

**Live 8**  
A Study on the Performance of Citizenship and Propaganda

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## ABSTRACT

### **LIVE 8**

#### A STUDY ON THE PERFORMANCE OF CITIZENSHIP AND PROPAGANDA

Valerie Khayat

In western society, large-scale campaigns have been widely used to address social and environmental crises. In recent years, mass media and media convergence have produced within the realm of this phenomenon, a new interactive space in which publics are invited to participate and called upon as citizens. A significant corpus of academic research has studied these occasions through the themes of media rituals, celebrity diplomacy, global policy and “compassion fatigue”. This research uses the 2005 *Live 8* campaign as a case study combining perspectives on media events, Jacques Ellul’s writings on propaganda and a rhetorical analysis in order to understand the techniques, which made *Live 8* successful at mobilizing masses all around the world. The present study speaks to thought and action in relation to mobilization within a mediated environment for a global humanitarian crisis. Ultimately this research bridges the aspect of performance with citizenship and propaganda, into the question of whether contemporary media events, through their means of mobilization and civic participation, give way to a performance of citizenship.

## *Dedication*

This thesis is dedicated  
to my father Alexandre Khayat  
who, in so many ways, is a fourth member of my committee.  
I am grateful for our discussions during many lunches together  
and for his precious support in all that I do.

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## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b>PREFACE</b>	1
<b>CHAPTER I</b>	<b>4</b>
<i>LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY</i>	
Mediatizing Humanitarianism	5
Consuming Human Rights	8
Mediatizing Events	13
Methodology	15
<b>CHAPTER II</b>	<b>22</b>
<i>TECHNOLOGY</i>	
“Aid” to “8	22
Hybridity	26
From Festivity and Disaster to Revolution	27
A Technological Brotherhood/Sisterhood	31
A Mediated Life-world	34
United in Conquest	38
<b>CHAPTER III</b>	<b>40</b>
<i>MOBILIZATION</i>	
A Sociological Phenomenon	42
Way of Life	45
Myths and Ideologies	50
Agitation of the Modern Man	52
Citizenship as the Need	56
<b>CHAPTER IV</b>	<b>60</b>
<i>CITIZENSHIP</i>	
<i>Live 8</i> , a Rhetorical Event	62
A Rhetorical Analysis	63
The Reconstitutive Model of <i>Live 8</i> 's Rhetoric	65
Memorable Personae	67
The <i>Global Citizen</i>	71
To be or not to be, a global citizen?	74
<b>CHAPTER V</b>	<b>77</b>
<i>CONCLUSION</i>	
The Public, Performance & Citizenship	78
A “Sociologically Performative Propaganda”: Total and Mediated	80
A Virtual Theatre	82
Citizen-witnesses	84
The Historical and Narrative Dimensions	84
Duty & the Citizen-witness	85
Final Reflections	87
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	89
<b>APPENDIX A</b>	95
<b>APPENDIX B</b>	96
<b>APPENDIX C</b>	97

## PREFACE

My interest in Jacques Ellul's work dates back to my time in a course on propaganda taken with my thesis supervisor, Dr. Dennis Murphy, in the fall of 2003. Ellul's theory of propaganda as a sociological phenomenon particularly, remained a strong interest of mine throughout the years following the completion of my BA in Concordia University's Communication Studies Department. In later years, further studies in political philosophy with Dr. Pablo Gilabert allowed me to explore an array of theories and approaches to issues of global justice in connection to concepts of consciousness, identity and duty. Finally, my research work for Dr. Robert Danisch concerning rhetoric in relation to citizenship and democracy introduced me to yet another rich analytical perspective for my own work.

Over the years, my experiences relating to raising awareness about different communities, deepened my interest in the topic of mass persuasion. In addition, my own involvement as a poet and musician helping to mobilize publics for social causes and humanitarian events, led me to pay greater attention to the process of mobilization. I began to reflect more closely upon the ways in which mainstream media represents causes and the means used to mobilize individuals. I began questioning more specifically the impact of mass humanitarian efforts on individuals' perception of themselves in the world as well as the events' general potential to truly affect revolutionary change. In the spring of 2007, I stepped off the stage following a performance at an event for a social cause. I was approached and congratulated by an audience member who told me at once that he had greatly enjoyed my performance but that he "completely disagreed" with my political views, which resonated with the cause. This encounter reminded me of the

power that music and technology hold in disseminating information and mobilizing individuals and ultimately led me to further reflect and develop the following study.

Mass mediated events today have all the resources necessary to mobilize individuals and command their attention. What is more, this can now be done on a global scale. Television and the Internet combined have become effective platforms to reach even larger publics for various campaigns. Founded on themes of fraternity and solidarity, these campaigns strive to mobilize masses to denounce such issues as violence, oppression and inequality. This form of humanitarian effort, which at first glance appears noble and essentially positive through its efforts to raise awareness, often instantly moves individuals to participate without question. Most often, we overlook the bases of the messages that are used to solicit our very participation and why they are so effective in doing so.

In shifting attention to this facet, I am suggesting that there is a distinction to be made between (1) the immediate success of mobilizing masses through apparent moments of “global” unity and (2) the effects of the beliefs that are reinforced by the very messages used for mobilization purposes. Although these two facets of humanitarian efforts seem to often be blurred into one another, they need to be examined individually. I am proposing highlighting that space between them.

In contemporary times, and in consumer societies especially, mass mediated campaigns often unfold in an atmosphere of entertainment. Elements of consumerism still remain an important part of the phenomenon. My own experience as a performing artist has also brought me the realization that most individuals do want to ultimately be entertained regardless of the mission or the nature of the event they are attending. This

does not mean however, that mass mediated events are simply ventures of mass consumption and that their participants are but seekers of entertainment. Moreover, today, these campaigns no longer only address their publics as consumers or donors but promote participation as “civic action”. Thus, it is worth considering that what moves individuals to action runs deeper than consumerist motives and involves an intricate process of persuasion.



## **CHAPTER 1:**

### *Literature Review / Methodology*

*Live 8* belongs to a form of contemporary and mediated mass campaigns/telethons or “hybrid phenomena” (Hepp & Krönert, 2010, p.266) that are, as some would say, the result of a recent humanitarian boom which speaks to the duty of a privileged global citizen today and the urge to mobilize. Because an event like *Live 8* can have more than one classification, the wider thematic angle under which events of its kind have been studied is varied. The literature relating to such events/campaigns and the analysis in which *Live 8* has been specifically referenced, extends into a wide range of topics: humanitarianism, morality & the media, human rights, celebrity diplomacy, global policy, citizenship, etc. In the midst of *Live 8*’s attempt to unite the world through protest, its impact and purpose were undoubtedly dependent upon new media technologies. They were not only a way of relaying information and broadcasting live happenings but symbolically carried the themes of unity and solidarity in them. We may posit that technology was at the heart of the event’s very existence and of the *Live 8* experience. Media in *Live 8* connected and allowed for individuals in different parts of the world to experience simultaneously what was defined as a global protest and all this with the “liveness” that is so enthralling of media events. Still, *Live 8* is not solely a media “event”. It remains a mass humanitarian campaign that sought to mobilize with a precise goal: pressure eight politicians in order to move them to implement better conditions for the poorest in the world in terms of debt, aid and trade relations. The hybrid nature of a

mediated event/campaign such as *Live 8* and the environment within which it manifested itself, invite us to consider yet a new form of media event for contemporary times, one which also presents an opportunity for a new multi-faceted approach to understanding the themes of consensus and citizenship at the heart of these occasions.

### ***Mediatizing Humanitarianism***

In contemporary western society, mass (multi)media campaigns have been widely used to address humanitarian crises and as a means of sensitizing audiences to the plight of underdeveloped countries. They have become “media events” in their own right. We note this trend through such events as Bob Geldof’s *Live Aid* (1985) & *Live 8* (2005), Al Gore’s *Live Earth*, the *46664* event celebrating Nelson Mandela’s 90<sup>th</sup> birthday and AIDS charity and most recently, Guy Laliberté’s *One Drop* global campaign. Katz and Liebes differentiate between festive, ceremonial events and extended coverage of tragedy: “In comparing ceremonial and traumatic events, we noted that the former are pre-planned and integrative, even when they end badly, whereas the latter are unwelcomed outbursts of disruption and despair” (2010, p.39). *Live 8* presents a fusion of these two categories. It was an event based on the ongoing tragedy that is global poverty. Yet, it unfolded in an atmosphere of festivity and hopefulness all the while also existing as a humanitarian effort striving to mobilize masses into action with a specific mission.

More recently, new media technologies have allowed organizers to have a more significant reach during the process of publicizing their causes as the Internet and television particularly, have facilitated the flow of information across continents and physical space. As Rivenburgh explains, “images and information now move effortlessly

through interconnected media networks” (2010, p.187). Ignatieff notes the power of television “to forge a direct relation of people to people” and speaks about “the internationalization of conscience” through events such as *Live Aid*, *Live 8*’s predecessor (1998, p.10). The phenomenon of globalization, the impression of a seemingly shrinking planet created by these networks, and the circulation of images and information about other realities around the world set the ground for these humanitarian agencies and human rights advocates’ appeals to the public. It is safe to say that media convergence and access to the mass media have significantly altered and benefited campaigning in terms of available resources and strategies. But this greater platform and the ability to reach wider audiences have also resulted in a more competitive environment. In their research on the aid-media field, Cottle and Nolan write:

Humanitarian organizations today confront a globalizing, increasingly competitive, media environment characterized by new communication technologies and unprecedented 24/7 “real-time” capabilities; they co-exist and compete for media attention and donor funds within an increasingly crowded humanitarian aid field. (2007, p.863)

According to Cottle and Nolan, media now dictates the ways in which NGOs must operate in order to gain exposure for their various causes. Mass media has become crucial to the success of campaigns: “Journalism serves as a bridge linking aid agencies and the work that they do in the field, with publics and potential donors” (Cottle & Nolan, 2007, p.863).

The infiltration of humanitarianism in mainstream discourse has given way to an array of reports about disasters and crises. “Live broadcasting of disruptive events such as Disaster, Terror and War are taking center stage” (Katz & Liebes, 2010, p.33). But increased exposure of these realities means that potential donors become exposed

to more facts and sensational images all at once. As in any other context, repeated exposure to certain stimuli can result in desensitization. In 1759, Adam Smith (1976) cautioned that indifference could result from overexposure to suffering. This remains a concern that has still been widely discussed in more recent times (Tester, 1994; Moeller, 1999; Tester, 2001)) in relation to humanitarian appeals as well as issues surrounding mediated suffering and disaster through the coined term “compassion fatigue”. Moeller (1999) contends that “compassion fatigue is at the base of many of the complaints about the public’s short attention span, the media’s peripatetic journalism, the public’s boredom with international news, the media’s preoccupation with crisis coverage” (p.2). Tester (1994) also refers to this phenomenon when he suggests that perhaps media and its images of suffering diminish an audience’s ability to act due to this desensitization. Audiences’ growing tolerance to graphic images is an important and valid area of investigation; failing to evoke compassion in donors can greatly impact the success of a campaign. This approach, however, limits the basis of analysis to mostly the visual realm (Delicath & Deluca, 2003; Desnoës, 1988) and significantly narrows discussion. It reduces the understanding of the driving forces behind such campaigns to emotional appeals, spectacle (Debord, 1995; Kellner, 2010) and suffering. While these components remain part of these contemporary campaign/media events, they are not always principally based on them, as it was the case in *Live 8* for which the premise was presented as political justice. Compassion was certainly not excluded as an instigating force on which to capitalize. However, it was the invitation to be part of a global movement rather that was emphasized. Few images of extreme poverty in Africa were used in *Live 8* campaigning materials and at the

event itself. The fact that organizers' consciously decided to nullify *Live 8*'s fundraising dimension and thus not base the majority of the mobilization efforts on the grounds of compassion or sensationalistic images, opens analysis to a more intricate set of considerations. This approach can then foster an understanding in such a way that *Live 8* becomes a case study which places itself as part of a greater contemporary phenomenon within the scope of mass behaviors and shared events with its relevance resonating with other occasions of its kind, beyond human rights causes all the while promoting reflection about citizenship, mobilization and mass media's impact on them.

### ***Consuming Human Rights***

The use of sensationalistic aesthetics in campaigns has given rise to the view that humanitarian texts are "consumed" by their audiences. Such a perspective explicitly positions audience members as consumers with the assumption that the disaster or cause in question has undergone a process of commodification. In his study of humanitarianism in the second decade of the twentieth century, Rozario (2003) explores the use of print media as a publicizing tool and catalyst for the phenomenon as we know it today. He suggests that humanitarianism in contemporary times as "an ideal and a practice", as he describes it, is a "creation" of sensationalistic mass culture:

A careful look at charitable publications over this formative period discloses surprising similarities in the presentation and consumption of charity texts and the pulp magazines, advertisements, and commercial movies of an increasingly entertainment-oriented culture. As it turns out, it was only when philanthropy became a marketing venture and when donors began to be treated and courted as consumers who had to be entertained that philanthropy could become a mass phenomenon. (p.419)

Taking *Live 8* as a case study, Compton and Comor speak of the creation of what they term an “integrated news spectacle” resulting from news being “conceptualized, distributed and consumed” by media corporations through broadband technologies (2007, p.29). It may not be false to state that humanitarian efforts today court audiences as consumers within an environment of entertainment. However, investigating the underlying structure of philanthropic events through the lens of mass persuasion debunks consumption and entertainment as the sole catalysts in constituting philanthropy as a contemporary mass phenomenon. We may also consider its “massification” as a process facilitated by mass media which reaches, all at once, the masses and the individual while answering modern man’s need to resolve society’s conflicts and his need for self-affirmation (Ellul, 1973, p.8). Mass media then does not stand simply as the cause but as a vehicle through which we may observe important characteristics of contemporary society manifesting themselves.

The view that charity texts are simply consumed presents another implication in that it attributes a power struggle to the dynamic of donor and victim. In her analysis of humanitarian appeals concerning child-soldiers Shultheis states that “viewers as consumers may find themselves similarly chosen to become heroes in the production of their own newly globalized, highly stylized humanitarian autobiographies” (2008, p.3). The fact that the humanitarian mission is often glamorized in addition to these campaigns being produced by and addressing themselves to the western-industrialized world, has fueled suspicion regarding the banners of human rights and equality under which they are often presented. In her analysis of *Live 8* Biccum remarks:

In addition, *Live 8* became a success story for the freedom of choice available for consumption in the free market economy, made possible via new technologies. Freedom amounts to the freedom to keep shopping, fair-trade becomes the means by which metropolitan consumers can bring Africans into the global economy, and a guitar-shaped Africa becomes the commodity fetish symbolizing democracy and justice. (2008, p.1121)

Ratna Kapur speaks of the “dark side” of human rights and also contextualizes their emergence from within the liberal tradition. According to Kapur, human rights discourse “not only incorporates arguments about freedom and equal worth but it also incorporates arguments about civilization, cultural backwardness, racial and religious superiority” (2008, p.40). The argument of neo-colonial and consumerist undertones has found weight particularly through the presence of the (often white) western mediating individual, such as celebrities, that introduces audiences to these causes.

Wars and ongoing humanitarian crises have permeated the mainstream not only through news coverage but also in film, music, popular culture and the entertainment industry. It is no surprise then that the prevalence of discourses surrounding human rights and crises should extend to celebrity culture and that celebrities should become more involved with humanitarian issues and large-scale campaigns. Huddart (2005) notes that in recent years celebrity spokespersons and endorsers have been on the rise exponentially and that it is common for charities to offer product endorsement packages. Making use of celebrities as spokespersons, however, is not new. It has existed since the 1920s. Edward Bernays, the purported father of the public relations field first put this technique to use with products in order to entice audiences to consume a certain brand or commodity. Already in 1946, Merton produced a seminal study on mass persuasion through a case study of the psychology behind a war bond drive hosted by Kate Smith a popular

American radio host/celebrity. Merton's analysis is rich and meticulous but the way in which his insights may inform us today is limited because his case study does not include the components of media convergence and the global dimension featured in *Live 8* and other similar campaigns. *Live 8*, through its use of various types of media features a mass persuasion process that is "total" (Ellul, 1973).

