02/96	Under the Sun: Pilgrim's Gift	50	Ethiopia	1	4%
C4	16/02/94	A Taste of Africa	30	Zimbabwe	2.3	9%
C4	23/02/94	A Taste of Africa	30	Morocco	1.5	6%
C4	02/03/94	A Taste of Africa	30	Egypt	2.6	11%
C4	09/03/94	A Taste of Africa	30	Tanzania	2.1	10%
C4	16/03/94	A Taste of Africa	30	Mali	2.9	13%
C4	23/03/94	A Taste of Africa	30	Ghana	2	9%
C4	29/02/96	Africa Express	30	Uganda, Zaire, S Africa	0.9	4%
C4	07/03/96	Africa Express	30	Congo, Gambia, S Africa	0.9	4%
C4	14/03/96	Africa Express	30	S Africa, Ethiopia, Zaire	0.7	3%
C4	21/03/96	Africa Express	30	Angola, Gambia, Moz'bique	1	4%
C4	28/03/96	Africa Express	30	S Africa, Eritrea, Zimbabwe	0.5	2%
C4	19/02/94	Baka: People of the Rainforest	55	Cameroon	1.2	5%
C4	26/02/94	Baka: People of the Rainforest	55	Cameroon	1.3	5%

Exhibit 8 contd.

Sampled BBC2 and C4 peak-time factual programmes on the Third World
(excluding wildlife, leisure interest and celebrity-led programmes)

Channel	TX Date	Title	Dur (mins)	Countries/Territories	Aud (m)	Aud Share
C4	28/02/94	Beyond the Clouds	60	China	3.1	15%
C4	03/03/94	Beyond the Clouds	60	China	1.7	7%
C4	07/03/94	Beyond the Clouds	60	China	1.6	7%
C4	10/03/94	Beyond the Clouds	60	China	1.8	7%
C4	14/03/94	Beyond the Clouds	60	China	2.2	11%
C4	17/03/94	Beyond the Clouds	60	China	1.7	8%
C4	21/03/94	Beyond the Clouds	60	China	2.1	10%
C4	03/02/96	Divine Magic	60	Mexico	1.3	5%
C4	13/03/94	Encounters	60	Mali	1.7	7%
C4	20/03/94	Encounters: Hoverdoctors	60	PN Guinea	2.5	11%
C4	27/02/94	Encounters: Lost Children of Angola	60	Angola	0.8	3%
C4	26/02/95	Encounters: The Gene Hunters	60	Colombia	0.7	3%
C4	01/02/94	Karachi Cops	30	Pakistan	2	9%
C4	08/02/94	Karachi Cops	30	Pakistan	1.7	8%
C4	01/02/96	Taste/Caribbean	30	Dominica	1.8	3%
C4	08/02/96	Taste/Caribbean	30	Jamalca	1.6	6%
C4	09/02/94	Travelog	30	Tanzania	2.5	11%
C4	28/02/96	Travelog	30	Ethiopia	1.8	8%
C4	27/03/96	Travelog	30	Laos	1.8	8%
C4	24/03/96	Travelog Treks	20	Mongolia	0.9	3%
C4	31/03/96	Travelog Treks	30	Zanzibar	1.3	6%

Source: BARB, Radio Times

27.25 hours (39 programmes) on BBC2
23.67 hours (34 programmes) on C4

1.55 million viewers average audience
6.7% average audience share

Conclusions & Recommendations



Testing the view that factual programmes filmed in developing countries are by far and away less popular than other types of programme, we find nearly 40% perform as well as, or better than average.

Pre-existing audience interest in wildlife, leisure pursuits and celebrity presenters explains the popularity of many of these. But more demanding and sophisticated images of life in developing countries continue to attract significant audience interest. Their success would seem to suggest that audience appetite for such narratives is not restricted to UK subjects and familiar cultures. Yet the future of such significant minority interest programmes seems doubtful given the rising pressure on producers and editors at BBC2 and C4 to deliver at least a 10% share of the audience.

In the light of this:

- 1) a reassessment of current thinking about the low popularity of sophisticated images of developing countries is long overdue.***

On the evidence of this sample, it is not only possible to engage significant audiences with such programming, but fairly common. The time is ripe for a reversal of the long term decline in factual programmes on developing

countries, their people and the environment in which they live.

