

Trends in reporting on celebrity, charities and development and humanitarian NGOs in UK newspapers

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Summary

I explore trends in the mention of the terms celebrity and charity by UK newspapers from the late 1980s to the present (mid 1990s for tabloids), and then, more specifically, the use of celebrity with reference to development and humanitarian NGOs. There is a clear increase in mention of celebrity, but only in the broadsheets. Mention of celebrity is constant, but fluctuating in the tabloids, albeit over a shorter time span. There is a dramatic increase in the mention of the word 'celeb', but that represents only a change in terminology, and does not result in more articles. Mention of charity also increases across all papers. Note that mention of the word celebrity, celeb or celebs will underestimate the appearance of public figures in the news, since articles about the most famous people only mention the word celebrity about 25% of the time.

With respect to trends in the use of both words, the most important finding is that there is a steady increase in the mention of celebrity within articles about charity, driven by the broadsheets. This rise appears to halt in the early to mid 2000s and may now be on the wane. There is a marked decline in the mention of celebrity within articles about charity in the tabloids since 2002. Note that celebrity is still mentioned more in articles about charity than in other sorts of articles. Articles about celebrity however only mention charity relatively infrequently, with little increase over time.

With respect to specific development and humanitarian NGOs the proportion of articles mentioning them is generally decreasing. The proportion of articles about development and humanitarian NGOs which also mention celebrity has remained constant in the tabloids, and increased up to 2005 in the broadsheets, before declining. The general patterns conceal important differences in the performance of UNICEF in the tabloids and UNICEF and Oxfam in the broadsheets, whose coverage suggests strong celebrity programmes at work functioning as part of effective media teams.

Introduction and Outline

The upsurge in interest in celebrity in recent decades is visible in the number of articles mentioning 'celeb' 'celebrity' or 'celebrities' in newspaper articles. In this paper I outline the major trends that are visible. The results are surprising, and raise questions about the cultural juggernaut which celebrity has seemed to be. Simply put, mention of celebrity and charity, and celebrity and development and humanitarian NGOs more specifically, have been declining in recent years. Before drawing any conclusions we have to recognize the limits of the outlet – newspapers capture only a small proportion of the visibility of celebrities and of the work they do. There is a great deal of other celebrity activity beyond newspapers. Nevertheless there are some interesting trends to explore there. The paper

first explains the methods used to produce these findings. It then outlines the key results in brief and discusses their significance and implications.

Method

To conduct this research I used the Lexus Nexus database which is a record of all UK newspapers, with diverse start dates. This database can search individual articles for words. It does not tell you how prominently each article appeared in the journal, whether it was in the front pages or not, and how eye-catchingly it was illustrated. There are limits to what one can infer from simple quantities.

The availability of sources varies. I used the following because they provide a cross section of broadsheets and tabloids, and because they provided the longest range of records (Table 1).

Table 1: Newspapers used in the analysis and their availability

Paper	Date Available From	Days Available
The Guardian	July 14 1984	Mon - Sat not 25 or 26 Dec
The Times	July 1 1985	Mon - Sat
The Independent	19 September 1988	Mon - Saturday
Daily Mail and Mail on Sunday	1 Jan 1992	Not Dec 25
The Mirror and Sunday Mirror	May 29 1995	All
The Sun	Jan 1 2000	Monday - Saturday; not Dec 25

Note: I did not include the Daily Telegraph as it was only available from 2000 onwards.

I conducted searches during whole calendar years for when newspapers were available. Long term trends across all newspapers therefore conceal variation in the actual newspapers contributing to the data. The exact sequence is:

1985: Guardian

1986-8: Guardian and Times

1989-1991: Guardian, Times and Independent

1992-1995: Guardian, Times, Independent and Daily Mail

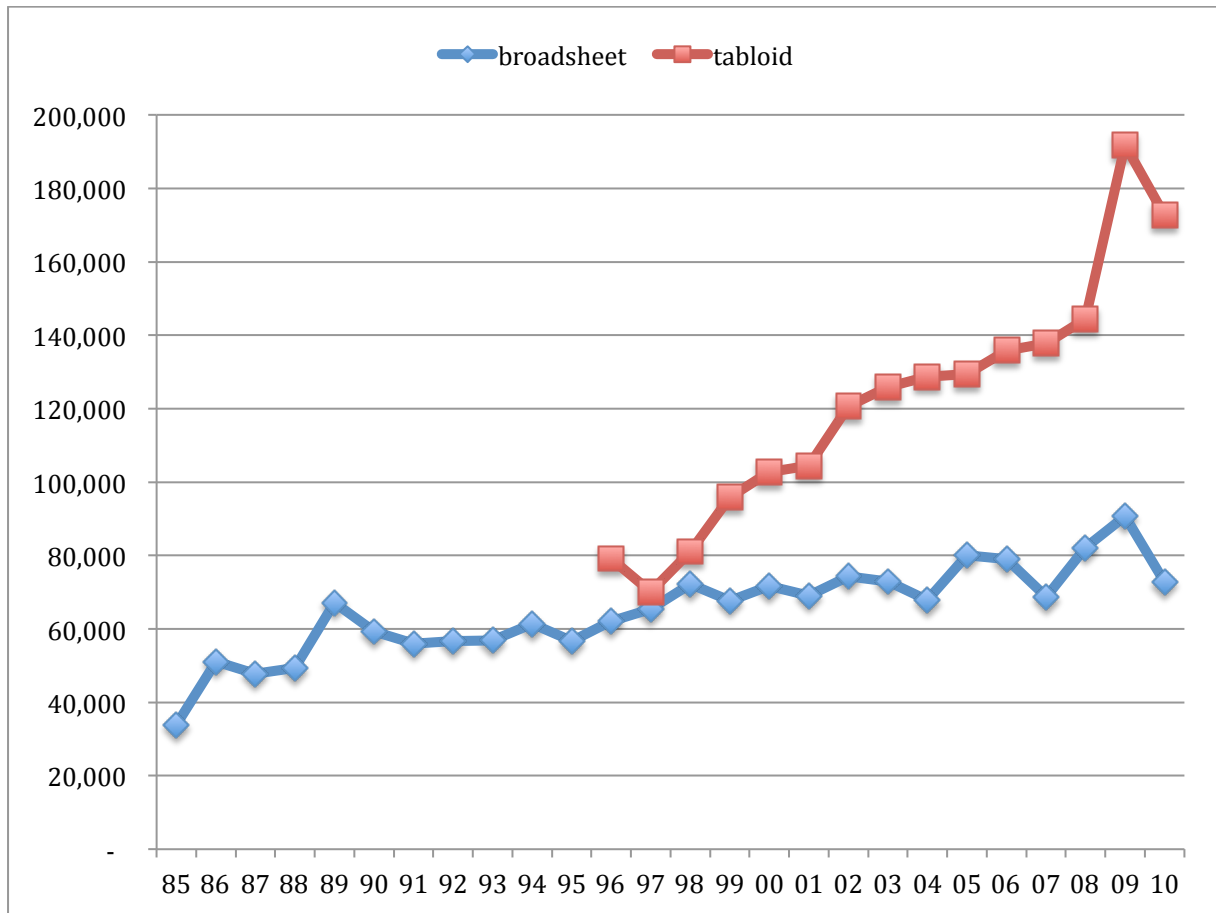
1996-1999: Guardian, Times, Independent, Daily Mail and Mirror