Skepticism about the authenticity of intentions and the commodification of causes are not the only criticism to result from this area of inquiry. It is also important to consider that the "ambassadors" for these causes and the environment that is created profoundly influences the position each individual will adopt towards the crisis and his/her understanding of it. More recently, this growing trend of celebrities acting as spokespersons for tragedies has generated research specifically on celebrity diplomacy's impact on global policy (Cooper, 2007; Cooper, 2008; Cottle & Nolan, 2007; de Waal 2008; Huddart, 2005; Richey & Ponte, 2008). Richey and Ponte explore the topic of development aid using as a case study the Product (Red)<sup>TM</sup> campaign that was launched in 2006 to fight AIDS in Africa with its main "celebrity advocates" Bono, Jeffrey Sachs and Paul Farmer. They examine the elements of commodity fetishism, the framing of AIDS in the campaign and development aid through celebrity diplomacy and a focus on helping through consumption. The authors argue that through this process, the campaign veers attention away from the causes of poverty namely "the social and environmental relations of trade that underpin, poverty, inequality and disease" (2008, p.711). Richey and Ponte suggest that while celebrities seem to be working out of and against "the system", they in actuality hold some power in affecting global policy because they become entwined in this very system.



The hegemonic tendencies these campaigns support (and in which they may be rooted) deserve acknowledgment but such analyses focus on their suspicious nature and assume at the outset that these events serve a neo-liberal agenda or the status quo. Such an approach fails to consider these events on their own terms. If we remember that *Live 8* was primarily a mobilization effort and if for a moment we go beyond explanations which narrow in on spectacle or consumption, we are moved to view the event as an amalgamation of instigating components that speak to thought in a mediated environment as well as to mass behaviors. *Live 8*'s collective dimension and its atmosphere of crisis were central to its experience. Jacques Ellul speaks at length of the modern citizen living in a mediated environment. In his detailed account of the conditions that make propaganda possible, he mentions the importance of the feeling of togetherness. He adds that among other conditions, "propaganda becomes possible when people develop a consciousness of general problems and specific responses to them" (1973, p.114). No analysis has yet explored *Live 8* through a propaganda perspective or one as extensive and unique as Ellul's. Considering the latter, it is worthwhile asking how *Live 8* framed citizenship, in what ways its public was encouraged to enact it and most importantly, why this public was ready to participate in such large numbers. The new mobilization strategies that have been developed in concert with the mass media and which incorporate mainstream components in order to attract public support have often become the starting point and focus of analysis and have produced speculations concerning the essential impact of these events.

### *Mediatizing Events*

Media Events in relation to rituals have been studied for their power to unite individuals (Carey, 1989; Curran, ; Couldry, 2003; Dayan & Katz, 1992; Merton, 1946; Lang & Lang, 1984[1953]; Shils & Young, 1975[1956]) as well as for their divisive effects (Carey 1998; Fisk, 1994; Yadgar, 2003). In Dayan and Katz's (1992) seminal study on media events, the authors outline and explore media events as high holidays of celebration and breaks in the routine of everyday reporting. These events are said to transform space and an individual's sense of place and identity in the world since the everyday seems to be suspended during this time and the world reborn (p.165). According to the authors' analysis, media require the consent and active involvement of the viewer. Dayan and Katz run through a list of aesthetics of television that enable ritual participation such as free and equal access, liminal space, rehearsing the ritual order and positioning the viewer as a participant and observer (p.120). Questions pertaining more precisely to citizenship and political participation in *Live 8* have also been addressed by other scholars but again, offer a narrower analysis of these events. Biccum describes *Live 8* as a "megaspectacle of global citizenship" in which "the global citizen embraces the architecture of globalization under neoliberal terms of trade and admits to the necessity of development as a crucial function of that architecture" (2008, p.1123). Street and Hague explore how "music and musicians can create forms of political participation" and "how, if this is possible, such participation might be studied" (2006, p.283). More than posing the question of whether *Live 8*'s model of civic participation counts as a legitimate one, this thesis suggests exploring how *Live 8* successfully constituted itself as a social movement to the public and the latter's effect on the definition of citizenship and

participants' perception of the world. To this end, literature in the field of rhetoric enables a rich analysis of the way citizenship was constituted and *Live 8*'s audience reconstituted during the campaign.

Unlike Cottle (2006), Dayan and Katz depict media events as hegemonic in that they "socialize citizens to the political structure of society" (1992, p.201). Cottle acknowledges their complexity and refrains from assuming that they simply manufacture consent among the masses. He addresses the potential they have to mobilize collective sentiments and express how the world ought to be. This connects to Couldry's claim that media events are constructions and not expressions of the social order (2003, p.56). Couldry views media events as large collections of actions across multiple locations and the affirmation of a social collectivity through a certain framing (2003, p.59). We can say that at the basis, there is a shared assumption throughout the literature that these occasions, in broadest terms, speak to consensus and identity while shaping their audience's comprehension of the world. This being said, one can also understand such humanitarian efforts / media events as framing a reality, an occasion or as expressing societal ideals in a specific manner.

The collective, mediated and live qualities of contemporary campaigns such as *Live 8* are what make the literature on media events particularly relevant to this analysis as well. But while media events literature focuses largely on the hegemonic or socially integrative features of these events as well as the conflict that may exist within them, this thesis suggests a different focus than the one that questions whether they are socially integrative or not. It proposes asking *why* they may be socially integrative rather than not.

Although increased cynicism and a declining centrality of media events is being observed (Katz & Liebes, 2010, p.34), we must note that *Live 8* as an event did succeed at mobilizing and garnering the support of billions of individuals around the world. Dayan (2010) explains that his and Katz' original definition (1992) of media events makes a distinction with ordinary news in that media events invite audiences to participate, to cease being spectators and to become witnesses or participants of a television performance. Unlike many traditional campaigns including its predecessor *Live Aid* in 1985, *Live 8* did exactly this; it took the novel approach of promoting action and being informed, instead of spectatorship and participation limited to monetary donation, in an attempt to reconstitute and politicize audience members. This striving towards moving masses into action can be understood as the ultimate goal of propaganda in Ellulian (1973) terms. This thesis asks *how* these contemporary media events/campaigns are capable of mobilizing so many individuals and *why* these individuals so willingly take part and take action in these occasions, for the most part almost instantly. Thus the combination of elements and the various facets (technology, mobilization and citizenship) that these contemporary events redefine necessitate a multi-faceted analysis to understand them in their totality.

### **Methodology**

With its celebrity ambassadors, popular music concerts and sponsors like MTV, it may seem intuitive to criticize the phenomenon of contemporary mediated events/campaigns from a suspicious position and question the authenticity of their benevolent intent or revolutionary effects. However, this thesis represents a study with the goal of

understanding the role and place of such occasions in contemporary times as a whole. Using *Live 8* as a case study, it combines a rhetorical analysis with perspectives on literature in the field of mass persuasion using as a sounding board Jacques Ellul's theories from his study on the topic in *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (1973) as it provides the most extensive study of its kind on propaganda as a sociological phenomenon. Ellul's insights allow for a more complete perspective and understanding of what moves groups of individuals to action in a mediated environment and in the context of the formation of beliefs as well as the reception of information on a daily basis. Action becomes the product of an intricate and ongoing sociological process.

As mentioned, a notable characteristic of *Live 8*, which distinguishes it from other campaigns, is that it was not publicized as an effort for charity but rather, a call for political justice. The event was presented as a political movement though its nature was a humanitarian campaign with music concerts in which billions around the world were mobilized into action. In this respect, it becomes valuable to approach the case study from the standpoint of mass persuasion/propaganda defined as an adherence to a message with one's whole being and without thought (Ellul, 1973). For one, the event spoke to a mobilization founded on ideals of human rights and justice that addressed the masses as global citizens (and as the organizers' constituency) and attempted to politicize them as participants. Most interestingly, *Live 8* was a cause, which was regarded as "good" and legitimate and to which pluralistic publics around the world were ready to participate almost instantly. This last characteristic of *Live 8* particularly speaks to Ellul's theories on how we give credence to such messages in contemporary mediated societies. What is most stirring about Ellul's theory is that it challenges the common conceptions of

propaganda. To understand this phenomenon in his terms, is to acknowledge that propaganda is at work as soon as a message is embraced without any critical thought process. It also challenges the notion that something can only be claimed as related to propaganda if it serves a negative purpose or mission. In this respect, *Live 8* becomes an interesting case study because it would not be thought of as connected to propaganda by most individuals. In suggesting an investigation of *Live 8* in a propaganda context, this thesis exemplifies the latter while revealing the sociological dimension of *Live 8* in Ellulian terms.

It is important to remark here that in the explanation of their methodological framework for studying media events, Dayan & Katz make an important statement that is particularly relevant to understanding the essence of this thesis on *Live 8*:

By taking short-run change as its centerpiece, persuasion research fails to treat reinforcement seriously, even if it is an everyday finding that prior opinions and attitudes are more likely to be strengthened than to be changed as a result of exposure to mass communications (Ball-Rokeach, 1985). (1992, p.223)

Yet Ellul's theory of mass persuasion distinguishes itself precisely, among other features, by addressing the object of Dayan and Katz's very criticism above:

The aim of modern propaganda is no longer to modify ideas, but to provoke action. It is no longer to change adherence to a doctrine, but to make the individual cling irrationally to a process of action. It is no longer to lead to a choice, but to loosen the reflexes. It is no longer to transform opinion, but to arouse an active and mythical belief. (1973, p.25)

Ellul's theory of mass persuasion is one that defines the phenomenon as a complex process that short-circuits thought. It builds on pre-existing beliefs, myths and prejudice that are continuously cultivated within the individual and which enable his/her rise to

action in a spontaneous fashion as if that individual had *seemingly* been converted to an entire new set of beliefs.

The unique aspects of Ellul's extensive writings on propaganda have been used as a central resource to elucidate the processes of mass persuasion (Marlin, 2003), to discuss the technological society (Szanto, 1978; Vanderburg, 2004) as well as in specific case studies demonstrating the manifestation of sociological propaganda (Goss, 2007; St. John III, 2010). But still, as Willem H. Vanderburg states in a celebratory issue of the thinker's work: "the number of scholars that continue to work with the insights of Jacques Ellul is relatively small" (2004, Editorial). Concerning studies pertaining to media events and *Live 8* particularly, Ellul's work has not been used. It is all of the latter that influenced the decision to apply Jacques Ellul's work here as a major analytical source as it at once brings to the forefront important and novel features in his theoretical model for understanding mass persuasion. Through this case study of *Live 8*, Ellul's writings also offer a reflection that moves beyond media events exclusively to a general rise to consciousness about the beliefs we willingly cultivate and our responsibility in thinking critically in contemporary mediated society.

This study of *Live 8* consists in an analysis of messages that the campaign disseminated, the values it promoted and the world it constituted within a mediated environment while considering Ellul's theories and complementing them with a rhetorical analysis of the speeches during the event itself. In doing so, it seeks to provide an understanding of the event as a whole through the perspective of mass persuasion while including an analysis of the reconstitutive nature of the event on a rhetorical level.

Aristotle (2004) regarded rhetoric as a form of knowledge and an art with an

implicit political connection. Rhetoric consists in a civic discourse about judging, community values and what should be valued. Aristotle's writings speak to a technique that observes the available means of persuasion through the combination of *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos*. Herrick describes rhetoric as "planned", "shaped by human motives", "responsive to a situation", "persuasion-seeking" and, very importantly, "adapted to an audience" (2001, pp.9-10). From this perspective, identification is a key component of rhetoric (Aristotle, 2004; Burke, 1969) A speaker must know his or her audience and address them in such a way that a process of identification ensues and his/her argument becomes persuasive. Individuals are persuaded because they identify with a speaker and or his/her message. Black (1970), through his theory of the second persona states that rhetoric manifests a particular ethos and invites the audience to step into that ethos. Individuals become moved and transformed (Burke, 1969). Through rhetoric, a collectivity can also become constructed (Charland, 1987). That is to say, rhetoric can be constitutive. This last aspect is central to *Live 8's* rhetoric. *Live 8* as an event, transformed its identity of charity effort into the one of a political movement that addressed citizens. To successfully move its public to action then, it was necessary for individuals' existing identity as music fans and spectators to be transformed into the one of active citizens through rhetoric. In other words, this required a discourse that was not only constitutive but *reconstitutive* in nature (Hammerback & Jensen, 1998).

This thesis positions *Live 8* at the center of this analysis to explore it in relation to different fields of study that all strongly take into consideration the theme of citizenship. That is to say, that *Live 8* stands as the starting point of the analysis, which builds upon the theme of citizenship. To this end, discussion is divided into three main topics:



Technology, Mobilization and Citizenship which represent the foundational elements of *Live 8* as well as some crucial avenues to explore in order to understand the *Live 8* phenomenon on its own terms and as a whole. This work is informed by authors having produced seminal works in their respective fields; Dayan and Katz for media events and Jacques Ellul for propaganda. Rhetoric is chosen as a third field to complement this study since oration was a central feature in *Live 8*. The corresponding chapter is built upon the observation that *Live 8* reconstituted its audience into politicized participants and active “citizens”. The approach is thus not a general one within the field of rhetoric. It is focused on the reconstitutive discourse theory to which the present rhetorical analysis ultimately makes a contribution as well.

Chapter two begins by situating *Live 8* as a media event and unpacking its hybridity according to parameters provided in the most important study on media events (Dayan & Katz, 1992). In clearly demonstrating how *Live 8* qualifies as a media event, it elucidates the legitimacy it was afforded and how it could monopolize attention as a worthy break in routine in the media. *Live 8*'s hybridity stems from its self-proclaimed label of political movement. As a result its constitution also bore a resemblance to a microcosmic political structure of a state with leaders. This component particularly makes the event relevant to Ellul's writings on persuasion. Chapter three focuses on specific aspects of Jacques Ellul's propaganda theory illustrated within *Live 8*: the sociological dimension of mass persuasion, its reinforcement of pre-existing myths and beliefs and its fulfillment of a need in the individual. Chapter four introduces a rhetorical analysis that elaborates and defines the notion of the global citizen within the event as a refined and necessary process of reconstitution.

In many ways, this methodology is one that comes to reflect the hybrid nature of *Live 8* as a contemporary media event; a methodology that encompasses many distinct elements belonging to different scholarly fields and analytical perspectives. Literature about Ellul's writings has largely focused on the myth related aspects of his work or applied his sociological propaganda theory to case studies. While this thesis does unveil the presence of various components of the scholar's theories within *Live 8*, it, in addition, offers a contribution to his propaganda theory for contemporary times. Ultimately this research bridges the aspect of performance in media events with citizenship and propaganda, into the question of whether contemporary manifestations of media events and their means of mobilization and civic participation give way to a performance of citizenship. Furthermore, this study is undertaken in the spirit of a general reflection about whether *Live 8* in the end produced new creative ways of mobilizing and informed its public or if it merely reinforced pre-existing beliefs and propagated myths.

## CHAPTER 2: TECHNOLOGY

*“The mass media provoke an intense participation in the life of a group and in collective activities; they provide a strong feeling of community. In our society, the individual communicates with the group only through the mass media of information.”*

(Ellul, 1973, p.210)

### *“Aid” to “8”*

On July 2<sup>nd</sup> 2005, *Live 8* presented a series of ten concerts, five of which were broadcasted simultaneously on four different continents over a period of ten hours with an additional final concert in Edinburgh on July 6<sup>th</sup>. In the context of the approaching G8 summit, the goal was to pressure eight politicians with a feeling of accountability through the gaze of the global community while they made decisions that affected the world's poorest in terms of debt, aid and trade relations. To this end, *Live 8* required a mobilization of the masses in order to exert this pressure on the largest scale possible. The demands to the rich nations were as follows: “First double aid to \$50 billion a year, and improve its quality. Second, wipe away 100 per cent of the debts of the world's poorest countries. And third, reform world trade – scrapping subsidies to our farmers and their cows – to end the system's bias against the poor” (Paul Valley, Official *Live 8* DVD booklet, n.p.). Hundreds of thousands around the world attended concerts and an estimated 3 billion viewers tuned in to “make poverty history”(www.live8live.com).