- 2) An ongoing commitment to this kind of public service broadcasting should be reinforced as a matter of policy at every level within both BBC Television and Channel Four.***

In light of television's importance as the UK's primary source of information on the world in which we live, this commitment should unambiguously be made a matter of public record.

- 3) The agencies supporting 3WE believe further research in this key programming area is essential.***

They call upon the BBC, ITV, Channel Four and the Independent Television Commission to develop a better understanding of how and why mass audiences engage with images and narratives from developing countries.

- 4) Such research must be reinforced by a reversal of recent cuts in budgets, slots and resources for high quality factual programmes on overseas subjects which offer millions of viewers invaluable perspectives on an increasingly inter-connected world.***

Appendices



- Appendix I)Peak-time factual programmes filmed in the
Third World - February to March 1994**
- Appendix II)Peak-time factual programmes filmed in the
Third World - February to March 1995**
- Appendix III)Peak-time factual programmes filmed in the
Third World- February to March 1996**
- Appendix IV)Developing countries and territories featured
in the sample**

**Appendix I) Peak-time factual programmes filmed in the Third World
Feb - March 1994**

Channel	TX Date	Title	Dur (mins)	Countries/Territories	Aud (m)	Aud Share
BBC1	03/02/94	<i>Wildlife on One</i>	30	Kenya	6.5	N/A
BBC1	10/02/94	<i>Wildlife on One</i>	30	Israel	7.9	N/A
BBC1	24/02/94	<i>Wildlife on One</i>	30	Venezuela	6.1	N/A
BBC1	10/03/94	<i>Wildlife on One</i>	30	Africa	6.1	N/A
BBC1	17/03/94	<i>Wildlife on One</i>	30	Africa	5.6	28%
BBC2	01/02/94	<i>Assignment: The Disposables</i>	45	Colombia	1.6	7%
BBC2	08/02/94	<i>Assignment: Dynasty</i>	45	Pakistan	0.7	3%
BBC2	10/02/94	<i>Great Railway Journeys</i>	50	Bolivia	3.5	17%
BBC2	17/02/94	<i>Great Railway Journeys</i>	50	Pakistan	3.5	16%
BBC2	17/02/94	<i>Africawatch: A Day in the Masai Mara</i>	30	Africa	1.9	N/A
BBC2	01/03/94	<i>Assignment: Collaborators</i>	45	Israel	0.8	3%
BBC2	03/03/94	<i>In Search of Our Ancestors</i>	50	Kenya	3	13%
BBC2	08/03/94	<i>Forty Minutes</i>	40	Philippines	1.4	7%
BBC2	10/03/94	<i>In Search of Our Ancestors</i>	50	South Africa	2.6	11%
BBC2	12/03/94	<i>The Giant Awakens</i>	50	China	1.2	5%
BBC2	15/03/94	<i>Assignment: Mission Impossible</i>	45	Somalia	1	4%
BBC2	17/03/94	<i>Beloved Country</i>	30	South Africa	0.7	3%
BBC2	19/03/94	<i>The Giant Awakens</i>	50	China	0.9	4%
BBC2	23/03/94	<i>East</i>	30	Sri Lanka, Trinidad	1.1	4%
BBC2	24/03/94	<i>Beloved Country</i>	30	South Africa	1	5%
BBC2	26/03/94	<i>The Giant Awakens</i>	50	China	0.8	3%
BBC2	31/03/94	<i>Beloved Country</i>	30	South Africa	0.9	4%
C4	01/02/94	<i>Karachi Cops</i>	30	Pakistan	2	9%
C4	08/02/94	<i>Karachi Cops</i>	30	Pakistan	1.7	8%
C4	09/02/94	<i>Travelog</i>	30	Tanzania	2.5	11%
C4	11/02/94	<i>Nature Perfected</i>	30	India	2.2	9%
C4	13/02/94	<i>In Search of Noah's Ark</i>	55	Turkey	0.6	2%
C4	16/02/94	<i>A Taste of Africa</i>	30	Zimbabwe	2.3	9%
C4	19/02/94	<i>Baka: People of the Rainforest</i>	55	Cameroon	1.2	5%
C4	20/02/94	<i>Distant Echoes: Yo Yo Ma</i>	55	Africa	0.8	3%
C4	23/02/94	<i>A Taste of Africa</i>	30	Morocco	1.5	6%
C4	26/02/94	<i>Baka: People of the Rainforest</i>	55	Cameroon	1.3	5%
C4	27/02/94	<i>Encounters: Lost Children of Angola</i>	60	Angola	0.8	3%
C4	28/02/94	<i>Beyond the Clouds</i>	60	China	3.1	15%
C4	02/03/94	<i>A Taste of Africa</i>	30	Egypt	2.6	11%
C4	03/03/94	<i>Beyond the Clouds</i>	60	China	1.7	7%
C4	05/03/94	<i>Kingdoms in Conflict</i>	60	Kenya	1.8	8%
C4	07/03/94	<i>Beyond the Clouds</i>	60	China	1.6	7%
C4	09/03/94	<i>A Taste of Africa</i>	30	Tanzania	2.1	10%
C4	10/03/94	<i>Beyond the Clouds</i>	60	China	1.8	7%
C4	13/03/94	<i>Encounters</i>	60	Mali	1.7	7%
C4	14/03/94	<i>Beyond the Clouds</i>	60	China	2.2	11%
C4	16/03/94	<i>A Taste of Africa</i>	30	Mali	2.9	13%
C4	17/03/94	<i>Beyond the Clouds</i>	60	China	1.7	8%
C4	20/03/94	<i>Encounters: Hoverdoctors</i>	60	PN Guinea	2.5	11%
C4	21/03/94	<i>Beyond the Clouds</i>	60	China	2.1	10%
C4	23/03/94	<i>A Taste of Africa</i>	30	Ghana	2	9%
C4	27/03/94	<i>Encounters: Fight of the Rhino</i>	60	Zimbabwe	3.2	15%