2000-present: Guardian, Times, Independent, Daily Mail, Mirror and Sun

In collating results I have generally shown Tabloids (the Sun and the Mirror) and Broadsheets (the Independent, Guardian and Times) separately. This misses out the Daily Mail, which rapidly become one of the more celebrity orientated papers, but which has gaps in its record (very few articles are reported for 1996 and 1997), and which anyway does not fit easily into either the tabloid or broadsheet category. Long term trends are therefore most complete for the broadsheets for which a complete record of the papers chosen exists since 1989. The complete record for the tabloids extends back to 2000.

In addition to recording the total number of articles, we must pay close attention to the proportion of articles printed on particular topics. This is because the total number of articles printed each year changes (Figure 1). While trends in absolute numbers of articles are interesting, trends in the proportion of articles on any one topic are more important.

Figure 1: Trends in average number of articles per paper per year



I estimated the total number of articles per paper each year by counting the number of articles mentioning the words 'a' or 'an' on the 26th of each month (12th of December, 27th of each month if that fell on a Sunday and that newspaper was not available).

Search Terms

I used the following search terms: 'celeb', 'celebs', 'celebrit!', and 'charit!' (the exclamation mark covers the different word endings possible). Mention of 'celebrity' in the text below refers always to mention of the three celebrity search terms. 'Charity' here is used as a shorthand for NGO, which is common practice in much of the British press.

To explore trends in coverage of the leading development and humanitarian NGOs. I used the lists of top fundraisers as determined by Micklewright and colleagues' analyses of development and humanitarian NGO fundraising from 1978-2004 (Atkinson *et al.* 2008). The top four such NGOs are Oxfam, Save the Children, the Red Cross, and Christian Aid. I have included amongst them UNICEF in the analyses which follow, for although it is not a leading fund raiser in the UK, is similarly significant in press coverage (see bold figures in Table 2 below).

Table 2: Development and Humanitarian NGOs in the UK with number of news articles

Row Labels	broadsheet	tabloid	Total
ActionAid	947	138	1,085
CAFOD	699	39	738
Christian Aid	2,216	390	2,606
Islamic Relief	162	34	196
MSF	1,601	149	1,750
Oxfam	8,123	2,054	10,177
Red Cross	12,995	2,585	15,580
Sight Savers	187	27	214
STC	5,678	1,298	6,976
Tearfund	165	22	187
UNICEF	4,427	1,697	6,124
Wateraid	361	56	417
Total	37,561	8,489	46,050

Is 'celebrity' the right way to search for celebrity?

Anyone who reads articles about celebrity will know that articles about celebrities will rarely, in fact, use the words 'celeb', 'celebs' or 'celebrity'. The term is simply not needed, indeed it may even have pejorative connotations, associated with people who are well known irrespective of their abilities. Table 3 shows the press coverage received for selected public figures. Table 4 reports the small proportion of these articles which use the words 'celeb', 'celebs' or 'celebrity'.

Table 3: Celebrities with number of articles in British papers

Name	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Angelina Jolie	509	1,047	1,045	1,017	1,166	1,173	1,040
Beyonce Knowles	536	318	467	456	470	1,269	736
Bob Geldof	665	2,095	726	584	514	362	351
Bono	1,050	1,711	1,456	1,178	1,087	1,296	1,133
Brad Pitt	1,015	1,376	1,240	1,150	1,069	1,417	996
Colin Firth	304	252	152	261	295	381	564
David Beckham	8,008	5,664	6,529	5,513	4,042	5,349	5,130
Elton John	1,336	2,011	1,471	1,415	931	1,362	1,107
Ewan McGregor	448	762	547	444	398	432	424
Joanna Lumley	215	285	205	240	292	860	485
Johnny Depp	606	807	738	601	612	704	813
Maria Sharapova	463	736	563	489	491	465	295
Michael Buerk	94	152	72	44	48	52	57
Oprah Winfrey	245	297	404	334	465	667	563
Roger Federer	937	1,343	1,513	1,404	1,853	2,769	2,096
Simon Cowell	883	1,003	1,236	1,582	2,084	5,015	5,020
Steven Spielberg	443	613	513	392	623	610	544
Tiger Woods	1,846	2,101	2,699	2,015	1,984	2,977	4,102
Tom Cruise	923	1,335	1,529	1,114	929	1,068	889
Grand Total	20,526	23,908	23,105	20,233	19,353	28,228	26,345