Years earlier in 1985 as famine ravaged Ethiopia, Bob Geldof rallied together fellow musicians and spearheaded a campaign titled *Live Aid* to raise funds for the

victims and bring awareness to the fast unfolding tragedy. Inspired by past mass charity efforts, *Live Aid* was also innovative in that it was the first global humanitarian effort; with concerts held in two different continents as part of the same event. Huddart explains this in a historical context:

The Beatles had performed “All You Need is Love” for the *Our World* television show, seen by 400 million viewers, in 1967. George Harrison had organized a benefit song, concert and film for Bangladesh in 1971 and in 1979 Joan Baez produced the US Concerts for Kampuchea, in response to a similar event in the UK. Geldof combined these models, added a telethon and uniquely prevailed upon his contacts in the music business. Simultaneous concerts in the UK and the US created a sense of global occasion. Phil Collins opened the London event, took Concorde to the US and appeared live in the Philadelphia concert as well. (2005, p.37)

It is in fact *Live Aid* that set Bob Geldof as a trailblazer (Huddart, 2005). As an organizer he was deemed to have created an unprecedented humanitarian fundraiser through the amalgamation of different components from past occasions all the while creating a *global* event. Later in 2005, Geldof pioneered yet another concept: a global political movement. *Live “Aid”* became *Live “8”* which marked the twentieth anniversary of the first fundraiser for Ethiopia. Emphasis now was no longer on funds but on affecting global policies that were to be decided by the most powerful international political players during an anticipated G8 Conference in Scotland. Pressure through mass mobilization was the focus in order to impact those policies. Unlike its predecessor, *Live 8* distinguished itself by operating under the banner of political justice rather than charity with the creed: “We don’t want your money, we want your voice”(www.live8live.com). The decision to present the campaign as one about political justice instead of charity is at once a novel and an essential feature in the understanding of *Live 8* as a contemporary

phenomenon. This shift in focus introduces implications for the definition of citizenship and for the understanding of propaganda, the process whose techniques enabled the mobilization of masses all around the world for this event.

The constitution of *Live 8* as a political movement is without a doubt its most distinctive characteristic although the event's identity as a contemporary humanitarian campaign also inevitably endures. This political feature was repeatedly emphasized to the public through publicizing materials as well as at the event itself. But in spite of every calculated effort to stir *Live 8*'s meaning away from humanitarian fundraiser, the event remains based on the theme of disaster and harbors a dimension of charity within a telethon format as it sought to help the poor. Its main attraction was a pop star studded marathon of musical acts through a series of simultaneous concerts in various cities around the world. To convincingly constitute *Live 8* as a movement rather than a fundraiser, it was crucial that this politicized branding be consistently and explicitly expressed to the public. This allowed for the reinforcement of the notion that the event was one that called upon citizens and not music fans or consumers. In Dayan and Katz's original study of media events, television plays a central role. Namely, it provides the meaning and interpretation of events through, what the authors term, an "exercise in authority" (1992, p.83). In the case of *Live 8*, television was of course one technological avenue to relay live happenings but the meaning and interpretation of the event were provided and carefully crafted by the organizers. *Live 8*'s meaning and purpose as a revolutionary movement were crystallized not by television but through the rhetoric employed by speakers throughout the event, a feature that will be explored in Chapter 4 in more detail. In the current chapter, taking into consideration this particular branding

within a media events theoretical framework, it is suggested that *Live 8* stands as a novel and hybrid contemporary event in which technology was indispensable on both the technical and metaphorical levels and embodied the theme of unity.

*Live 8* resonates with Dayan and Katz's (1992) original defining parameters for media events all the while presenting new considerations for them. The contemporary context of the event and its unfolding in a significantly more mediated environment than the era in which this television genre was first studied, implies a new role for technology today as it is exemplified through *Live 8*. For a limited span of time, the world's gaze was turned toward this event and all who had technological access were bound and connected to one another instantly. Through three characteristics that are central to media events I explore the role of technology in *Live 8* as going beyond that of a technological and informational channel. After situating *Live 8* as a media event, I first discuss its reach (a global rather than a national one in this case), which was enabled by contemporary media convergence. Second, I explore the event's "liveness" which made it timely and current. Finally, I discuss its interactive and participatory components, which served to create a sense of involvement among the masses and reinforce the notion of civic participation within the event. The latter is discussed keeping in mind that the campaign explicitly placed emphasis on action rather than monetary donation. In so doing, I attempt to demonstrate that these characteristics become further important because they resonate with the notion of unity and bound audiences together around the world all the while serving the self-designated label of political movement.

## *Hybridity*

*“Because of this thing – this concert, event,  
lobby, protest, gathering, moment.”*

–Bob Geldof (DVD booklet)

It must be said first and foremost that *Live 8*, as a media event, can only be situated as hybrid. This hybridity is complex and the various facets that form it are crucial to the whole of the present analysis. In addition, the event’s hybrid nature is directly related to technology since the term implies a mediatization of an area of society (Hepp and Krönert, 2010), in this case, human rights. In addition, *Live 8*’s hybridity in this scenario finds its roots in its “political movement” label that catalyzed the reconstitution of participants as citizens. In this respect, to study *Live 8* specifically as a media event elucidates how technology impacted a collective identity and opens discussion about publics and a performative reception of the event, all areas that complete this analysis in later chapters.

*Live 8* is a hybrid media event, one which features a paradoxical blend of elements on many fronts. The first notable observation of course is that *Live 8* incorporated popular/consumer culture components such as actors, fashion models, and commercial music within a highly politicized and ritualized setting to address an issue that was everything but entertaining. This combination is exemplified in catchy marketing such as one of the *Live 8* “commercials” that was aired on TV as well as during the concerts to illustrate the crisis that was taking place. During a 30 second spot, an array of A-list celebrities stare into the camera and snap their fingers to relay alarming

statistics concerning the African continent<sup>1</sup>. In the *New Statesman* on December 12, 2005, Zoe Williams describes the piece: “You were left in McLuhan-esque bafflement where you couldn’t work out what you were supposed to do next (“But it looks like an advert. Surely there’s something here for me to buy?”) (p.18). One can surely analyze the individual elements that form *Live 8*’s content to understand its complex nature. However, further exploration reveals that it is its structure that essentially earns it its hybrid quality and not simply its fusion of commercialism and humanitarianism.

In exploring its multiple standing as humanitarian telethon, “political movement”<sup>2</sup> and media event, one realizes the intricacy of *Live 8*’s hybridity and how the latter impacts the event’s target audience as well as the notion of citizenship. A few questions surface as a result: How does the constitution of *Live 8* as a political movement change its target audience from music fans and consumers to citizens? Although *Live 8* possesses the aesthetics of a telethon and music festival, how exactly is it calling upon individuals to mobilize and protest? While these questions are tackled in subsequent chapters, as a starting point the current section asks how, in the midst of all of the above, does technology figure as a tool to facilitate and reinforce the latter while uniting the masses? But before going any further, it is important to begin by situating *Live 8* as a media event as a whole.

### ***From Festivity and Disaster to Revolution***

I have suggested that the labeling of *Live 8* as a political movement is the very catalyzing feature that renders it a truly hybrid media event. In Dayan and Katz’s original study

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3mJU58A9SNc&feature=related> (accessed November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2009)

<sup>2</sup> I place quotation marks here as the question of whether *Live 8* can be considered an actual political movement is debatable but it was surely publicized as such.



(1992), media events are described as high holidays of mass communication through whose ceremonial and socially integrative atmosphere citizens renew their commitment to society. They are interruptions of routine, organized outside of the media and preplanned with live broadcast. The authors also specify a distinction between everyday news and events by explaining that “great news events speak of accidents, of disruption; great ceremonial events celebrate order and its restoration”(1992, p.9). While *Live 8* can be considered a break in routine as well as a preplanned occasion striving to “restore” political justice in the world, it also brings together seemingly discordant components such as festivity and disaster without, however, qualifying as a news event.

*Live 8*'s main theme, global poverty, is not a natural disaster nor a sudden tragedy per se but it is nonetheless a crisis. We may regard it as an ongoing and perpetual disaster yielding devastating effects. In these terms, poverty in the underdeveloped world qualifies as a disruptive event and most notably, certainly not a celebratory occasion such as the Olympics, or a royal wedding. Yet, *Live 8* addresses this issue with music concerts in an atmosphere of celebration. In his detailed study of the use of different media to shape a new citizenry during the *Terror* in France, Leith explains the role of festivals: “The festival could draw citizens into a massive shared experience in which they would march together, swear oaths together, sing together, dance together, emote together. The festival could thus make citizens feel a mystic identity with the general will” (1968, p.67). Organizer Bob Geldof proclaimed *Live 8*'s festive environment a “rejection of the defeat of cynicism” (*Live 8* official DVD booklet) and as he designated it during the final concert on July 6<sup>th</sup>, a “ceremony of life”<sup>3</sup>. Surely, *Live 8* does not qualify as being

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<sup>3</sup> All references to utterances made during concerts are found in the *Live 8* official DVD

ceremonial simply because of Geldof's personal description. Although it did not revolve around a wedding, a state funeral or a formal ritual, we can safely posit that *Live 8* is indeed ceremonial through the nature of its gathering. That is to say, the structure by which it mobilized masses mimics revolutionary rallies or political assemblies during which leaders address their constituency with evocative orations. Through these characteristics among others, *Live 8* earns its uniquely hybrid nature as a media event.

Hybridity is not a new concept. The mediatization of gatherings and of certain social domains has recently brought attention to this characteristic in media events literature although it is explained along different lines. Hepp and Krönert (2010) attribute the term hybrid to media events that consist of both the popular and of ritual celebration. In other words, they are comprised of the sacredness of holy media rituals and the popular of consumer culture. Hepp and Krönert's study stems from religion's importance in media events and its recent mediatization. To relate hybridity to *Live 8* in these terms, one must understand rituals as relating to the notion of sacredness not only through a religious quality. From another perspective, the upholding of traditions and the ceremonial structure of events can also be seen as carrying in themselves a sense of sacredness despite any explicit religious component. Along this line of thinking, *Live 8* could be understood as enacting the ritual quality of political and revolutionary rallies; the gathering of masses filled with emotions during a presumably crucial and historical moment in time for a people. Still, it is true that in these terms, these occasions in themselves do not speak to religion nor do they directly connote sacredness. In other words, the notion of sacredness within *Live 8* does not lie in any explicitly holy media ritual such as an event like World Youth Day (Hepp & Krönert, 2010). So how does *Live*

8 evoke the sacred? The event does not address religion but does bring attention to another universal topic: human rights. Through the repeated publicizing of its mission as a “long walk to justice” ([www.live8live.com](http://www.live8live.com)), the sacredness of *Live 8* emerges through the sacred connotation of human rights. Especially within the context of their violation, human rights strongly relate to life and death, two phenomena that are generally considered mysterious or sacred as they belong to the spiritual realm. *Live 8*’s message and theme was not only charged with all of the latter, but furthermore positioned its mission within a long line of other revolutionary struggles<sup>4</sup>. Thus the notion of failing to rise to this occasion through action as a citizen seemed to suggest a violation of the “sacredness” of human rights and more particularly the ideal of justice. In addition, the effort to present the event as a grassroots struggle—that is, the “people” protesting to the eight most powerful politicians in the world—further reinforced the sacred value of the *Live 8* mission and infused it with a certain righteousness.

It is this ritual/sacred quality that espoused a commercial quality not only through its musical content but also on a production level. Along with the BBC as the host broadcaster, AOL, Nokia and MTV were among important partners in the transmission of *Live 8*. On this front as well, *Live 8* proves to be somewhat hybrid and unique. The event was carried by both entertainment and news channels. What is more, its constitution as a political movement becomes relevant since another important characteristic of media events as Dayan and Katz (1992) define them, is that they entail a cooperative effort between public bodies (i.e.: governments, political parties, international bodies) and the media. Who then was the public body the media were cooperating with in this case? The

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<sup>4</sup> See chapter 4

organization under which the *Live 8* campaign was orchestrated was the *Make Poverty History Coalition*. This organization is not technically a public body though it has many bureaucratic ties<sup>5</sup>. The openly publicized cooperation in *Live 8* was portrayed as being between organizers Bob Geldof, Bono and the media. In fact, Street, Hague and Savigny (2008) mention how it was reported to them “that when an NGO pitched an article on African debt to the Daily Telegraph, they were told: ‘we only want it if it’s from Bono or Geldof’” (p.282). In other words, covertly, perhaps we can perceive this collaboration as unfolding between the *Make Poverty History* “organization” and the mainstream media but certainly on the surface, the collaboration was featured as taking place between the musicians and mainstream media. Thus *Live 8*’s political campaign structure, contributes to its categorization as a media event in terms of a cooperative dialogue between public bodies. The label of revolutionary movement infuses it with legislative legitimacy while remaining seemingly grassroots, political and untainted by its commercial ties. *Live 8*, as it was presented, was its own public body with designated leaders, its own political movement, its own political campaign, its own “government” for the citizens of the world.

### ***A Technological Brotherhood / Sisterhood***

The G8 meeting with which *Live 8* was purposely scheduled to coincide could very well be considered an event in itself. In her research on the World Trade Organization Summits, Leung explains: “Over the years, however, the conference has gained media fame (or notoriety), not so much through the achievements that have been made at the

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<sup>5</sup> My intention is not to go into specifics regarding broadcasting partners. However, Richey and Ponte (2008) provide an informative and relevant account of the administrative facet of Geldof and Bono’s charities relevant to the *Live 8* campaign.

conference tables, but by the anti-globalization demonstrations it has courted ever since the session was held in Seattle in 1999” (2010, p.253). This statement rings true, just as seen during the most recent G20 in Toronto held on June 26-27, 2010. Similarly in 2005, although the *Live 8* event was the largest global “protest” leading up to the G8 conference, other grassroots efforts did also occur, namely through the activities of approximately 450 other groups mobilized within the *Make Poverty History* coalition:

On the one hand, the date of *Live 8* (2 July 2005) ran up against the mass gathering scheduled for the same date that was supposed to be the largest ever demonstration in the UK against global poverty. His [Bob Geldof’s] unilateral call for the Million Man March to Edinburgh on July 6 also clashed with the plans of the social justice movement as this date was the first day of the actual G8 summit, again a prime time for a major rally of protest. (Cooper, 2007, p.12)

From a media event’s perspective, *Live 8* was competing for media attention against other mobilization efforts as well as the G8 meeting itself. It was not only timing but also mediation that demarcated *Live 8* as being *the* main event as it succeeded in making itself the most mediated happening during this period of time. As Van Loon states, “mediation is the creation of ‘media events’” (2010, p.115). There can be no media event without mediation or reception of that mediation. By communicating itself across television, radio, print, the Internet, *Live 8* presented itself “in the center” of media cultures in a global fashion (Hepp & Krönert, 2010, p.269). We can also say that considerable media coverage gave the public the impression of a truly monumental event and subsequently, greater participation followed. *Live 8* became *the* protest of the 2005 G8 conference because it spanned the world over and mobilized a global community.