Source: BARB, Radio Times

35.2 hours total (48 programmes)

32.7 hours (43 programmes) with audience share details available

10.3 hours (13 programmes) with audience share equal to, or above, relevant channel average

**Appendix II) Peak-time factual programmes filmed in the Third World
Feb - Mar 1995**

Channel	TX Date	Title	Dur (mins)	Countries/Territories	Aud (m)	Aud Share
BBC1	10/03/95	Billy Connolly's Nose & Beak	65	Mozambique	3.7	N/A
BBC2	01/02/95	Flamingowatch	15	Kenya	2.3	10%
BBC2	02/02/95	Flamingowatch	15	Kenya	1.5	N/A
BBC2	03/02/95	Flamingowatch	15	Kenya	2.1	10%
BBC2	04/02/95	Flamingowatch	15	Kenya	0.8	3%
BBC2	05/02/95	Reputations: Pablo Escobar	60	Colombia	2	12%
BBC2	05/02/95	Flamingowatch	45	Kenya	2.4	11%
BBC2	05/02/95	Rough Guide to the World	40	Bahamas	2.4	9%
BBC2	09/02/95	Jeremy Clarkson's Motorworld	30	India	6.2	26%
BBC2	11/02/95	Correspondent	45	Pakistan/S Africa	0.8	3%
BBC2	17/02/95	Our Man in... Goa	40	India	2.5	11%
BBC2	18/02/95	Correspondent	45	Iraq, Israel, Kyrgystan	0.6	N/A
BBC2	22/02/95	Modern Times	45	Gabon/UK	5.3	24%
BBC2	24/02/95	Gardeners' World	30	S Africa, Germany, UK	4.9	20%
BBC2	24/02/95	Our Man in... Havana	45	Cuba	2.4	10%
BBC2	25/02/95	Correspondent	35	Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Germany	0.7	3%
BBC2	27/02/95	Ruling Passions	30	Various	3	16%
BBC2	03/03/95	Gardeners' World	30	S Africa, UK	5.1	21%
BBC2	03/03/95	Our Man in... Masai, Mara	45	Kenya	2.5	10%
BBC2	04/03/95	Correspondent	45	Brazil, Spain	0.9	3%
BBC2	06/03/95	Ruling Passions	30	Various	2.7	14%
BBC2	06/03/95	Horizon: Exodus	50	Tanzania	1.4	5%
BBC2	07/03/95	Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India	30	India	3.3	13%
BBC2	10/03/95	Gardeners' World	30	S Africa, UK	4.6	20%
BBC2	11/03/95	Correspondent	45	W Sahara, Austria, US	1.4	5%
BBC2	11/03/95	Bookmark: Rumer Godden	60	India, UK	1	4%
BBC2	13/03/95	Ruling Passions	30	Kenya, Various	1.8	10%
BBC2	14/03/95	Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India	30	India	3.2	13%
BBC2	17/03/95	Gardeners' World	30	S Africa, UK	3.6	14%
BBC2	18/03/95	Correspondent	45	Haiti, Hungary	1	4%
BBC2	20/03/95	Ruling Passions	30	Various	1.7	10%
BBC2	21/03/95	Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India	30	India	3.5	15%
BBC2	23/03/95	Timewatch: Vietnam Stories	45	Vietnam, US	1.6	8%
BBC2	24/03/95	Our Man in... Dominica	45	Dominica	2.3	10%
BBC2	27/03/95	Ruling Passions	30	Various	1.8	10%
BBC2	28/03/95	Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India	30	India	2.9	12%
BBC2	28/03/95	East: Bandit Queen - True Lies?	30	India	1.1	5%
BBC2	30/03/95	Timewatch: Vietnam Stories	45	Vietnam, US	1.8	8%
C4	01/02/95	Travelog	30	Pakistan, Sweden	2.1	9%
C4	08/02/95	Travelog	30	Hong Kong, Macau	2.3	9%
C4	11/02/95	Keepers of the Kingdom	60	Ethiopia	1.5	5%
C4	12/02/95	Quest for the Ark	60	Turkey	2.6	9%
C4	18/02/95	Keepers of the Kingdom	60	S America (?)	1.9	7%
C4	25/02/95	Keepers of the Kingdom	60	Kenya	1.2	5%
C4	26/02/95	Encounters: The Gene Hunters	60	Colombia	0.7	3%
C4	27/02/95	The Tallest Story	30	Kenya	2.4	9%
C4	11/03/95	To the Island of the Aye Aye	60	Madagascar	1.2	5%
C4	13/03/95	Quetzal Cloud Forest	30	Mexico	2.1	8%
C4	19/03/95	Encounters: Stratosphere	60	Jordan	2.6	10%