Table 4: Proportion of articles about celebrities that use the term ‘celebrity’

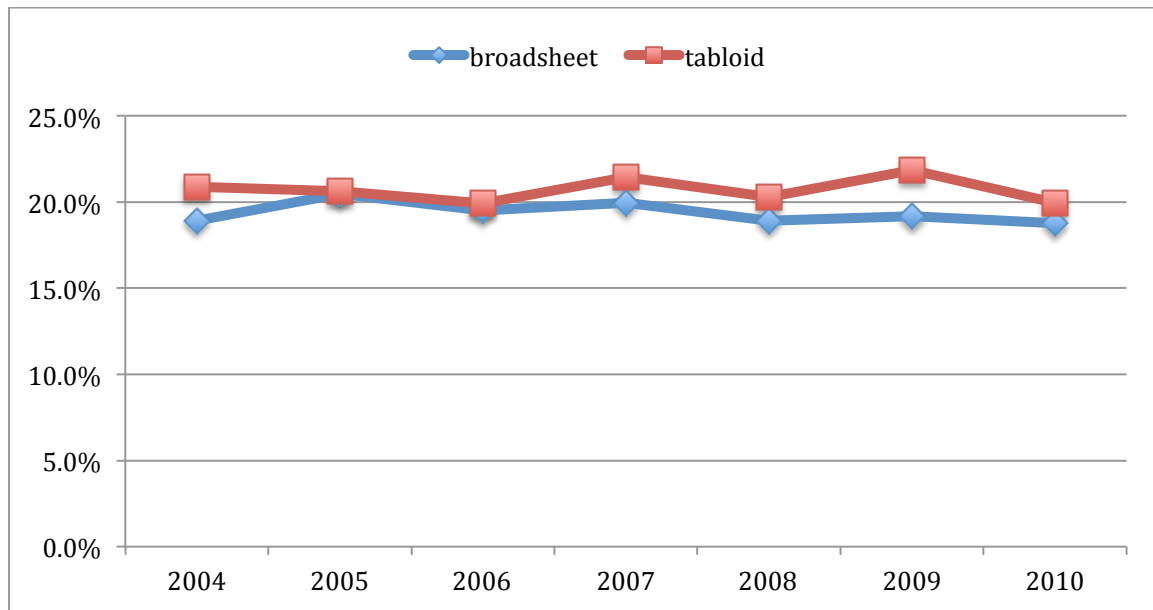
Row Labels	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Angelina Jolie	32%	30%	37%	35%	34%	35%	33%
Beyonce Knowles	36%	38%	29%	32%	33%	30%	35%
Bob Geldof	25%	20%	30%	33%	30%	25%	22%
Bono	29%	25%	26%	29%	24%	24%	22%
Brad Pitt	32%	32%	33%	32%	34%	31%	30%
Colin Firth	22%	26%	22%	26%	18%	25%	27%
David Beckham	14%	17%	14%	17%	16%	16%	17%
Elton John	35%	32%	31%	30%	32%	32%	28%
Ewan McGregor	34%	27%	30%	21%	24%	24%	23%
Joanna Lumley	35%	30%	28%	30%	22%	18%	21%
Johnny Depp	36%	30%	25%	28%	32%	24%	25%
Maria Sharapova	10%	10%	6%	7%	7%	5%	9%
Michael Buerk	21%	13%	11%	23%	25%	15%	33%
Oprah Winfrey	39%	40%	39%	36%	39%	34%	34%
Roger Federer	5%	5%	6%	6%	4%	6%	6%
Simon Cowell	47%	38%	40%	33%	27%	27%	23%
Steven Spielberg	22%	23%	25%	26%	22%	27%	22%
Tiger Woods	8%	9%	9%	8%	7%	13%	13%
Tom Cruise	31%	32%	32%	36%	30%	31%	29%
Mean of all articles	22%	22%	22%	23%	21%	22%	20%
Mean of each celebrity	27%	25%	25%	26%	24%	23%	24%

Note: The people listed in the articles have been prominent in the Forbes 100 list since 2004, or else are well known figures in Britain for their charitable activities. I have chosen the people named in Forbes because it is reasonable to suppose that the most famous people will be named as ‘celebrities’ least frequently – it is easier to presume that people will know them. They are therefore likely demonstrate the tendency not to mention celebrity most clearly.

There are two important points which follow from the tendency not to mention celebrity when talking about the famous. First, my search terms are rather blunt objects for exploring trends in association between celebrity, charity and development. The trends I found, and the difference in NGO performance they demonstrate, suggest that it is useful, but it will underestimate the appearance of celebrity with NGOs. We will return to this point at the end of the report.

Second, there is no trend in the mention of terms like ‘celebrity’ with public figures which might explain any of the trends reported below, as Figure 2 demonstrates. Or put another way, the habit of not mentioning celebrity when talking about celebrity is not something which has happened in the last 7 years. This is important when we consider some of the changes which have occurred in that time period.

Figure 2: Trends in the proportion of articles using the word 'celebrity' and derivatives with famous people



Results

Mention of Celebrity

1. Mention of celebrity has increased in absolute and relative terms in the broadsheets, for which there are the longest records and where there has been an eightfold increase. The increase ceases in 2006.
2. Mention of celebrity in the tabloids has increased in absolute terms but fluctuated, remaining roughly constant in terms of the proportion of articles.