Just like the WTO, the G8 traverses national boundaries; it is “a global (supranational) organization hosting the event, drawing delegates worldwide to discuss

global issues such as world trade that affect economies and livelihoods especially in developing nations” (Leung, 2010, p.253). It is inevitable that *Live 8*'s meaning be global as a result of its direct association with the G8 conference. Had the event taken place without any mediation or live broadcasting, its theme would have remained a global one. The community *Live 8* solicited solidifies its global dimension. The nature of the community in question is of a deterritorial one. That is, a belief community “for whose ‘thickening’ (Löfgren 2001; Hepp and Couldry 2009) the reference to (national-) territorial belonging is of little relevance” (Hepp & Krönert, 2010, p. 266). The targeted community in *Live 8* was not rooted in any transcultural institution but in the idea of the human community or human race ensuing from *Live 8*'s quest for political justice in the name of human rights. Media events are said to reconstruct and impact the notion of a “we” that refers to the community that shares in the event's experience. In a contemporary context of media events, Couldry comments on the global dimension of this concept:

Rather, we would argue, media events in a global-transcultural frame open the space for the construction and reconstruction of many different constructions of a common “we”, and of many varied national, ethnic, religious, subcultural and other voicings of that “we”, all relating to how the main cultural thickenings within a media event are appropriated locally. (2009, p.11-12)

The “we” in *Live 8* pertained to the citizens of the world that called upon the most powerful leaders of that world. This construction of the global “we” is primarily based on human rights. It is associated with the “human community”. In other words, its construction is founded on the most common denominator possible, that of being human. Thus in the case of *Live 8* the concept of the common “we” could only be appropriated

globally as well as transculturally. We may say the event's figurative reach is global since the "we" in *Live 8* is deterritorial. However it was technology, which enabled *Live 8* to embody that thematic and unite audiences on a literal level.

Within physical space, *Live 8*'s scope is global as the event did not have one sole specific site. Although the G8 meeting took place in Scotland, concerts were held in different cities around the world and attending the event was not limited to physical presence in one particular geographical place as a spectator of one particular happening. Contemporary media convergence with its mobile devices, cellular phones and Internet feeds enabled viewers to do so within any physical place. Through this intricate web of technological "liveness", *Live 8* became its own mediated life-world.

***A Mediated Life-world:***

*"...to gather around the electronic heart of the  
TV or PC screen..."*

-Bob Geldof (DVD booklet)

*Live 8* transformed space as well as audiences' sense of place and identity through the impression of the everyday being suspended and the world reborn. I have discussed how technology impacted physical space and in turn affected individuals sense of identity through the construction of a deterritorial "we". But how did *Live 8* operate as it's own life-world through suspension of the everyday? "Liveness" is at the heart of *Live 8* as its very name denotes it. It is also this "liveness" that, in creating a virtual space of connection among individuals, also produced an alternate ephemeral dimension founded on its own ideals and vision of an improved condition:

In Turnerian terms, such periods are characterized by a shift from an “indicative” definition of reality (reality as what is) to a “subjunctive” one (reality as what could or should be). (Dayan & Katz, 1992, p.104)

*Live 8* severed daily broadcast routines, without making the everyday seem far removed but by giving hope and countering the sense of usual helplessness regarding worldly crises. In his study on participation in war bond drives, Merton (1946) explains that such instances can provide “surcease from individuated, self-centered activity and from the sense that [the war] it is too big for the individual’s effort to count” (p.55). Founded upon the idea of a utopian global community, *Live 8*’s message “evokes images of a better world and a more fraternal or equal society” (Dayan & Katz, 1992, p.141) in which all members would live without poverty. This subjunctive vision of the world bound audiences through a brotherhood/sisterhood supposedly committed to “making poverty history” ([www.live8live.com](http://www.live8live.com)).

*Live 8*’s mission of eradicating poverty is indeed revolutionary, and, to say the least, very ambitious. The event’s live broadcast not only created a mediated life-world into which individuals could instantly enter, become and feel connected but it is this aspect that made *Live 8* timely and fueled its historic aura. The campaign coincided with the G8 conference during which policies would be created that would profoundly impact human beings living in underdeveloped countries especially. The crisis of poverty was happening *now*. The eight most powerful politicians were meeting *now*. The world needed to come together and protest *now* and it was technology that enabled the live transmission of it all. Jacques Ellul remarks: “the only interesting and enticing news is that which presents a timely spectacular aspect of society’s profound reality” (1973, p.43). The considerable media coverage *Live 8* gained thanks to modern technologies



further gave the public the impression that the event was presumably monumental let alone important enough to be covered by mainstream media in the first place and so widely distributed. If *Live 8* proved to truly be a historic and revolutionary moment, why would it *not* be broadcast live? Through this logic, technology (media) placed *Live 8* at the “center” (Couldry, 2003) of this momentous occasion (which was the G8 summit) and reinforced the event’s historic dimension as well as audiences’ unity through it.

Just as technology enables the dissemination of information, the process by which events are documented and recorded by it, instantly renders the present part of history just as soon as it unfolds. The rhetoric of *Live 8* as an anticipated historic moment is one that is pervasive throughout every aspect of the event. This echoes Dayan and Katz’s (1992) statement that media events are proclaimed historic. Cleaving *Live 8* from other humanitarian telethon/fundraisers through the label of political movement allowed for it to be pronounced as such [historic] with some semblance of veracity. As demonstrated in a later chapter, the publicizing of the event as a singular opportunity for change, one that carried the torch for other revolutionary movements, was an important attribute used to entice individuals to participate in order to be part of history. Thus technology also acted as a legitimizing component as it broadcast, connected individuals and documented the event while giving it importance and making it timely. This timeliness acquired through live broadcast not only united masses together but bound each individual in a personal way to a narrative of the shaping of history. Through technology, one could take part in the campaign by tuning in to watch the event, texting one’s name to the petition or being generally “informed” and a witness, thus “participating” in eradicating poverty and making history.

Dayan and Katz (1992) speak of media events as an instance that “occasionally” transforms the home into a public space: “It connects networks of interacting individuals, from house to house, across very large territories. While highly selective—and biased—in what is shown, television brings inside what cannot be seen otherwise” (p.128). What one observes through *Live 8* is a shift from spectatorship to action. Attending the event was not simply watching it but being informed about its mission and interacting through media technologies. John Kennedy (Trustee of Band Aid) explained: “instead of having millions of people simply watching TV, millions of people could be involved on the Internet, watching on their computers and having within a short period of time a more interactive relationship” (Billboard, 2006). The event, surrounding a crisis, was a call to action which necessitated for audiences to relate to others and feel engaged. Ellul (1973) indicated long ago that “modern man does not think about current problems; he feels them. He reacts but he does not understand them any more than he takes responsibility for them” (p.47). By breaking down barriers of nationality through the concept of global citizenship and a deterritorial “we” as well as breaking down barriers of physical space through an intermingling virtual web of mobilized participants, technology and more specifically media convergence made it possible for viewers to be part of the event anywhere; inside their homes, or outside with a cellular phone or laptop. The feeling of live digital togetherness was total. No one particular physical site was preferential for participation in *Live 8*. Physical attendance could be compensated by the use of technology through which one could make his/her “voice” heard in virtual space. Technology in this case proved able to reach the masses as well as the individual

simultaneously while exploiting his/her need for self-affirmation (Ellul, 1973, p.8), which in *Live 8* was largely fulfilled by the interactivity that technology offered.

### ***United in Conquest***

*“The audiences of Conquests echo the proposed rearticulations of the symbolic order, often in the form of spontaneous social movements.”*

*(Lewis qt. in Dayan & Katz, 1992, p.44)*

The *Live 8* “movement” spoke to achieving the nearly impossible. It opposed the powerful politicians and the ordinary citizen in a battle concerning the ideal of political justice for the voiceless and powerless. Dayan and Katz outline the phenomenon of media events into three scripts one of them being conquest:

Conquests represent the eruption of the charismatic model onto political stage. They address a dead-locked situation and introduce the possibility of change. Turning their protagonist into a “shaman” of sorts, conquests are closest to the rituals of archaic societies. They allow the “trying on” or “modeling” (Handelman, 1990) of a new symbolic order in response to the contradictions of the existing system. (1992, p. 44)

Certainly *Live 8* echoes characteristics of this category. What is more in this case, audiences were not simply spectators before a display reminiscent of a David and Goliath scenario. They were invited to take part in the incredible feat at hand. Here once again, media convergence served to unite audiences in conquering poverty and participate in changing the current order. The mass media, as Ellul explains, permits “crowds of diverse individuals from all over to assemble easily and frequently” (1973, p.89). But technology does not suffice on its own to persuade masses to rise to action instantly such as it was

required in *Live 8*. This task of moving individuals to action, characterizes the essence of propaganda in Ellulian terms.

According to media events theory we have explored the crucial role of technology within *Live 8* and how it served to unite and embody its global quality as a publicized political movement. Dayan and Katz (1992) make an important remark when they state that festive viewers “come prepared to be moved” (p.129). This willingness to be emotionally won over is a central tenant of propaganda as Ellul explains it. In other words, individuals actively engage in being moved to action. Thus, technology is not sufficient on its own but is a tool for mobilization in contemporary times that cannot be overlooked nonetheless. An investigation into the technique of propaganda can further inform us on the contemporary nature of the phenomenon and how thought operates in a mediated environment. This is what will be discussed in the following section.

## CHAPTER 3: *Mobilization*

*“Certainly a crowd gathered at a given point is not, properly speaking, a mass. A mass society is a society with considerable population density in which local structures and organizations are weak, currents of opinion are strongly felt, men are grouped into large influential collectives, the individual is part of these collectives, and a certain psychological unity exists”*

(Ellul, 1965, p.93)

Mass media and technology today greatly facilitate mobilization efforts. Just as they enable the quick dissemination of information, they also allow for the expression of opinion among individuals geographically distant from one another. In contemporary mediated society, people receive and must process vast amounts of information everyday. More over, people now are able to deliberate and share thoughts about this information with literally millions of others worldwide instantaneously. Fast proliferating social networks have allowed for the transmission of both crucial information as well as the expression of the most mundane statements. The possibilities that technology offers to share information become more important during times of crises. We can posit that contemporary mediated environments deeply impact how individuals experience the world, become aware of different issues and understand their responsibility for those issues. Ellul suggests that information teaches the individual that his fate is shared with millions of others and “that among them there can be a community of interest and action” (1973, p.115). The potential to inform and mobilize on a large scale is in itself a powerful thought for the modern individual. Mass mobilization implies a rise to action by the

masses. But for this action to occur, individuals must be sufficiently persuaded by a message that resonates with particular beliefs and values. Propaganda's goal, as Ellul (1965) explains it, is to transform opinion into action instantly by building upon well-established myths and currents of interest present in a society. From this perspective, mass mobilization inevitably begs for a consideration of the topic of propaganda.

When one addresses the topic of propaganda, certain notorious examples instantly come to mind, notably Germany's Nazi regime. Marlin (2003), however, demonstrates, the technique has been around for many years<sup>6</sup>. Discussions of propaganda today most often revolve around war, the military complex or authoritarian regimes. Why even mention the term propaganda in the study of *Live 8* as an event? *Live 8* exemplifies mobilization on a global scale, the first of its politicized and mediated kind, as we have seen in the last chapter. More interestingly, it instantiates the components of Ellul's propaganda theory that render it novel and challenge the common limited understanding of propaganda as an isolated phenomenon or one that preys upon helpless individuals. Though Dayan and Katz (1992) speak in terms of media events in the following statement, they make an important remark that resonates with Ellul's work: "Indeed, if it were not for the motivation of viewers to receive the program, priestly television of the sort that occupies us here would be an authoritarian imposition, diametrically opposite to the ostensibly free choice of routine television" (p.124). Considering the response to the event, we can assume that viewers were motivated to receive *Live 8* as a program. While Dayan and Katz speak of a "motivation to receive the program" on the part of viewers, we can say that the notion of participation in Ellul's work translates to receiving

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<sup>6</sup> See Marlin (2003) chapter 2 "The History of Propaganda" in *Propaganda and the Ethics of Persuasion*

propaganda or embracing it. This brings us to one of the central tenants of his theory - that no individual is a victim of propaganda. In actuality, individuals willingly participate in propaganda because it serves a purpose. In other words, propaganda can only be effective if it is voluntarily embraced and reflects the beliefs of its subjects. In taking this approach, it is understood as a dialogue between propagandee and propagandist, one in which the individual embraces it precisely because it fulfills a need.

This chapter first provides an overview of the key components of Ellul's theory namely that (1) propaganda is a sociological phenomenon, (2) that it is based on pre-existing beliefs and myths and (3) that it is embraced because it fulfills a need in the individual. The first section focuses on Ellul's understanding of propaganda as a sociological phenomenon. This is undertaken through the exploration of specific elements that were used to mobilize the masses in great numbers. Here the goal is to identify rather than engage in a critical analysis of the elements in question. This exploration suggests that *Live 8's* campaign is "total" as all propaganda is and furthermore, that it is "total" in the sense that it features a fusion of sociological and agitation propaganda components at once within it. Finally, through an investigation of Ellul's depiction of the modern individual, this chapter concludes with the proposition that the masses all around the world willingly participated in *Live 8* because this participation fulfilled the need for citizenship.

### ***A Sociological Phenomenon***

Ellul's (1973) understanding of propaganda can be summarized as a sociological phenomenon that is built upon pre-existing myths and ideologies and which short-circuits

thought as opinion transforms itself into action. The technique of propaganda is also always carried out by an organization. That is to say, propaganda is “total” in that it is institutionalized and carried out by a network of individuals (p.20). An important contribution in Ellul’s writings is that he suggests the existence of different forms of propaganda: integration (sociological) propaganda and agitation propaganda are the two most prominent forms. Integration propaganda sets the ground so that in a time of crisis, agitation (or direct) propaganda is deployed as needed, the individual will be instantly moved to action in a calculated way. “Propaganda tries first of all to create conditioned reflexes in the individual by training him so that certain words, signs, or symbols, even certain persons or facts, provoke unfailing reactions” (Ellul, 1973, p.31). Propaganda is not a phenomenon that is present only in specific periods, though it appears that way, but one that is constantly cultivated and continuous. To explain it differently, propaganda is omnipresent and the individual is always being propagandized and integrated into a system within his/her society. Thus it is “only when conditioned reflexes have been created in man and he lives in a collective myth can he be readily mobilized” (Ellul, 1973, p.32). From this perspective, to successfully mobilize individuals then, one would need to exercise a mix of integration and agitation propaganda in a timely fashion.

*Live 8* was a campaign with the explicit goal of moving masses to action. As we have seen in the last chapter, an important feature was that it was politicized. More importantly, Geldof and Bono positioned themselves as leaders of the *Live 8* global political “movement”. This movement called for action from the masses instead of monetary donations. Ellul emphasizes the necessity for propaganda to be continuous. For this reason, he notes that elections or political campaigns cannot be considered as



propaganda since they are too short lived and cannot be effective (Ellul, 1973, pp.19-20). Rather he is suggesting that the relation to propaganda in such cases is that it is part of the structure on which campaigns are built. It is no different in the case of the *Live 8* campaign, which lasted for only a few weeks. To be sure, the fact that *Live 8* garnered a great response suggests that its message certainly reinforced already “fundamental currents of society”, “collective sociological presuppositions, spontaneous myths, and broad ideologies” (1973, pp.36-37). Ellul specifies that these sociological bases must be of an entire society “not just of individuals or of particular groups but those shared by all individuals in a society, including men of opposite political inclinations and class loyalties” (1973, pp.36-37). In other words, I am not proposing that *Live 8* is simply propaganda but that the foundation on which it was built is constituted of many key components that correspond to propaganda within an Ellulian theoretical framework.

It is too simplistic to view *Live 8* as a commercialized humanitarian venture in which the individuals of mass consumerist societies participated based on this one trait. Individuals were attracted to the event’s message and related to many of its aspects because these were familiar and part of their set of deep beliefs. To give an analogy perhaps, we could say that *Live 8*’s message was similar to a sailboat on a river, which without any wind currents could not move by itself or in literal terms, be effective. Thus, an exploration of the system within which *Live 8* operated can reveal the sociological dimension of its structure that resulted in action on the part of the masses. Through an analysis of *Live 8* as a whole, one comes to see that within the event, integration and agitation propaganda are both at work. The following section seeks to explore the propagandistic system on which the campaign rested or in other words, the sociological

conditions which prepared the ground for so many individuals around the world to take action within the *Live 8* movement when they were called upon to do so.