Source: BARB, Radio Times

32.3 hours total (49 programmes)

30.3 hours (46 programmes) with audience share details available

13.9 hours (24 programmes) with audience share equal to, or above, relevant channel average

**Appendix III) Peak-time factual programmes filmed in the Third World
Feb - March 1996**

Channel	TX Date	Title	Dur (mins)	Countries/Territories	Aud (m)	Aud Share
BBC1	02/02/96	<i>Tomorrow's World in Bombay</i>	30	India	3.7	15%
BBC1	28/03/96	<i>Wildlife on One</i>	30	Africa	9.7	N/A
BBC2	04/02/96	<i>Natural World</i>	50	Tanzania	4.4	19%
BBC2	04/02/96	<i>The Big Trip</i>	45	Tobago, Morocco, Thailand	1.9	7%
BBC2	05/02/96	<i>Hidden Empire</i>	30	China	0.7	2%
BBC2	07/02/96	<i>Under the Sun: A Caterpillar Moon</i>	50	Central African Rep	2.6	11%
BBC2	08/02/96	<i>Jeremy Clarkson's Motorworld</i>	30	UAE	4.7	18%
BBC2	11/02/96	<i>The Big Trip</i>	45	Wind'd Is, Morocco, Malaysia	1.5	5%
BBC2	12/02/96	<i>Hidden Empire: Behind the Mask</i>	30	Benin	0.8	3%
BBC2	14/02/96	<i>Under the Sun: A Time to Woo</i>	50	Morocco	3.3	15%
BBC2	18/02/96	<i>Natural World</i>	50	Tanzania	3.9	17%
BBC2	24/02/96	<i>Correspondent</i>	45	India, Italy, Sierra Leone	0.9	4%
BBC2	28/02/96	<i>Under the Sun: Pilgrim's Gift</i>	50	Ethiopia	1	4%
BBC2	28/02/96	<i>Assignment: Guardians/Ayatollah</i>	45	Iran	0.7	3%
BBC2	02/03/96	<i>Correspondent</i>	45	India, Falkland Is	0.7	3%
BBC2	03/03/96	<i>The Big Trip</i>	45	Borneo, Cuba, Senegal	1.3	5%
BBC2	04/03/96	<i>The Big Trip</i>	45	Borneo, Cuba, Senegal	1.9	9%
BBC2	09/03/96	<i>Correspondent</i>	45	India, USA	1	4%
BBC2	10/03/96	<i>Natural World</i>	50	S Africa	4	19%
BBC2	10/03/96	<i>Our Man in... Lagos</i>	40	Nigeria	1.9	7%
BBC2	17/03/96	<i>Our Man in... Beirut</i>	40	Lebanon	2.1	8%
BBC2	23/03/96	<i>Correspondent</i>	45	Somaliland, Poland	1	4%
BBC2	24/03/96	<i>Our Man in... Calcutta</i>	40	India	2.5	10%
C4	01/02/96	<i>Taste/Caribbean</i>	30	Dominica	1.8	3%
C4	03/02/96	<i>Divine Magic</i>	60	Mexico	1.3	5%
C4	08/02/96	<i>Taste/Caribbean</i>	30	Jamaica	1.6	6%
C4	14/02/96	<i>Travelog</i>	30	Albania, UK	2.3	10%