Figure 3: The number of articles mentioning celebrity

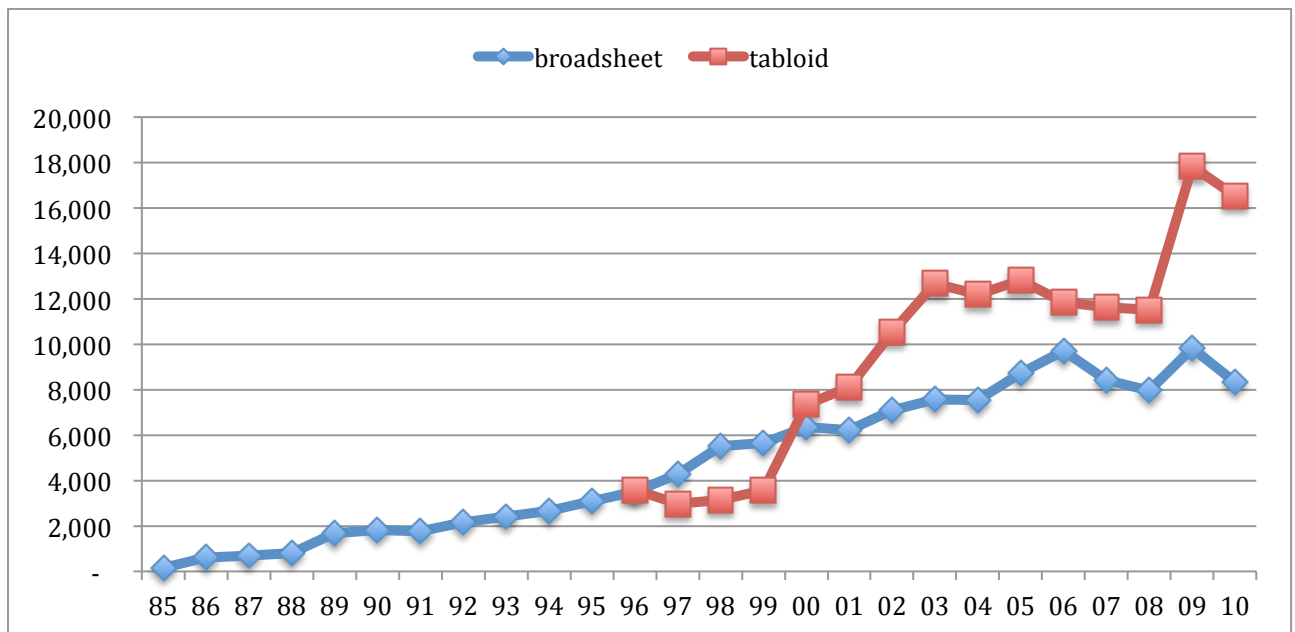
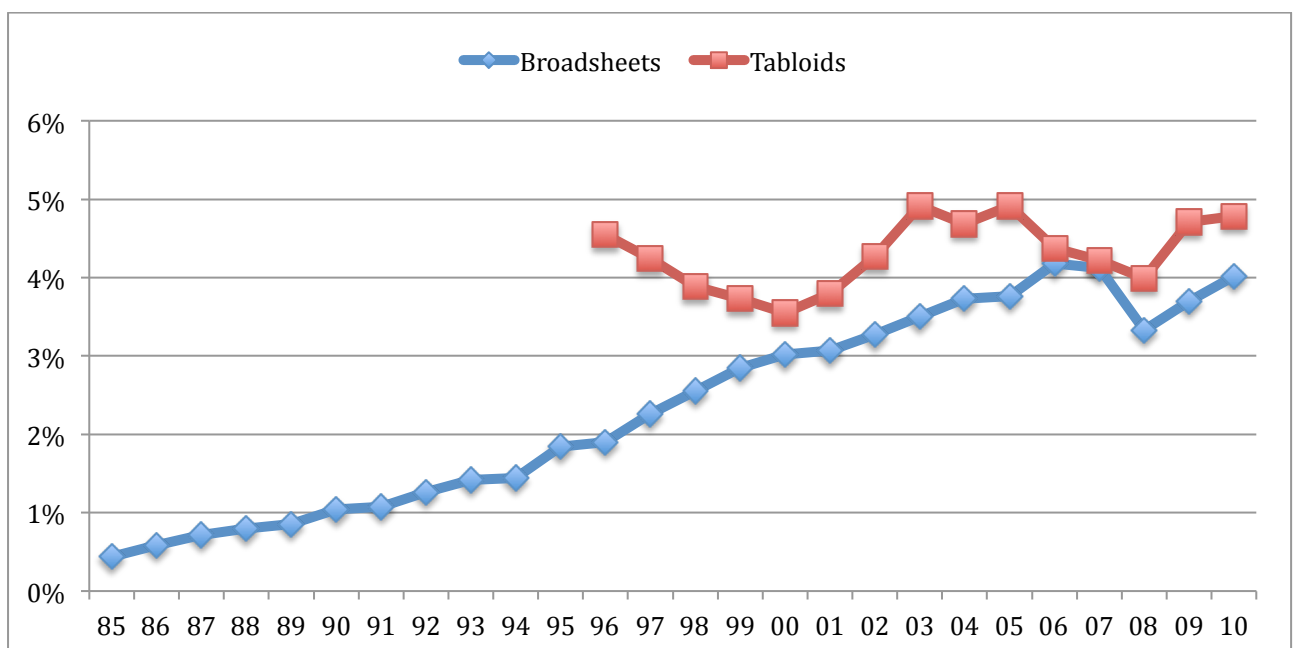