### ***Way of Life***

An individual will not be moved to action without having some interest in the cause in question. He/she needs to relate to some of the aspects of the appeal at hand. Propaganda moves the individual to feel that the message being suggested reflects the group, the society, the culture to which he/she belongs. To reiterate, propaganda is effective when it is built upon an established sociological context in which the individual has already been integrated.

In describing sociological propaganda, Ellul states:

Such propaganda is diffuse, it is rarely conveyed by catchwords or expressed intentions. Instead it is based on a general climate, an atmosphere that influences people imperceptibly without having the appearance of propaganda; it gets to man through his customs, through his most unconscious habits. It creates new habits in him; it is a sort of persuasion from within. As a result, man adopts new criteria of judgment and choice, adopts them spontaneously, as if he had chosen them himself. But all these criteria are in conformity with the environment and are essentially of a collective nature. Sociological propaganda produces a progressive adaptation to a certain order of things, a certain concept of human relations, which unconsciously molds individuals and makes them conform to society. (1973, p.64)

Sociological propaganda is expressed in a variety of ways and is found in different sectors of society such as “in advertising, in the movies (commercial and non-political films), in technology in general, in education” (Ellul, 1973, p.64). In *Live 8*, we can identify three major elements employed in order to attract audiences: celebrity spokespersons, popular music and the call for political justice. Skeptics and cynics alike might well suggest that the great level of participation was due to individuals simply attending as fans whether to

mimic the altruism of their favorite stars or simply to hear some of the biggest names in music for free. If however, we consider these main elements in a sociological context, they reveal a crucial link into *Live 8's* mobilization success. That is to say, these main components in *Live 8* inform us about larger currents, myths and ideologies in modern technological society as well as its sociological propaganda. To be sure, the most common denominator among *Live 8's* main components is that they connote or promote a way of life. This is a key aspect of sociological propaganda, which ultimately produces an adherence to a specific way of life and the conception that it is the "right" one (Ellul, 1973, p.65). *Live 8's* celebrities, its music and its call for political justice each relates uniquely to this notion of a way of life.

*Live 8's* celebrity ambassadors acted as mediating individuals between a public and a colossal crisis. Undoubtedly, they were a component that served to have this public relate to the cause. Celebrities were used to attract support for an unfamiliar and foreign reality (extreme poverty in Africa) while standing in as a familiar and comfortable reference. Cooper notes:

Links between celebrities and state leaders are particularly close in Anglo/German culture, both because of a generalized fascination with celebrities in those societies and even arguably to some aspects of a psychological role reversal between state leaders and celebrities, where leaders (for example Tony Blair) try to embrace celebrity status while some celebrities (most notably Bono and Geldof) embrace some trappings of the diplomatic/policy world. (2007, p.5)

In contemporary times especially, celebrities not only instantiate a way of life that is associated with success, wealth and prestige but they are accorded legitimacy to speak on important political and humanitarian issues more than ever before. As Huddart (2005) notes, celebrities are increasingly featured as spokespersons/endorsers for charitable

causes (p.41). Celebrities represent a generally desired way of life, and more specifically in North America, “the American dream” or the pinnacle of the “American way of life”. However, Hollywood, and many American celebrities are idolized all around the world. In *Live 8*, they made special appearances and were included at all concerts around the world.

As for what pertains to the concerts’ main musical acts, they were regular features on MTV (Music television). MTV itself is founded on this notion and “boasted” by its executives as “a way of thought, a way of life” (Levy qt. in Jhally, 1990, p.97). The entertainers *Live 8* featured, including such commercial and sexually provocative artists as Madonna, were not only important because of the notoriety of their names but because they stood as symbols of rock n’ roll. In a series of afterthoughts in the *Live 8* DVD pamphlet, Bob Geldof states: “Everything that rock’n’roll had ever been about to me, or seemed to suggest, or vaguely promised, was made real on that beautiful day”, while Paul Valley wrote: “all the promises of rock’n’roll, made concrete on that day” (official *Live 8* DVD booklet). What is the importance and symbolism of such references? Rock n’ roll is connected to a way of life founded on rebellion and freedom of expression (including sexual freedom or promiscuity). On the one hand, celebrities’ connotation of wealth and on the other, rock and roll’s connotation of freedom, both tie into notions of democracy and the developed world. The underlying message summarizes itself as follows: in a democratic, prosperous and developed way of life, one has the luxury of freedom of speech and of protesting which is made readily accessible through technology. This ultimately contextualizes the core of *Live 8*’s appeal and makes sense of the third main element: the act of protesting for political justice. Indeed, Ellul remarks that “democracies

have used the myths of Peace, of Freedom, of Justice” (1973, p.243). In addition, his commentary regarding the use of operational words proves even further relevant here:

To circulate outdated words or pick new one that can penetrate only by force is unavailing, for timeliness furnishes the “operational words” with their explosive and affective power. Part of the power of propaganda is due to its use of the mass media, but this power will be dissipated if propaganda relies on operational words that have lost their force. (1973, p.46)

Celebrity and mainstream music in *Live 8* are linked to the notion of way of life and are connected to areas of society such as entertainment and music in which sociological propaganda is typically expressed. These two elements were complimented by a powerful operational word, “justice”, which happened to also be the primary focus of the event. Today, not only are news of human rights violations all around the world more accessible and are part of popular rhetoric but the idea of justice (via charity especially) has also become embedded in the celebrity way of life. Humanitarianism has been increasingly popularized by stars and as a result, justice appears even more timely and of interest to the masses. It is an operational word that possesses a force.

It is important to add at this point, that although *Live 8* was coined a “global” event, the main concerts took place in the UK, France, Germany, Italy, United States, Canada, Japan, Russia and South Africa. Only one concert was held in Africa (in its sub-continent), yet the African continent was the focus of the event’s issue of extreme poverty. In addition, the event received significant criticism regarding the lack of representation for African artists<sup>7</sup>. Approximately one month before the campaign, Eden project director Tim Smit and renowned musician Peter Gabriel took the initiative of organizing a concert at an additional location (Cornwall, UK) for this very reason.

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<sup>7</sup> See Legrand (2005), Hughes (2005)

Released on an entirely separate DVD, this took on the title of “The Eden Project – Africa Calling” and featured exclusively African artists. This further created contrast with the western developed world, as the segregated concert stood in glaring comparison to the entertainment content in all other *Live 8* concerts. It must not be forgotten also, that the manner in which individuals gathered and were united globally during *Live 8* was based on technology and “liveness”. If one could not attend a concert in person, one could tune in through television or the Internet. However, this also required one to have access to technology. In addition, as *Live 8* openly addressed an unjust system in which the global North excluded the global south from discussion in the G8 summit, took decisions without carving a space for underdeveloped representatives to be heard, the event happened to reproduce the very structure it criticized by marginalizing and not including any African artists at the very moment when the world would be watching and listening. We can posit here that although the event was introduced as a global movement and one that was in the name of all of humanity, it still maintained a certain technological divide and generally addressed itself to modern, (western) technological societies. In his work, Ellul outlines four collective sociological presupposition of the “modern world”: “These common presuppositions of bourgeois and proletarian are that man’s aim in life is happiness, that man is naturally good, that history develops in endless progress, and that everything is matter” (1973, p.39). Humanitarianism within *Live 8*, especially resonates with two of these sociological presuppositions notably that “man is naturally good” and “that history develops in endless progress”.

## ***Myths and Ideologies***

*“What starts out as a simple situation gradually turns into a definite ideology, because the way of life in which man thinks he is so indisputably well off becomes a criterion of value for him.”*

*(Ellul, 1973, p.67)*

Ellul distinguishes between myths and ideologies; the former being described as taking over an individual's entire being whereas ideology is flexible and fluid when used for persuasion. Propaganda cannot create a myth, as myths are timeless. “However, the existence of an ideology within a group is the best possible foundation for the elaboration of a myth”(1973). It is this statement that will be elaborated on through the examination of one last central facet of *Live 8*: humanitarianism. The following section suggests that within *Live 8*, the “ideology” of humanitarianism fueled the myth of endless progress. A careful examination of humanitarianism in this way exemplifies at once the important role played by ideology in connection to myth within propaganda. It also brings full circle *Live 8*'s sociological dimension revealing that it spoke to a propaganda of integration that tends to “express itself externally, and hence to expand its influence abroad” (1973, p.69). It is also through it that the western, modern, technological way of life was promoted in the event. It must be stated that the goal here is not to engage in a critical analysis of philanthropy or humanitarianism but to encourage the consideration that these concepts fit within *Live 8* as part of its sociological dimension.

We may posit that in contemporary times, the notion of humanitarianism/philanthropic acts as an ideology in Ellulian terms; “any set of ideas accepted by individuals or peoples, without attention to their origin or value” (p.116). Rozario (2003) explains that philanthropy has become constructed and entrenched as an

ideal and a practice through American generosity having been made proverbial through a famous statement by James Bryce in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>. Philanthropic intentions and participating in these mass humanitarian events are generally unquestioned since the venture seems good and noble. It remains that at the core of humanitarianism lies the notions of intervention and change. The concept of “way of life” is also closely connected to the latter since any humanitarian effort is based on striving to change living conditions or one way of life into a “better” one. However, reflection about that change in question and into what other way of life exactly is not often undertaken. In an interview on technology and progress, Ellul comments: “Nous baignons dans un climat qui au fond, fait qu’on acquiert une mentalité totalitaire. C’est exact. Ce qui tendrait à le confirmer dans notre époque c’est de voir à quel point il y a *un* modèle de société et que le but de l’action dans le tiers-monde c’est d’ammener le tiers-monde à notre modèle de société” (Beuchot, 1988, n.p.). *Live 8*’s humanitarianism was based on the attainment of a specific mission: political justice. Ellul’s commentary resonates here since long-term success for *Live 8*’s mission meant that Africa’s impoverished, unjust, “underdeveloped” way of life would be converted (through political justice) into one that is deemed more developed like that of modern, technological societies. The industrialized and technologically developed world is thus positioned as more desirable and more evolved than the African way of life. This perspective was reiterated in the recent special issue of the national Canadian newspaper, the *Globe and Mail* (May, 10<sup>th</sup>, 2010) that was edited by Bono and Geldof. The issue, which focused on Africa in light of the 2010 G8 and G20 meetings,

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<sup>8</sup> Rozario states: “In 1888, the Englishman James Bryce published his now famous verdict, “In the works of active beneficence, no country has surpassed, perhaps none has equaled the United States,” (2003, p.419). For full text see chapter 111 in: Bryce, Vicount James. (1888). *American commonwealth*, Volume 1, London and New York: Macmillan and Co.



demonstrated most explicitly Ellul's above commentary. The myth of progress and technology stood as the underpinnings of that issue's appeal. Examples of underdeveloped versus advanced technological ways of life were placed side by side in images adorning articles (See Appendix A, B & C).

*Live 8* operated on the logic that (according to on the presupposition that "man is naturally good") exercising humanitarianism in order to give justice to Africa would subsequently allow for the attainment of a developed way of life similar to the one of technological societies. The fact that this modern way of life is perceived as ideal insinuates that it is more advanced. This belief ties back to the sociological presupposition that history develops in endless progress. *Live 8's* sociological foundation assured the masses' instant participation in the campaign when action was requested of them. While technology facilitated this participation, it also complemented the bases of grand sociological presuppositions as we have just seen. *Live 8's* message not only reinforced beliefs but it ultimately offered to fulfill a deep need in modern man, the one of citizenship.

### ***Agitation of the Modern Man***

*"I believe that if you show people the problems and you show them the solutions, they will be moved to act."*

*-Bill Gates July 2<sup>nd</sup> concert (London)*

Whether he was aware of it or not, Bill Gates expressed the essence of propaganda in Ellulian terms when he spoke the above words. In times of crisis especially, when individuals are looking for solutions, propaganda must provide them in a comprehensible

manner. It organizes information to make sense of the world in such a way that one is not overwhelmed by presented challenges. As integration propaganda promotes the complacency of a population to the status quo in a relatively calm everyday context, it sends the message to the individual that his/her world is safe and he/she needs not worry. Propaganda of agitation on the other hand makes an appearance during times of unrest:

It takes him [the individual] out of his everyday life, his normal framework, and plunges him into enthusiasm and adventure; it opens to him hitherto unsuspected possibilities, and suggests extraordinary goals that nevertheless seem to him completely within reach. Propaganda of agitation thus unleashes an explosive movement; it operates inside a crisis or actually provokes the crisis itself. (Ellul, 1973, p.72)

*Live 8* presented individuals with the crisis of extreme poverty along with accessible ways in which to supposedly resolve this crisis successfully. Whether these means would or would not in actuality bring a resolution is irrelevant to the present analysis. The importance lies in the fact that the manner in which the crisis and its resolution were explained was simple and accessible enough to persuade individuals to take part in the mission. What is more, participating in the *Live 8* movement was ultimately embraced because it would also fulfill the need for citizenship in the individual, one that encompassed both the sense of belonging and of affecting change in the world.

The analysis this thesis offers, must necessarily take into consideration its contemporary context. This not only entails acknowledging the ubiquitous presence of technology today but also the contemporary individual's psychological state and how he/she interacts with his/her mediated environment. Ellul's depiction of the modern individual is one that includes elements of mass society theory in which the individual is

deemed lonely, alienated and individuated. While the present analysis does not entirely endorse nor discounts these characteristics, it concentrates more particularly on specific elements of his description and their interaction with one another; (1) the modern individual's anxiety, (2) his/her search for meaning and (3) his/her turn towards mass media not only for information but for ready-made opinions and solutions. As a greater amount of information is disseminated through mass media, by institutionalized sources as well as individuals within social networks platforms, there is also a greater need to make sense of this information. In this way, Ellul suggests that information produces fear (1973, p.153). Although technology may give the appearance of a small and connected world, the contemporary individual certainly also becomes aware now more than ever of how many conflicts populate it: "Man is disarmed in the face of perils threatening him, and is increasingly alarmed by these perils because he keeps reading about them" (1973, p.153). Furthermore, we may add that this can bring a feeling of anxiety and powerlessness in affecting change especially in what concerns crises on a global scale.

Agitation propaganda is described as the propaganda which answers crisis through action. It is employed when the moment urgently requires action and is typical of times of war or revolutions. However, it cannot be maintained as a persuasion technique for long periods since it generally demands extreme sacrifices. Whether *Live 8* is considered a true revolutionary occasion or not, it did publicize itself as such. It can be perceived as a campaign for a "war" on poverty so to speak. Entertainers eagerly adopted the revolutionary label during concerts as well. Before beginning her musical set in London Madonna yelled into her microphone: "Are you ready for a revolution!?". As we have seen in the last section, the event garnered its force from the bases laid out by sociological

propaganda elements. It then utilized a propaganda of agitation to move the masses to act in a conditioned fashion. What differs in *Live 8* however is that sacrifice was nearly absent. For very little effort, an individual could participate in the *Live 8* “revolutionary movement”, and exercise self-affirmation. Ellul states:

And the man who seeks to escape his strangling anxiety by any means will feel miraculously delivered as soon as he can participate in the campaign mounted by propaganda, as soon as he can dive into this liberating activity, which resolves his inner conflicts by making him think he is helping to solve those of society. (1973, p.160)

Unlike political revolutions and coups d'état in which a militant's life and freedom are at stake and stand as prized rewards, *Live 8* proposed an almost effortless participation model with an enjoyable “sacrifice” (mobilizing through attendance at concerts). In their research which links aid, celebrities and consumerism, Richey and Ponte note the “increasing need for ‘meaning’ among mainstream consumers” (2008, p.719). *Live 8* did address itself to modern consumerist societies while exceptionally focusing on action instead of charity. The reward participation offered had to fulfill a great need in order to be of great value. The modern individual in this case, whose freedom nor life were directly threatened, would be rewarded with acquiring meaning in his/her life through *global* citizenship.