C4	19/02/96	<i>Screaming Reels</i>	30	Anguilla, UK	1.5	5%
C4	21/02/96	<i>Travelog</i>	30	Yemen, France	2.5	10%
C4	24/02/96	<i>Hidden Kingdoms</i>	60	Ethiopia	1.9	7%
C4	25/02/96	<i>Shark Shocker</i>	60	S Africa	1.8	7%
C4	28/02/96	<i>Travelog</i>	30	Ethiopia	1.8	8%
C4	29/02/96	<i>Africa Express</i>	30	Uganda, Zaire, S Africa	0.9	4%
C4	02/03/96	<i>Hidden Kingdoms</i>	60	Nepal, Alaska	2	8%
C4	07/03/96	<i>Africa Express</i>	30	Congo, Gambia, S Africa	0.9	4%
C4	09/03/96	<i>Hidden Kingdoms</i>	60	Kenya	1.7	7%
C4	10/03/96	<i>Travelog Treks</i>	10	Belize	1	3%
C4	14/03/96	<i>Africa Express</i>	30	S Africa, Ethiopia, Zaire	0.7	3%
C4	16/03/96	<i>Hidden Kingdoms</i>	60	Kenya	2.1	8%
C4	20/03/96	<i>Travelog</i>	30	USA, Panama, Egypt	2.2	10%
C4	21/03/96	<i>Africa Express</i>	30	Angola, Gambia, Moz'bique	1	4%
C4	24/03/96	<i>Travelog Treks</i>	20	Mongolia	0.9	3%
C4	27/03/96	<i>Travelog</i>	30	Laos	1.8	8%
C4	28/03/96	<i>Africa Express</i>	30	S Africa, Eritrea, Zimbabwe	0.5	2%
C4	31/03/96	<i>Travelog Treks</i>	30	Zanzibar	1.3	6%
ITV	08/02/96	<i>Survival</i>	30	Israel	5.8	N/A

Source: BARB, Radio Times

30.3 hours total (46 programmes)

29.3 hours (44 programmes) with audience share details available

6.8 hours (10 programmes) with audience share equal to, or above, relevant channel average

Appendix IV)

**67 Developing countries and territories were featured in the sampled factual programmes.
They were:**

Afghanistan	Kyrgystan	Yemen
Albania	Laos	Zaire
Angola	Lebanon	Zimbabwe
Anguilla	Madagascar	
Bahamas	Malaysia	
Belize	Mali	
Benin	Mexico	
Bolivia	Mongolia	
Borneo	Morocco	
Brazil	Mozambique	
Cameroon	Nepal	
Central African Rep	Nigeria	
China	Pakistan	
Colombia	Panama	
Congo	Papua New Guinea	
Cuba	Philippines	
Dominica	Senegal	
Egypt	Sierra Leone	
Eritrea	Somalia	
Ethiopia	Somaliland	
Gabon	South Africa	
Gambia	Sri Lanka	
Ghana	Tanzania	
Haiti	Thailand	
Hong Kong / Macau	Trinidad & Tobago	
India	Turkey	
Iran	Uganda	
Iraq	United Arab Emirates	
Israel / Palestine	Venezuela	
Jamaica	Vietnam	
Jordan	Western Sahara	
Kenya	Windward Is	