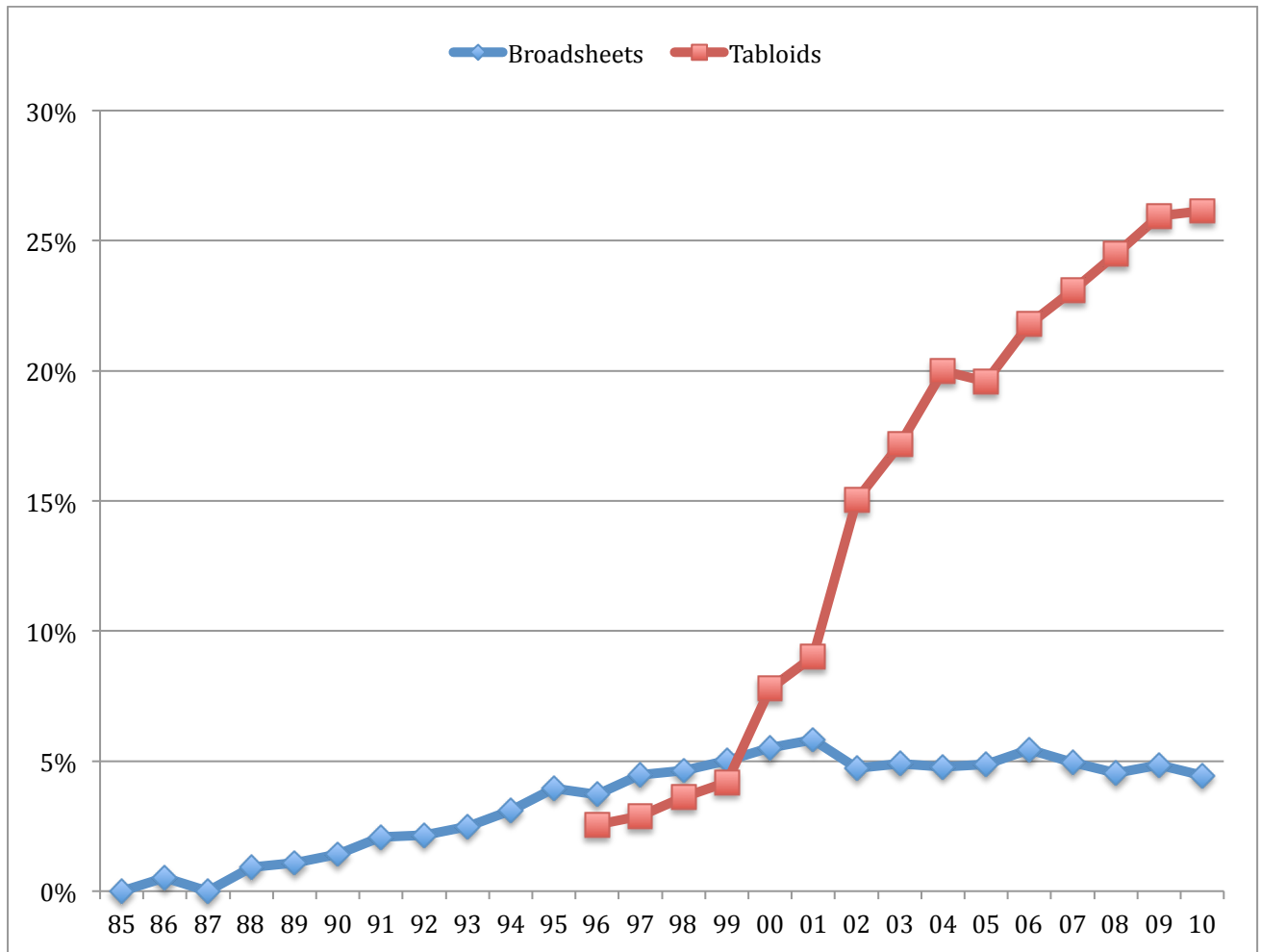
Figure 4: The proportion of articles mentioning celebrity



Mention of 'celeb'

3. There has been a sharp rise in the tabloids in the increase of articles which use the word 'celeb'. This trend has not resulted in an increase in articles about celebrity compared to all articles printed; it is a change in terminology only.

Figure 5: The proportion of celebrity articles using the word 'celeb'



Mention of charity

- The number of articles on charity has increased over fourfold in the tabloids and eightfold in the broadsheets (Figure 6).
- The proportion of charity articles has doubled in the broadsheets, and appears to be still increasing. It has remained constant in the tabloids (Figure 7).