In the documentary “*Le jardin et la ville*”, Ellul states: “lorsque tout est possible, rien n’a plus de sens” (Gallo, 1972, n.p.) In other words, when everything is possible, nothing has any more meaning. He makes this remark in reference to the way in which technology has reached a peak, makes everything accessible and dominates. He characterizes the technological society as “le monde de l’insignifiance” and “de la puissance extrême”. As the modern individual finds his/herself faced with endless

possibility, we may put forward that he/she looks for meaning, something through which to give purpose to all that his/her technological society offers. Clearly through this awareness of endless potential and progress, the modern individual of contemporary technological societies is also one who deems his/herself privileged given the way of life he leads especially in comparison to the majority of human beings in the world. On July 2<sup>nd</sup>, Brad Pitt beckoned the crowd before him with “we the fortunate”, a statement loaded with connotations of a way of life advantaged through prosperity, democracy and technological progress. More importantly, there is also a sense that the privileged individual is one that is not only technologically advanced but that he/she is a global citizen with a duty. This duty, in this case the one to protest for political justice, was enthusiastically embraced since it was tied to the need for citizenship.

### ***Citizenship as the Need***

*“One day, one concert, one world”*  
*(DVD booklet cover)*

Citizenship implies the existence of a nation to which an individual belongs and participates politically. In mediated realms, physical boundaries are eradicated. This was the case in the *Live 8* mediated “life-world”. Technology knows no boundaries and in this case neither did citizenship. To borrow from the media events’ terminology, citizenship in the *Live 8* movement was “deterritorialized” (Hepp and Krönert, 2010). There was but one kind of citizenship, the one of the global citizen. Citizenship also entails active political participation from citizens such as voting. Voting becomes the means through which an individual expresses his convictions and reiterates his existence as a citizen in

the shaping of his country. In *Live 8*, technology may have taken away the traditional notion of a country with borders but it at the same time created an opportunity for civic participation similar to voting. The act of voting was transposed to the act of texting in one's name to the global petition against poverty. Typically, during the final stage of elections, citizens can view voting trends as ballots are counted and votes are gradually compiled. This gives a sense of the collective civic action one has just partaken in as well as its direct, immediate impact. At times, risk, apprehension and even danger can be connected to a particular political outcome. In this way, the individual feels that his/her action becomes significant not in itself but if it is performed by all who share similar convictions. Ellul states that propaganda must communicate the following to the individual: "There is a way out. But only if everybody participates. *You* must participate. If you don't, all will be lost through your fault" (1973, p.150). Given that technology made it easily possible and within reach to participate, one could send in his/her "vote" against global poverty through the touch of a computer key or cellular phone, the pressure not to fail one's global citizenry was even greater. Furthermore, *Live 8* participants had a visual display of fellow protesters' involvement through the scrolling petitioners names on the screens that framed the top of the *Live 8* concert stages. This created an undeniable self-awareness. Dayan speaks of self-awareness in publics through the specific example of cashometers in telethons:

The ever-present cashometer continuously focuses attention on the exemplary nature of the public's unity and solidarity'( Cardon & al 1998:37 ) The cashometer 'shows us society as it should be'. It provides the viewers with 'subjunctive' self-awareness. Situated at the centre of the event, it becomes its embodiment or emblem. (2001, p.11)

We have discussed in the first chapter *Live 8*'s telethon-like trait despite its strict shift in focus on action instead of fundraising. Yet, both the telethon and political campaign concept find resonance here. The electronic scrolling petition banner fuses the idea of the cashometer and the voters' poll results while providing that "subjunctive self-awareness". More particularly, the cashometer offers self-awareness in the third person: "it is not a question of "who we are" but of knowing "how many of us there are" (Dayan, 2001, p.11). In *Live 8*, technology and the event's politicized dimension provided both. Participation was not anonymous as petitioner's names were featured and their endless stream was a testimony to the immensity and the solidarity of the movement's global constituency.

The notion of citizenship answers three crucial aspects concerning modern man: attribution of meaning to technological power, the sense of belonging and lastly, affecting change. Karim remarks that "the creation of community through electronic communication is a primary theme in information society discourse" (2001, p.122). *Live 8* fulfilled the possibility of a community being united through technology in the name of political justice. Although *Live 8* received its fair share of criticism<sup>9</sup>, it was also revered as the "biggest interactive event in history" (Tarman, 2005). In turn, global citizenship as it was portrayed, provided meaning and purpose for this great technological achievement and for an individual's participation in the event. As Tarman explains, "AOL CEO Jon Miller said: "We have seen the internet emerge as an incredibly powerful force for good in the world...with Live8, we have the chance to help eradicate global poverty, not by raising money, but by linking people from around the globe, so that their collective

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<sup>9</sup> See Jagger (2005), Langer (2005), Thompson & Elliott (2005), Suri (2005), Williams (2005)

voices can be heard loud and clear. Nothing like this has ever been done on this scale before” (2005, p.110). Having an array of technological tools within reach all the while becoming aware of information like the crisis of extreme poverty acquired meaning through global citizenship.

Ellul also explains that one of man’s greatest needs is to feel that he is right in his own eyes as well as to those around him. In addition, “he feels the need to belong to a group, which he considers right and which he can proclaim as just, noble, and good” (1973, p.155). *Live 8* responded to this need by offering the individual a seemingly noble movement to participate in and in doing so he/she could become part of a united and mobilized community through the role of global citizen. The next chapter explores in greater detail this concept of citizenship at the heart of *Live 8*



## CHAPTER 4: *CITIZENSHIP*<sup>10</sup>

*“Propaganda restricts itself to utilizing, increasing, and reinforcing the individual’s inclination to lose himself in something bigger than he is, to dissipate his individuality, to free his ego of all doubt, conflict, and suffering—through fusion with others; to devote himself to a great leader and a great cause”.*

*(Ellul, 1973, p.169)*

Within the orchestration of propaganda, not only must the individual be integrated within a system according to sociological bases but he/she must be led. An important characteristic that propaganda promotes is “a projection into, and identification with, a hero and a leader” (Ellul, 1973, p.171). This leader becomes an example to follow for the masses. All socio-political movements and all constituencies require a leader. *Live 8*, having presented itself as a movement for global citizens within its own mediated life-world, also required strong leadership. What is more, rhetoric in the form of the spoken word becomes central to a leader’s persuasive power. A leader’s charisma and his/her delivery of speeches can attract individuals and strengthen the connection they feel to the movement’s message. Especially during an attempt to successfully lead masses through a crisis, a leader’s moral character (ethos) and credibility weigh heavily. The masses must have confidence in their leader to truly be moved and convinced by his/her arguments. To identify with a message, they must necessarily also identify with the leader. Burke explains that the core of rhetoric is in fact a process of identification (Burke, 1969). It is

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<sup>10</sup> This chapter was presented at Congress 2010 in Montreal (Concordia University) as part of the Canadian Communication Association portion

crucial for a rhetorician to know who his listeners are and talk their language in such a way that they identify with him. The process of identification in *Live 8* becomes more intricate since its leaders, Bob Geldof and Bono, have been first and foremost known as musicians rather than politicized figures. However, if the masses were to take action as citizens instead of remaining passive fans, it was critical that they identify with Geldof and Bono as political movement leaders. This necessitated a process of reconstitution.

To a certain extent, the two rock stars were somewhat already aided by their representation in mass media. Street et al. explain how Bob Geldof came to be depicted as speaking for the popular conscience: “On the day of *Live 8*, *The Independent* (2 July 2005) devoted its front page to an open letter from Geldof to the G8 leaders. *The Sun*’s (2 July 2005) *Live 8*’s souvenir 8-page pull out’ opened with a headline that appeared to issue from Geldof: ‘I can’t wait for world to come together to cry out for Africa’. On the day that *Live 8* was announced, the *Daily Mail* (1 June 2005) headed the story: ‘Geldof’s encore for the world’s poor’” (2008, p.282).

Both Geldof and Bono are self-proclaimed spokesmen for Africa but the media has been an essential legitimizing force in reinforcing this perception: “It was evident that over time, and following a general trend towards greater focus on celebrity, the mainstream press has come to sanction (even sanctify) the authority of figures like Bono and Geldof” (Street et al., 2008, p.282). Celebrity diplomats no longer simply stand as mute models for causes. Richey and Ponte note that “more than simply exercising their networking possibilities, aid celebrities act as emotional sovereigns, in the classical republican sense where the sovereign manifests the true will of ‘the people’” (2008, p.719). In *Live 8*, not only did Geldof and Bono proclaim themselves spokespersons for a

cause but given that the event was strictly publicized as a political movement, they positioned themselves as politicized leaders. It must not be forgotten either that the primary goal of the event was explicitly expressed as a shift from monetary donation to action as it sought to take fans and spectators and move them to take action as citizens. In other words, *Live 8* featured a reconstitution of its public from fans to citizens.

It remains that Geldof and Bono's identities and characters (ethos) are first and foremost associated to the ones of musicians. Their representation in the mass media as politicized philanthropists and activists would not be sufficient in earning them credibility as revolutionary movement leaders. What is more, in the event, a large part of the persuasive communication took place through speeches during the concerts. If we consider that both Geldof and Bono were familiar to their listeners first as mainstream musicians and not political figures, we may assume that they needed to reconstitute their ethos in addition to reconstituting their audience of music fans. Citizenship in *Live 8* was a need but it also stood at the heart of an important process of reconstitution. This chapter offers a rhetorical analysis with the goal of understanding what role citizenship played in *Live 8*. The intention is not to discuss what citizenship means or has meant in history but how individuals were reconstituted as citizens during this event.

### ***Live 8, a Rhetorical Event***

*Live 8*, as a series of concerts with popular musical acts, a gathering of masses to protest or attract attention to an issue is not in those terms, the first event of its kind. In his extensive work on celebrity activism, Huddart (2005) enumerates an array of humanitarian concerts since the 1960s, among others; for the civil rights movement, the

Vietnam war, concerts for Bangladesh (by Shankar & Harrison), an “Evening for Salvador Allende” for post-coup Chile refugees, etc. Woodstock in 1969 is another occasion that served to define a generation in political terms while music played a major role in the process of mobilization.

*Live 8* is a rhetorical event. It advocated the ideal of political justice and eradication of poverty suggesting that all people around the world should rally together in solidarity towards this end. Given that the concerts were strategically and purposely free and in so doing, audience members were no longer consumers paying for a show, organizers were further capable to reconstitute them as citizens and also reconstitute themselves as their representatives as they prepared to meet with the G8 politicians. Finally, technology was employed to make this a “global” occasion in a most literal sense.

The identity of *Live 8* participants in the discourse that circulated and surfaced beyond the mediated realm of the event was not fixed. For example, one BBC report described a concert attended by 205 000 “music fans who came to hear acts including Madonna, U2, Coldplay, Sir Elton John, Sting, Sir Paul McCartney and Bono” (BBC, 2005, n.p.). On the contrary, the identity of the participant in the rhetoric generated by organizers and principal rhetors in the event was not ambiguous and was meant to reconstitute them from music fans to citizens. Every aspect of the event was portrayed to fit a strictly politicized aesthetic. The possible perspective of music fans attending free concerts that so happened to have a humanitarian theme was turned into the description

of citizens refuting cynicism, dancing and celebrating life “so that one day everyone in the world will be able to”<sup>11</sup>.

### ***A Rhetorical Analysis***

In *The Rhetorical Career of Cesar Chavez*, Hammerback & Jensen (1998) propose a model for reconstitutive discourse. Primarily influenced by the Burkean concept of identification, the authors’ model is built upon the interaction of three components (the first persona, the substantive message and the second persona) through which a rhetor reconstitutes his audience. Hammerback and Jensen expand on Booth’s definition of the first persona to include non-textual sources as part of the formation of a rhetor’s ethos. The substantive message is explained as that which allows a rhetor to embody his/her ideas. Finally, Hammerback and Jensen expand on Black’s (1970) definition of the second persona as being explicitly and implicitly communicated by the rhetor. The current analysis elaborates on this theory of reconstitutive discourse through an exploration of *Live 8* proposing in this case a further consideration of the reconstitutive model as being layered or in other words as identification manifesting itself on two levels.

Starting from the assumption that Bono and Geldof needed to reconstitute their ethos, this rhetorical analysis suggests that the process of identification and subsequent reconstitution occurred through identification to the persona not of *Live 8*’s rhetors but of the rhetors of past social movements in history that were referenced in *Live 8*. Furthermore, it proposes that as *Live 8* was positioned as similar to these other important

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<sup>11</sup> All referenced utterances made during concerts are found in the *Live 8* official DVD

occasions of political and social revolution, the process of identification included the audience of *Live 8* also identifying with the persona of these audiences in past events.

From this perspective, *Live 8*'s "music fans" were reconstituted as citizens within a social and political movement. Furthermore, the contemporary and novel aspect of integrated technology which made *Live 8*'s environment essentially mediated, contributed to reconstituting the *Live 8* audience member not as a mere citizen but as a global citizen. Finally, this analysis ends with considering the possibility that *Live 8*'s reconstitutive rhetoric, which was largely built upon an identification to the past, led to a certain "performed" citizenship by both rhetors and audience during *Live 8*.

### ***The Reconstitutive Model of Live 8's Rhetoric***

"We have seen that media events may create their own constituencies."  
(Dayan & Katz, 1992, p.15)

Cooper mentions how "[a]t the 2005 Gleneagles summit, rock stars Bono and Sir Bob Geldof were welcomed like visiting heads of state, gaining coveted bilateral meetings with UK Prime Minister Tony Blair, US President George W. Bush, and UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan"(2007, p.1). This inclusion of Bono and Geldof in an official space of centralized power, was one of the non-textual sources (Hammerback & Jensen, 1998, p.51) that served to construct and elevate their ethos in their auditor's mind and reconstitute them as politicized figures. Bono and Geldof consistently positioned and willingly proclaimed themselves as representatives of the *Live 8* audience. After describing his visit to the highly secured Gleneagles G8 meeting venue, Bono informed the crowd: "I hope you don't mind, but I gave them your permission to spend your

money ending extreme poverty in our lifetime”. Prior to meeting with the G8 leaders in Edinburgh Geldof promised: “We swear to you that we will make them feel every ounce of emotion and noise that you have generated in this stadium here with us tonight. We swear....How can these eight men refuse us now”. At the closing “Final Push” concert in Edinburgh on July 6<sup>th</sup>, Geldof stood side by side with Bono and Mitch Ure, as Presidents do at rallies with political associates or vice-Presidents. They each took turns addressing the audience with poise as well as a carefully crafted intonation and demeanor reminiscent of political speakers, without a trace of the stereotypes of rock and roll culture. The only indication of music was the instruments in the background of the stage they spoke from. However, demeanor alone could not be sufficient for these *Live 8* organizers to reconstitute themselves successfully as legitimate politicized leaders to their audiences who knew them as pop rock stars (or at most, ambassadors for causes) for the majority of their public careers. Had it been so, *Live 8*’s audiences would have identified to Bono as “singer of U2” and Geldof as a rock rebel and sensation. I suggest that the foundation of this reconstitutive process, which allowed for the transformation of Bono and Geldof’s personas is rooted in the use of “memorable phrases” as explained by Kathleen Jamieson Hall in her book *Eloquence in an Electronic Age*.

Within the rhetoric of *Live 8* one discovers an array of references, some explicit some more subtle, to historical and political grass-roots movements that have instantiated political revolution in the past. I interpret Jamieson’s theory of the synoptic or memorable phrase as a particular manifestation of Hammerback and Jensen’s substantive message component which the authors describe as being comprised of themes, arguments, explanation and evidence that allow the rhetor to embody his/her ideas, ideology or

movement (1998, p.52). Jamieson explores how synoptic phrases function as synecdoche when they come to stand for an entire oration. *Live 8* recirculated within its discourse an array of synoptic phrases belonging to memorable speeches of past social movements. Through the use of these synoptic phrases, the rhetoric of *Live 8* positioned its agents within a long line in history of singular opportunities and great movements, which succeeded at affecting social or political change. This at once became a major theme and argument of *Live 8*'s substantive message moving individuals to participate in the event in order to take part in another great moment in history.