Figure 6: The number of articles mentioning charity

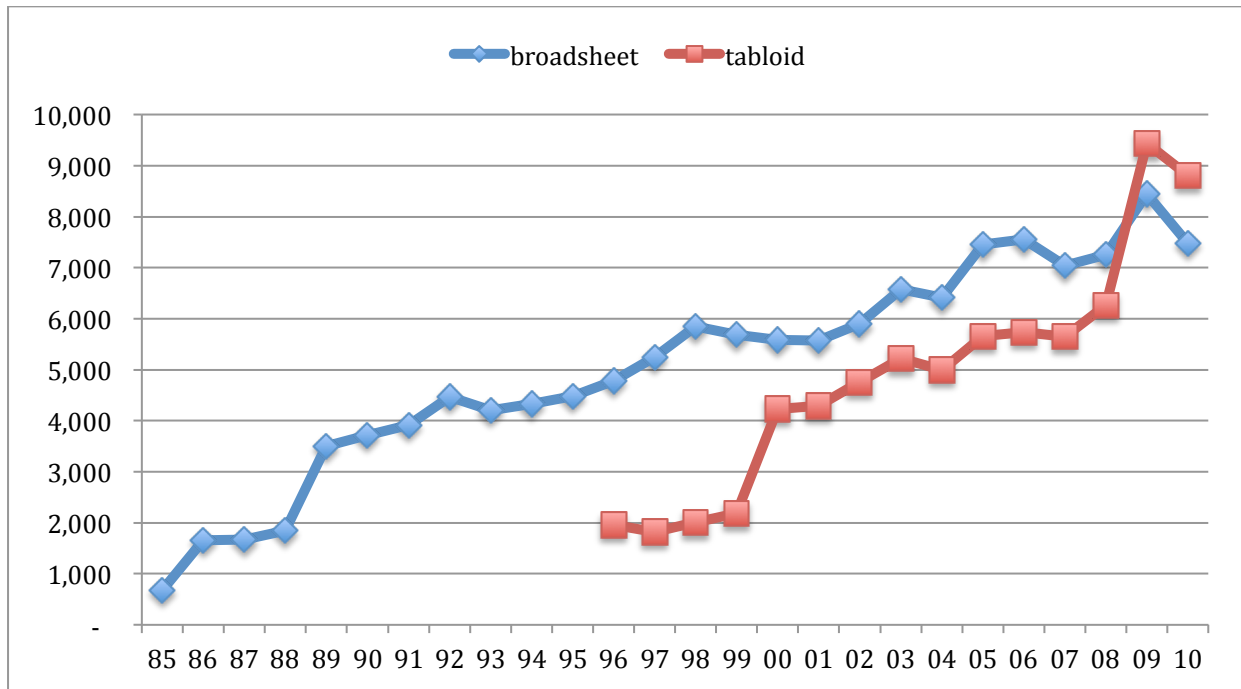
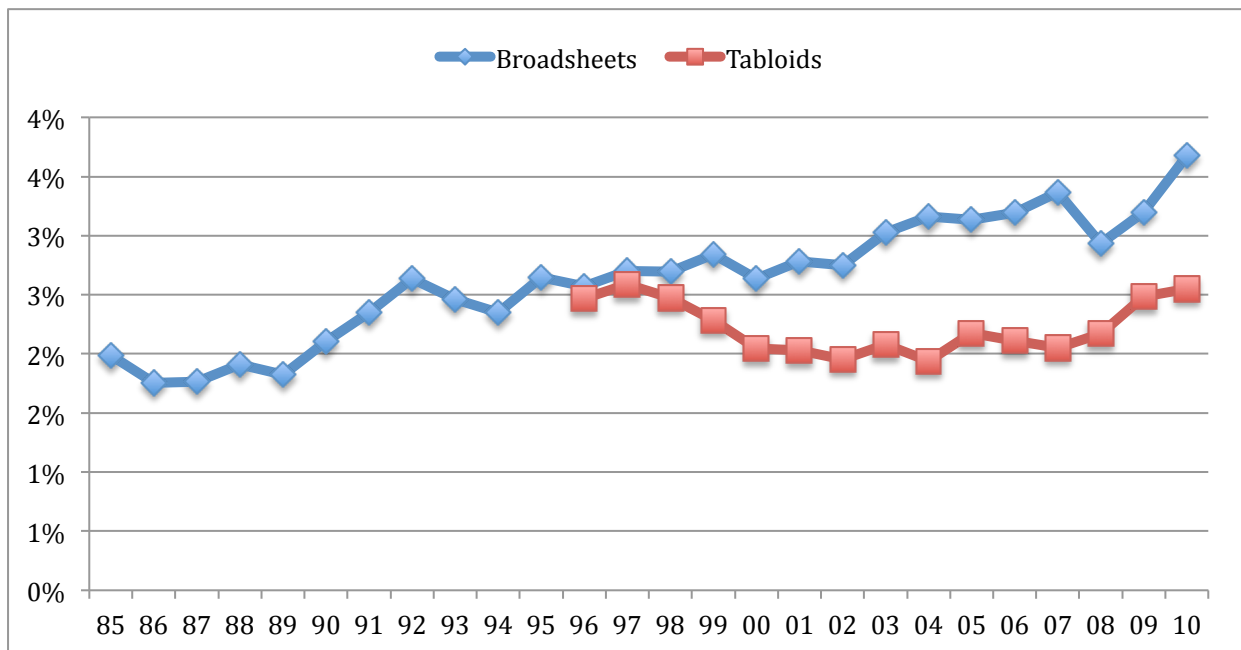


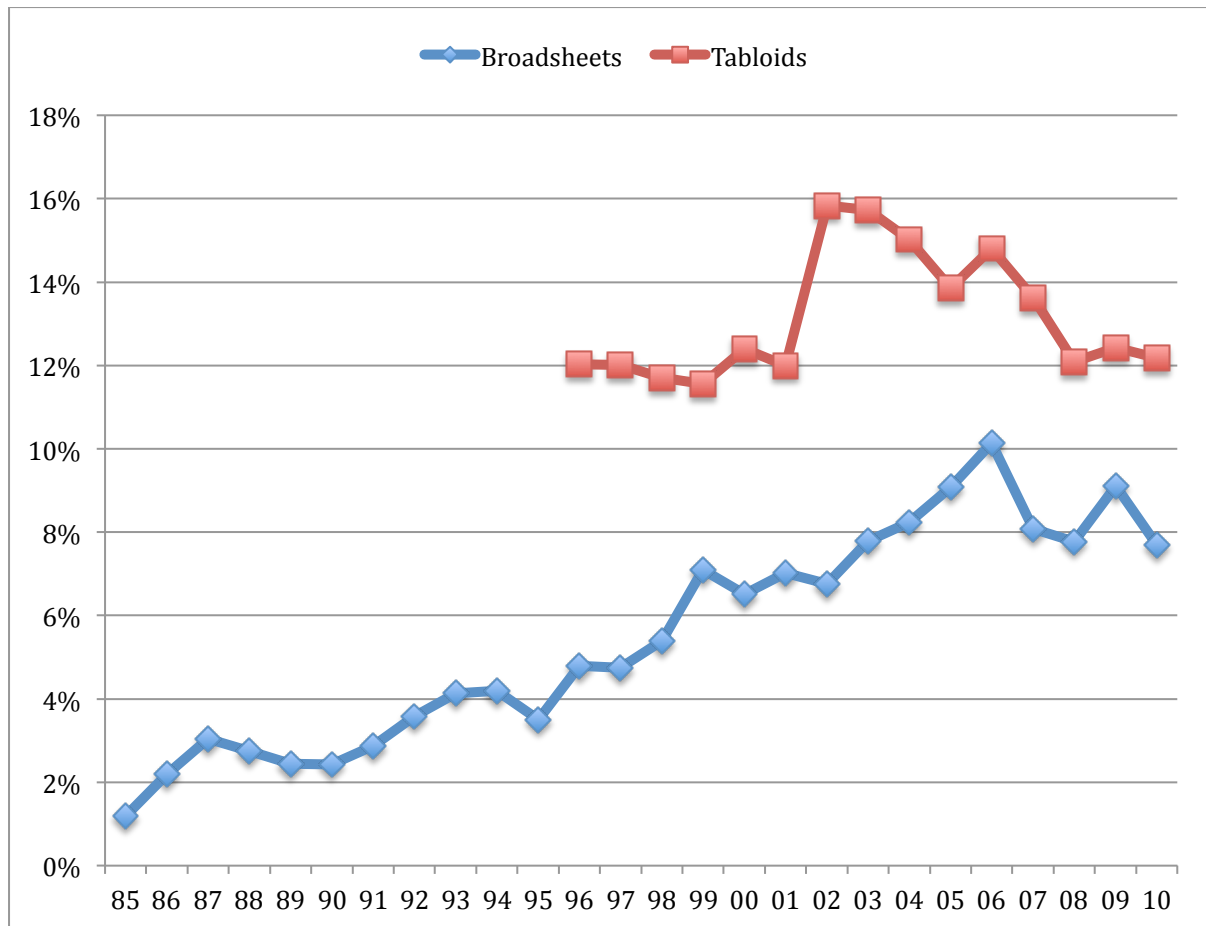
Figure 7: The proportion of articles mentioning charity



Mention of celebrity in articles about charity

6. The proportion of charity articles which mention celebrity has increased nearly tenfold among the broadsheets. This increase is more dramatic than that of articles mentioning the words 'charity' or 'celebrity' alone.
7. The proportion of charity and celebrity articles among the broadsheets has declined since 2006.
8. The mention of charity and celebrity articles has been declining in the tabloids since 2002.
9. Substantially more articles about charity mention celebrity than do newspaper articles generally. About 8% of articles about charity in broadsheets and 12% in tabloids mention celebrity, whereas only 4% and 5% of all articles in broadsheets and tabloids respectively mention celebrity (see Figure 4 above).

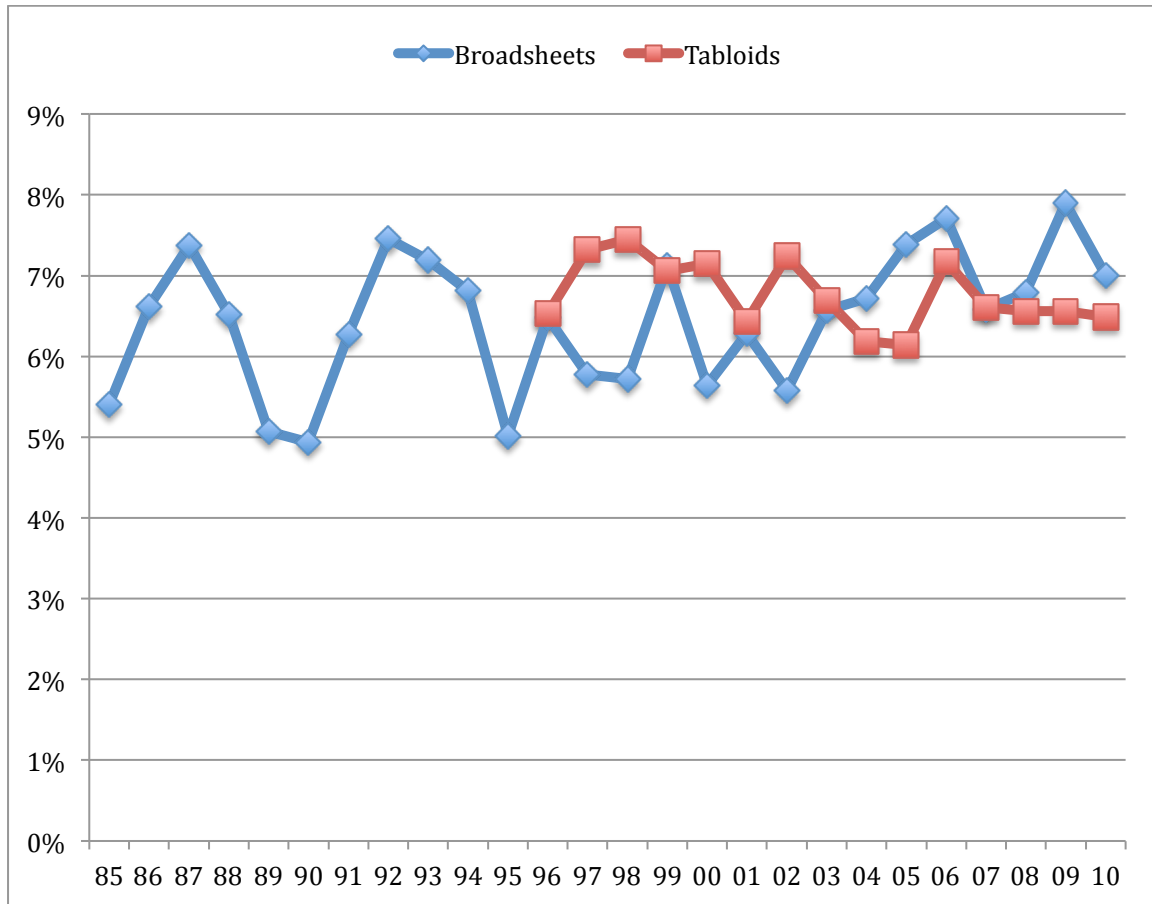
Figure 8: The proportion of articles about charity which mention celebrity