### ***Memorable Personas***

“Mahatma Gandhi freed a continent, Martin Luther King freed a people, Nelson Mandela freed a country. It does work. They will listen”.

– Bob Geldof

Jamieson explains that “among the components that eloquent speeches have in common is the existence of a memorable statement that capsulizes the speech and serves as the hook on which we hang it in memory”. (1988, p.90) She lists a few such speeches: Martin Luther King’s “I have a Dream”, Churchill’s “Finest Hour”, DeGaulle’s “Vive le Quebec Libre”. In *Live 8*'s official press release one reads: “These concerts are the starting point for the long walk to justice”. This metaphor of the “long walk” that is used to describe the goal at hand, also represents a memorable title; the one of Nelson Mandela’s autobiography “A Long Walk to Freedom”. In addition to the publicity for the main day of concerts on July 2nd, the *Live 8* campaign also made reference to another infamous movement as the public was invited to take part in what Geldof coined “a



million man march” to Edinburgh on the day of the G8 meeting. Audiences were urged to take part in what Bono described (on July 2<sup>nd</sup>) as “the most powerful mandate in the history of mandates”. Addressing the crowds in London on that same day, Bill Gates uttered his speech in a fashion that almost begged the words “I have a dream” as a preamble before saying: “Some day in the future, all people, no matter where they are born, will be able to lead a healthy life”. Such references were the foundation of *Live 8*’s substantive message, which would deeply influence its rhetoric’s 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> personas. Jamieson states that the ability to create moments of memorable synoptic phrases within a speech has become more important than the capacity to forge an artful speech that sustains an important argument (1988, p.114). In this sense, *Live 8*’s orations did not need to be elaborate or complex in explaining the problem at hand, arguments could be legitimized through the careful insertion of past slightly altered synoptic phrases.

Hammerback and Jensen explain that “as a general rule, when a rhetor identifies with a message, auditors who identify with that rhetor will be inclined to identify with that message too” (1998, p.52). In the case of *Live 8* however, the process is layered; we may say that as the event recirculated synoptic phrases, its rhetors identified with the substantive messages of the referenced historical political struggles while simultaneously also identifying with these leaders in the past. In this way, *Live 8*’s auditors were reconstituted by embodying not only past substantive messages but also identifying to past leaders’ personas. As Jamieson demonstrates, such memorable phrases survive their generative contexts and define the past for us (1988, p.91) and in the case of *Live 8* auditors themselves were defined in terms of the past. “By organizing ideas and evidence in ways expected by an audience, and by creating and fulfilling expectations through

familiar stylistic devices, a rhetor can achieve a degree of identification with audiences” (Hammerback and Jensen, 1998, p.51). Audiences in *Live 8* would not have typically expected the organizers to possess the ethos of politicians or social movement leaders. However, since the event was reconstituted as one similar to such other historical occasions of social and political revolution, this expectation would develop naturally. In other words, the logic could proceed as follows: if *Live 8* was in fact another great social and political movement like past ones in history, by consequence, its leaders should necessarily have a similar ethos to other great leaders in history. Bono and Geldof, the two main organizers and representatives of the event, placed themselves in the ranks of great leaders and martyrs. They reinforced this identification to them by having Nelson Mandela deliver a speech during the event. In some subtle manner perhaps, this appearance gave the impression of Bono and Geldof carrying a torch for a past revolutionary figure that gave his blessing and endorsed the rock stars’ own contemporary “movement”. As Bono introduced Mandela, he showcased his familiarity to the ex-President by introducing him by his full name “Madiba Nelson Mandela” which he is known to only have close friends call him.

The reconstitution of Bono and Geldof’s personas (as well as all rhetors in *Live 8*), as politicized leaders or ambassadors of a great movement demanded a consistency in the style of the employed rhetoric. Hollywood actors, philanthropists, models and artists performed brief orations, which reminded audiences of the purpose of the event before presenting any featured musical acts. George Clooney identified himself to the crowds as part of the “American contingent” and thanked the “delegates” from the United States that took part in mobilization efforts. Claudia Schiffer introduced herself as representing

the “German campaign and your voice against poverty” adding that Berlin was sending “regards to Edinburgh right here”. Without the politicized aesthetics of these introductions the event could have perhaps been mistaken for an awards show with audience members present as mere spectators.

Black (1970) explains the second persona as ensuing from identification to the first persona. Since *Live 8*'s rhetors embodied the persona of past historical rhetors such as Nelson Mandela, it would follow that *Live 8*'s audience would identify accordingly to the latter. Furthermore, as Geldof and Bono were perceived as embodying the persona of Nelson Mandela and *Live 8* as sharing a similar substantive message as the struggle against apartheid, we could assume on some level that perhaps the auditors of *Live 8* themselves would go further and complete the association by also identifying themselves to the auditors of those past movements during their participation in *Live 8*. Nelson Mandela himself perhaps contributed to strengthening this association as he greeted the *Live 8* masses with “comrades”, continuing on to say: “sometimes it falls upon a generation to be great. You can be that great generation. Let your greatness blossom”. It is nearly impossible to know for certain the motive of participation of each individual at *Live 8*. We can note however that *Live 8*'s rhetoric clearly reconstituted the notion of fans or spectators into one of informed citizen and to use Bono's words as he revealed the number of petition signers, “38 million people who are ready to go to work on these issues”. Both Geldof and Bono repeatedly used the metaphor of “clans”, “global clans” and “tribal gathering” to describe the mobilized masses. While Black's second persona is described as the text's implied auditor, Hammerback and Jensen go further in the definition and suggest that the second persona may be implicitly but also explicitly

communicated by the rhetor. As Will Smith took the stage in Philadelphia on July 2nd, the Declaration of the United States was mounted behind him in a frame. The citizens of the *Live 8* movement were explicitly reminded: “And the reason that millions of you have tuned in is because every three seconds, in one of the poorest countries in the world, a child dies as a result of extreme poverty, dies of hunger, or malaria, or TB”. Before Annie Lennox took the stage for a moving solo rendition featuring a video of Africans infected with AIDS, Brad Pitt recounted a story from a trip to the continent in which an African woman pleaded with him to get her drugs. His words explicitly once again implied an auditor ready to defend this woman and wrong global injustices at any cost. His brief oration was concluded with the statement that “we the fortunate...this is what we stand for, this is who we are”. While *Live 8*’s rhetoric implied that its call for political justice was being answered by “citizens”, it also identified itself as a *global* movement.

### ***The Global Citizen***

*“I will never forget that day. Neither will you.  
Neither must you. Tell your children you were there.  
That you watched. That you changed the world. You  
and your mates. All 3 billion of them.”*

*– Bob Geldof (DVD booklet)*

Huddart suggests that Bob Geldof has created unprecedented humanitarian gatherings through the amalgamation of different components from past musical events all the while orchestrating a sense of “global occasion”. Some of these components consist of the combination of documentary film footage (of humanitarian crises), musical acts, celebrity appearances and technology to virtually gather audiences around the world in order for them to simultaneously experience the occasion (Huddart, 2005, p.36). Other scholars

such as Keith Tester have described *Live 8* as one that was used to instantiate the idea of the “global village” and which in fact was termed at that time “the global jukebox” (1994, p.86).

On July 2<sup>nd</sup> Geldof took the stage with his guitar and before singing said: “From all over the world, from all over Scotland, from all over the UK, we told them we’d come. We came.” In the United States, the date of July 2<sup>nd</sup>, happened to coincide with Independence Day weekend. However, each mention of this fact was followed by a call for a “weekend of interdependence” instead (Geldof, July 2<sup>nd</sup>). As Dayan and Katz (1992) have observed that “the rhetoric of events very often spills over into the rhetoric of family” (1992, p.133). Richard Gere introducing Stevie Wonder from Philadelphia, the “city of brotherly love”, on the day of “not dependence but interdependence” urged the audience before him: “let us all come together as one”. The naming of countries or cities was always made in relation to a whole and reiterated the movement as a global one which was comprised of many geographical sites and was unfolding simultaneously. As Geldof walked out on stage in London he shouted to the audience: “there are three billion people watching you right this minute” before reporting that in Philadelphia, “one million people are on the streets, your brothers and sisters”. What served to fix this notion of the global citizen and have auditors truly embody this characteristic was the visual rhetoric of *Live 8* and its pathos of “the global” through performative acts.

Large-scale concerts, often have screens that adorn the stage in order for spectators to see performers more clearly, especially when masses extended far into the distance. They provide a connection to the performance that is unfolding several hundred meters away. Though concerts are focused on the musical component and a listener can

still enjoy the event though they may be not be able to see much, there is a powerful effect in being able to view “live” that which one is hearing in the moment. Facial expressions of rhetors/performer also communicate feelings and render the experience a more “intimate” one or as intimate as large concerts can be. *Live 8*’s screens were used to this traditional end but also offered visuals of performances and fellow “protesters” not only meters away but oceans and countries away. Audiences could see and be seen by one another. At the very beginning of the event on July 2<sup>nd</sup>, American actor Will Smith initiated the “global” greeting from Philadelphia saying: “I’d like to take this moment right now, so we can all meet one another around the world”<sup>12</sup>. From Philadelphia to Hyde Park in London, to Berlin, Paris, Ontario Canada and then back to Philadelphia, audiences were encouraged to cheer, wave and acknowledge one another. Drawing a full circle in images, the technology connected the *Live 8* auditors and held together the mediated *Live 8* world. Audiences embodied the global movement, literally. As if it were a body with different parts (in this case geographical sites) it could only function as a whole. Other smaller screens on top of the stage were used to flash messages and scrolling names of participants that had signed or texted in their name to support the global campaign’s petition. The continual stream of names also emphasized the enormity of the campaign and served as visual rhetoric. Though the themes of solidarity, unity and brotherly love were reiterated time and again through words, nothing could convince or provide a *Live 8* audience member with a greater feeling of connection than the “live” images of others seemingly present because of the same convictions.

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<sup>12</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qOspXgms8Wk> (accessed Dec 1, 2009)

One of the most provocative pieces of visual rhetoric that was used to advertise the *Live 8* campaign while relaying the urgency of the cause was the “snap” technique. This represented a way of relaying alarming statistics (snapping fingers every 3 seconds to convey at what rate a child dies in Africa everyday) and illustrate the crisis taking place in a manner that also made the tragedy somewhat “live” by its very performative aspect. The *Live 8* “commercial” with an array of celebrities staring into the camera and snapping their fingers was aired on TV as well as during the concerts. In that same oration in Philadelphia, after airing the commercial on the screens, Will Smith asked the audience to snap their fingers in unison encouraging everyone to let the G8 world leaders know that they were calling on them to end poverty. Unlike Brad Pitt’s mere statement that “by the time this concert ends this evening, thirty thousand Africans will have died because of extreme poverty”, the collective act of snapping in unison also instantiated the global reach of *Live 8*’s message and an act of protest. As Jamieson states when a “synoptic statement is spoken in a visual environment that dramatizes it, the visual verbal moment will become the capsule in which television viewers store the event” (1988, p.91). After a few moments of this snapping sequence Will Smith ended by telling audiences: “Thank you for being part of *Live 8*”. This last statement, though simple, raises questions about the possible impact of reconstitutive rhetoric on the definition of citizenship and civic participation.

### ***To be or not to be, a global citizen?***

A rhetorical analysis of media events such as this one remains important because of the ways that they not only reconstitute auditors but also their auditors’ perception of

themselves in the world. In turn, our understanding of what civic participation means and how we may truly affect change concerning global issues is deeply altered as well. However as it is exemplified with the current study, a rhetorical analysis proves most informative not on its own but in connection to the entire structure of persuasion of an object of study. In an article on Ellul's relevance to the rhetorical tradition, Kluver explains: "To examine the rhetorical artifact without a corresponding analysis of the entire social propaganda network would completely misread the nature of the propaganda" (1995, p.17). One of the processes that is found at the heart of propaganda as Ellul explains it and of rhetoric as well is identification. In this way, a combination of a rhetorical analysis and one based on propaganda principles proves richer for a global understanding. Rhetoric in *Live 8* reconstituted the identity of individuals into the one of citizens but it succeeded because citizenship was a need and because this rhetoric supplemented the whole of the persuasion structure in question. Rhetoric formed part of the agitation propaganda portion of *Live 8*'s persuasive apparatus in that it fulfilled a need that was connected to pre-established sociological ideologies, myths and presuppositions.

Assuming it is plausible that *Live 8*'s rhetoric reconstituted passive music fans into active protesting citizens as it successfully mobilized masses all around the world, what is the value of such an analysis beyond a rhetorical understanding? Hammerback and Jensen explain reconstitution as requiring "auditors to adopt an altered identity and often to act out a new way of life" (1998, p.45). In considering this statement in the context of *Live 8*, we must take into consideration the component of time. *Live 8* may have altered the identity of its auditors during the concerts but it is more difficult to posit that its rhetoric moved them to act out a new identity and maintain it. This feature of



lasting transformation is one that Hammerback and Jensen deem innovative in the model they present: “the reconstitutive discourse model applies to effects long past those experienced in the moment” (1998, p.56). *Live 8* transposed the idea of a political movement onto a very narrow timeframe and presented the task of ending poverty as, in the words of musician Dave Matthews during an interview, “effortless. It’s eight signatures, really” (Langer, 2005, p.525). In actuality, we know that political movements gain momentum, grow and work towards their goal over years, sometimes decades. The time frame of *Live 8* makes it difficult to confirm that this lasting change occurred. With this consideration and with suggesting that the reconstitutive rhetoric in *Live 8* was based on identification to the past (to past substantive messages, past rhetors’ and past audiences’ personas), the latter begs the question of whether the ways in which auditors were moved to action did not give way to a performed citizenship. The conclusion to this thesis explores this notion of performance, how it manifested itself in connection to citizenship within *Live 8* and its implications for contemporary times.

## CHAPTER 5: *CONCLUSION*

*Live 8*'s emphasis on action instead of charity makes it a particularly unique media event worth studying. The presented analysis has featured a continuous focus on the event's explicit call for action to citizens. Each chapter has investigated the relationship between the notion of action and the three foundational elements of the event: technology, mobilization and rhetoric. In the first chapter, *Live 8* was situated as a hybrid media event based on its label of "political movement". An exploration of participation, togetherness and interactivity spoke to technology's influence on action. In the second chapter, the orchestration of the move to action was examined through Ellulian principles of propaganda. This revealed that the root of action in *Live 8* was sociological. Finally, a rhetorical analysis of the ways in which individuals were reconstituted as citizens, suggested that this action was performative.

With such an array of investigations on the nature of action, one very important question still remains: what was the action that was demanded from the public during the event? What did taking action consist of? As *Live 8*'s appeals to its public indicate, individuals were encouraged to make themselves heard and to attend concerts so that the world's eight most powerful politicians would know they were being watched. In fact, the very decision to make concerts free was strategic in the hopes of increasing numbers in attendance and in turn, increasing pressure on the political leaders. Claudia Schiffer stated in Berlin: "Well we are here, to ask 8 men to save 800 million lives. We're watching you!". Singer Dido, in London, reiterated: "There are millions and millions of voices asking you to do the right thing and we will be waiting" (official *Live 8* DVD

booklet). In simplest terms, the action was showing up. But this act of attendance and of being watchful also translates to an act of witnessing. In other words, individuals were urged to become witnesses to politicians' decisions during the G8 summit and through this, impact those very decisions.

Considering the analyses of this thesis in its entirety, the act of witnessing during *Live 8* is intricately connected to technology, propaganda, performance and citizenship. Bringing into dialogue the thinking of two authors included throughout this thesis, Jacques Ellul and Daniel Dayan, this conclusion poses the question of how the notions of citizenship and performance interact with one another within *Live 8* and the latter's implication in contemporary times. This conclusion also suggests that *Live 8* has offered a new conception of citizenship today within the realm of media events. This citizenship is introduced as having manifested itself as a "sociologically performative propaganda" during *Live 8*.

### ***The Public, Performance & Citizenship***

*"D'après moi les publics sont actifs. Leur activité prend la forme d'une performance, performance qu'il faut étudier car elle est consubstantielle à l'évènement."*

*(Dayan, Mediamorphoses, 2007)*

This thesis starts with an acknowledgment of the central role of action within *Live 8* and concludes with the recognition that this action was a performance that took form through the concept of the global citizen. In his research on reception and television, Daniel Dayan distinguishes between publics and audiences. He describes publics as performative and active whereas audiences are said to be reactive. In these terms, to recognize the

performative aspect of civic action in *Live 8* is to also recognize the event's viewers as a public. However, *Live 8*'s public as it is situated in a media events context also qualifies as a community since the event attempted to mobilize a *global* community<sup>13</sup>. This community related to a number of values for which it chose to take action such as political justice and equality. A community's transition into a "public" occurs namely through the translation of these values in universal terms (Dayan, 2003, n.p.). Yet the values of the *Live 8* community were already expressed in universal terms since they stemmed from a "deterritorial" (Hepp & Krönert, 2010) community. In this case, the transition into a public occurred through the event's community "showing itself" and being performative (Dayan, 2003, n.p.). Daniel Dayan explains that "a public is characterized by the loyalty expressed to certain values with reference to a perceived common good or a shared symbolic world-view" (2003, n.p.). At a most basic level, we can posit that viewers were constituted as a public in that they expressed loyalty to the idea of political justice as well as to sociological presuppositions and ideologies<sup>14</sup>. This public was performative in its enactment of citizenship<sup>15</sup>. This performance of citizenship, unfolded according to a given "script" (Dayan, 1999, p.56), which relied on an identification to the past prompted by the rhetoric of *Live 8*'s organizers. Moreover, the opinions, solutions, and worldviews that transpired through this model of citizenship and this process of identification were largely determined by sociological propaganda in Ellulian terms.

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<sup>13</sup> See Chapter 1

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter 3

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter 4

Katz mentions that in media events, viewers are “willing to go live” (2010, n.p.). When an event is depicted as an important historical moment, the willingness to go live is also in turn a willingness to become a witness. Similar to the Ellulian model of propaganda individuals in this case demonstrate a willingness to engage with what is proposed. They are not passive receivers. Interestingly, Dayan and Ellul’s theories on witnessing and propaganda share an important sociological basis in their perspectives. Dayan (2010, n.p.) suggests that there can be forms of witnessing that qualify as calculated performances in which an individual as witness offers an account in a way that he/she has been educated to provide it, according to certain societal norms (i.e. journalists). In this sense, a public reflects “the existence of a set of normative performances” (Dayan, 2001, n.p.). Incorporating Ellul within this understanding, we can posit that a global citizen’s performance as witness in *Live 8* was also calculated and delivered according to how he/she had been propagandized sociologically.

### ***A “Sociologically performative propaganda”: Total and Mediated***

This thesis has revealed the sociological basis of *Live 8*’s message as well as the agitation propaganda principles on which it operated. Beyond revealing that Ellul’s writings still retain relevance today it also informs us, as this conclusion suggests, on a contemporary form of propaganda born from today’s interactive technological environment. Ellul presents four categories of propaganda: rational/irrational, sociological/political, of agitation/integration and vertical/horizontal. The “sociologically performative propaganda” encompasses all of these. It is irrational as it is addressed to emotions. However, considering Ellul’s statements on this aspect, we realize that it is also a

“rational propaganda” (1973, p.84), which furnishes facts and statistics. As with all propaganda, its base is sociological. At the moment of urgency or crisis, it also is activated by agitation propaganda. It is vertical in that it requires a charismatic leader to lead the dissemination of messages from the top down. The performative role it suggests to its public is also explicitly described by the leader’s rhetoric similarly to the way it was done in *Live 8*. However, a “sociologically performed propaganda” is horizontal as well. Through the presence of new media, social networks/platforms particularly, its messages are disseminated outside a hierarchical structure and individuals propagandize each other (unconsciously or consciously). It is technology that causes the emergence of the particularly performative aspect of this propaganda. The performance that reinforces the suggested identity is exercised in a climate of interactivity and togetherness thanks to technology. In other words, technology is the tool through which an individual poses the performative action.

### ***Activation of Performance***

This propaganda is precisely performative because the individual actively engages and participates in it through the specific identification that is offered to him/her. In this case, it was through the identity of the global citizen. It is rhetoric and the use of technology that both reinforce the process of identification to the role that is suggested to the individual. In these terms, this performance would be understood simply as role-playing within a symbolic realm. This performance is of course, as all performances are, ephemeral. However, it differs in that the role that is performed through the “sociologically performative propaganda” is not fleeting. The role at the heart of the

performance and the identification process is activated through agitation propaganda. That is to say, agitation propaganda moves the individual to take action based on sociological presuppositions that shape in advance the position the individual will take through that performance. It provokes a short-circuiting of thought within the performative process. The role in question is explicitly outlined by rhetoric. At the time of crisis, not only is the individual told which action to exercise but he/she is given an identity to perform which corresponds to a role within a narrative. Thus he/she takes action and can only do so through the prescribed identity. In *Live 8*, publics would pose their performative action of witnessing as global citizens identifying as individuals from technological societies who were carrying the torch for the ongoing struggle for political justice throughout history.

One may remark here that because sociological propaganda largely informs the individuals' performance, *Live 8*'s public was in actuality an audience. However, to call individuals an audience and imply that they were merely reacting to the event's messages would be to go against the core of Ellul's thesis on propaganda. Individuals in *Live 8* stand as a public because they actively engaged and performed their suggested identity. Although the performance was "reglée" (Dayan, 2010, n.p.) according to sociological bases, individuals still creatively engage in performing their identity through the use of mass media

### ***A Virtual Theatre***

As in the organization of all propaganda, mass media remains indispensable in "sociologically performative propaganda". As Ellul remarks about television in one of his

later interviews: “La machine rassemble” (Beuchot, 1988, n.p.). In a “sociologically performative propaganda”, new media technologies indeed unite the masses and also constitute the theatre for the performance as they create a ubiquitous mediated environment in which individuals carry out their performative acts. Propaganda prescribes the action (a scripted identification loaded with opinions, solutions, presuppositions) while technology provides the mediated theatre within which to perform the action. In other words, the mediated life-world becomes the theatrical realm during the length of the event amidst an atmosphere of “liveness”. As a public, individuals in *Live 8* were able to be performative and “show” themselves (Dayan, 2003, n.p.) through the mediated realm online, on screens during the concerts and through their names scrolling on electronic banners atop the stages.

*In Live 8*, individuals were asked to “show up”. However, presence was not limited to physical attendance as individuals could attend virtually as well. They could “show” themselves as global citizens having attended the event and express their feelings and opinions through interactive technological platforms. On the BBC’s website for example, an entire page with multiple sections was dedicated to “your *Live 8* reviews” and “your *Live 8* moments” (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/thelive8event/haveyoursay>). Individuals were asked to share their experience of the event through photos and testimonials. Ultimately, attending or texting in ones’ name to the event’s petition meant affirming one’s presence and existence as well as reinforcing one’s convictions in a climate of togetherness. As such, an individual was reiterating his identity while also affirming a collective identity he/she shared with others. Attendance meant witnessing and witnessing was performed through the use of various media.



### ***Citizen-witnesses***

*“Être témoin, c’est assister à un évènement et donc avoir un accès direct et immédiat à ce qui est en train de se passer. Un témoin vit l’expérience ‘d’être là’”.*

(Dayan, 2006, p.37).

“Sociologically performative propaganda” incorporates the concept of a performed role activated by agitation propaganda. In *Live 8*, this role was the one of global citizen. As part of the event’s campaign, the individual was asked to pose an action as a global citizen advocating political justice. This action was attending the *Live 8* concerts, which essentially consisted in an act of witnessing. Moreover, this witnessing as such was anticipated and calculated as it was deeply rooted in sociological presuppositions. In *Live 8*, witnessing is connected to three important components: history, narrative and duty. In turn, the combination all of these elements produces a normative dimension to citizenship since witnessing was the act at the core of the global citizen’s performance.

### ***The Historical and Narrative Dimensions***

The historical dimension of witnessing in *Live 8* is a multilayered one. (1) Witnessing the “greatest rock show in history” (official DVD booklet) as it unfolded made individuals witnesses, in the present, of a supposedly important historical moment. The publicity related to the event reinforced this impression as individuals were encouraged, for example, to purchase merchandise “to get yourself a piece of *Live 8* history”

(www.live8live.com)<sup>16</sup>. (2) The performance of citizenship placed participants within a long narrative of revolutionary movements and linked them to history through that very narrative structure. (3) As demonstrated in the last chapter, this performance was at once also deeply rooted in a historical dimension since individuals' identification process was directly based on an identification to other publics in history who also happened to have been witnesses to important events. Marshall Ganz explains: "Story telling is central to social movements because it constructs agency, shapes identity, and motivates action" (2008, n.p.). He states that three components are central to public narrative: "a story of why I have been called, a story of self; a story of why we have been called, a story of us; and a story of the urgent challenge on which we are called to act, a story of now" (2008, n.p.). In *Live 8*, the public narrative offered by Geldof and Bono is essentially linked to history and witnessing. The story of self that they recounted was not their own but of themselves as identifying to other leaders in history. The challenge on which individuals were called to act (story of us) entailed being witnesses to politicians' decisions in order to impact the course of history. Impacting the course of history or "making poverty history", as the campaign promoted, was "the story of now".

### *Duty & the Citizen-witness*

Dayan states: "Le témoin a le droit (le devoir en fait) de 'témoigner de'. Les témoins peuvent, et doivent parler aux autres de ce qu'ils ont vu" (2006, p.37). Dayan's definition of a witness implies a duty. It is two-fold. One must first witness and secondly fulfill the

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<sup>16</sup> The *Live 8* website is treated as somewhat of a historical artifact. When one logs on to the website one reads in a pop-up window: "The LIVE8 website is retained as a historical record of what happened on this amazing day and in the weeks that followed as the world's political leaders took notice".

duty of recounting what one has witnessed to others. He outlines three witness positions: (1) “ ‘témoigner que’ (j’y étais) - comme témoin oculaire”, (2) “ ‘témoigner pour’(reconnaissance) – pour que vous reconnaissiez l’humanité de ceux qui souffrent” et (3) “ ‘témoigner au nom de’ (système de croyances, d’idéologies)” (2010, n.p.). The action that was demanded from individuals in *Live 8* corresponds to the first position. They were asked to come and see the *Live 8* movement as it unfolded. Given the humanitarian dimension of the event, the witnessing also related to the second position; that of “témoigner pour”. Individuals were to mobilize and become witnesses so the suffering of those subjected to extreme poverty could be recognized. A conflict arises in connection to the third position of witnessing that also finds resonance in *Live 8*. Individuals witnessed “au nom de”, that is, in the name of particular ideologies and beliefs. However, the system of beliefs in question was based on a foundation of sociological propaganda. The essence of this sociological propaganda ultimately reiterated that the witnessing individuals’ way of life was superior and more evolved than the one of those whose suffering their witnessing was meant to recognize. One cannot truly recognize another if one sees that other as less evolved<sup>17</sup>.

Perhaps most importantly, one comes to realize that the dutiful aspect of witnessing in *Live 8* vanishes. On the BBC’s special *Live 8* page, most witness accounts of the event revolve around the quality of performances by artists in the concerts. While some individuals expressed the inspiration they felt from seeing so many people gather and share in the same mission, witnessing it seemed, was an end in itself. The notion of citizenship becomes that of witnessing for the sake of witnessing without the fulfillment

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<sup>17</sup> See Chapter 3

of a dutiful recounting of the event. In the context of Dayan's model, the performance of citizenship in *Live 8* ends up being solely "être témoin". In other words, it introduces a normative practice of citizenship in which the duty ends at witnessing or in which there is really, no duty passed attending.

### ***Final Reflections***

*"They can resist one particular propaganda, but not the general phenomenon of propaganda, for the development of the groups, takes place simultaneously with the development of propaganda. These groups develop inside a society propagandized to the extreme; they are themselves loci of propaganda; they are instruments of propaganda and are integrated into its techniques."*

*(Ellul, 1973, p.98)*

Jacques Ellul's writings on propaganda and technological society have been criticized for expressing a pessimistic outlook that seems to provide no solutions. Although Ellul suggests that no individual is immune to propaganda, he also states that the way to counter it is to become aware of its infrastructure. In this sense, a critical investigation of events such as *Live 8* is important in many respects. While it may be considered more effective in affecting social change to turn our gaze to the study of alternative humanitarian efforts, it is only realistic to acknowledge that the masses will always engage in these types of mainstream mediated events. In looking at them critically as a whole, we may begin to find alternative readings of these events and understand why others, and we ourselves, may be moved to take action within them so instantly.

Ellul's scholarship on persuasion extends beyond propaganda. It brings attention to the phenomenological and personal dimensions of propaganda as well as our

responsibility in critically engaging with messages that are suggested to us. If we keep the spirit of Ellul's writings in mind, it is not simply the dissemination of information about these humanitarian crises that is the most powerful catalyst for change. Instead of concentrating on becoming more efficient technically at the task of informing and mobilizing the masses, Ellul's theories suggests that we should also become aware of the messages that form the foundation promoting a move to action in the name of causes that essentially seem noble and good. Ellul urges us to take an approach that looks at actions in a holistic context instead of them as isolated gestures. For ourselves as citizens, for celebrities who proclaim themselves advocates, for musicians who perform at these events, witnessing in itself and "showing up" is not enough to impact revolutionary change as citizens. Asking oneself the question of why one is moved to show up is crucial.

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APPENDIX A

A2 News The Globe and Mail, Monday, May 10, 2010



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SPECIAL EDITION

# Africa's

R E N A I S S A N C E

GUEST EDITORS: BONO AND BOB GELDOF



From Africa to the moon: The story of man in two steps. An early human footprint in the Laetoli Gorge in Tanzania, left, and Neil Armstrong's footprint on the lunar surface. AFP/GETTY IMAGES/NASA

With today's special edition, The Globe kicks off a focus on Africa issues in the lead-up to the G8 and G20 summits in June. Online and in the paper, The Globe will touch on many issues critical to the continent, from maternal health to governance to climate change.

AFRICA'S RENAISSANCE FAIR

Caption reads: "From Africa to the moon: The story of man in two steps. An early human footprint in the Laetoli Gorge in Tanzania, left, and Neil Armstrong's footprint on the lunar surface".

## APPENDIX B

...  
The Globe and Mail, Monday, May 10, 2010

News

# How Africa will change the world

The Globe asks dignitaries, diplomats, musicians and others to weigh in with their insights about the continent's contributions



The two realities of Africa Living standards: Villagers in Uganda live in small huts. But downtown Johannesburg offers city living. PHOTOS BY: GETTY IMAGES, CORBIS

Caption reads: “*The two realities of Africa* Living standards: Villagers in Uganda live in small huts. But Johannesburg offers city living”.

## APPENDIX C

*“From the view which most interests modern man, that of yield, every technical activity is superior to every nontechnical activity”. (Ellul, 1964, p.83)*



Caption reads: *“The two realities of Africa Health care: In Senegal, a woman is sprayed with a liquid believed to be medicinal to treat a fertility problem. But in South Africa, top surgeons perform complex operations with state-of-the-art technology. Education: Children in Ethiopia take notes on paper. In Ghana, though, students are taught computer skills in a modern classroom.”*