Mention of charity in articles about celebrity

10. The proportion of articles about celebrity which mention charity have not increased or decreased substantially in either the tabloids or the broadsheets.

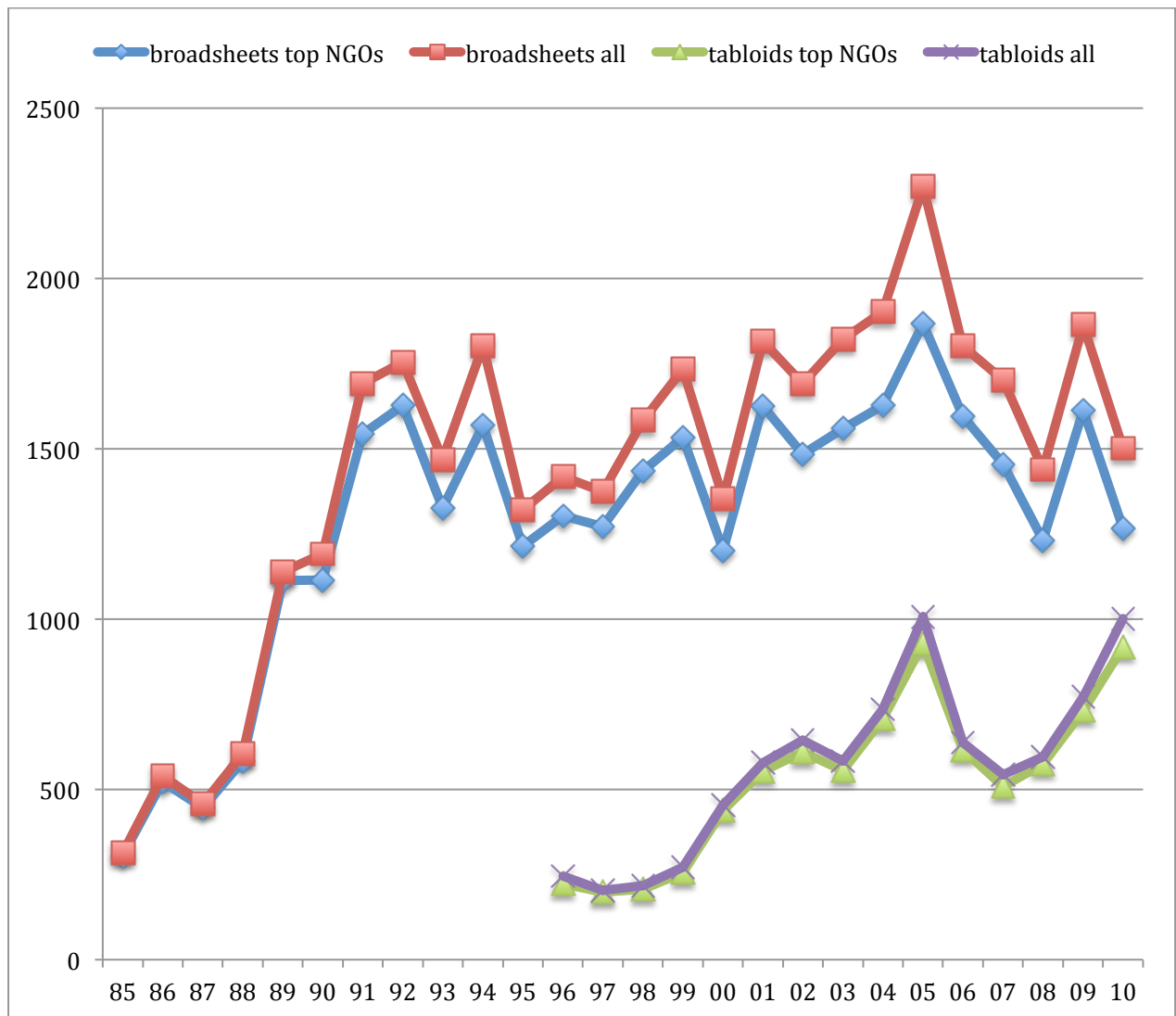
Figure 9: The proportion of articles about celebrity mentioning charity



Trends in number of articles on leading development and humanitarian NGOs

11. The number of articles about the named development and humanitarian NGOs studied for this research has increased, with most of the rise occurring between 1985 and 1991 in the broadsheets, with a longer rise from 1995 to 2005 in the tabloids.
12. In all newspapers there is a peak in 2005 coincident with the Make Poverty History Campaign.
13. There has been a slight deconcentration of coverage of the leading five NGOs with a rise in the number of articles about the other development NGOs visible in the broadsheets (but not in the tabloids).

Figure 10: Number of articles about development and humanitarian NGOs over time



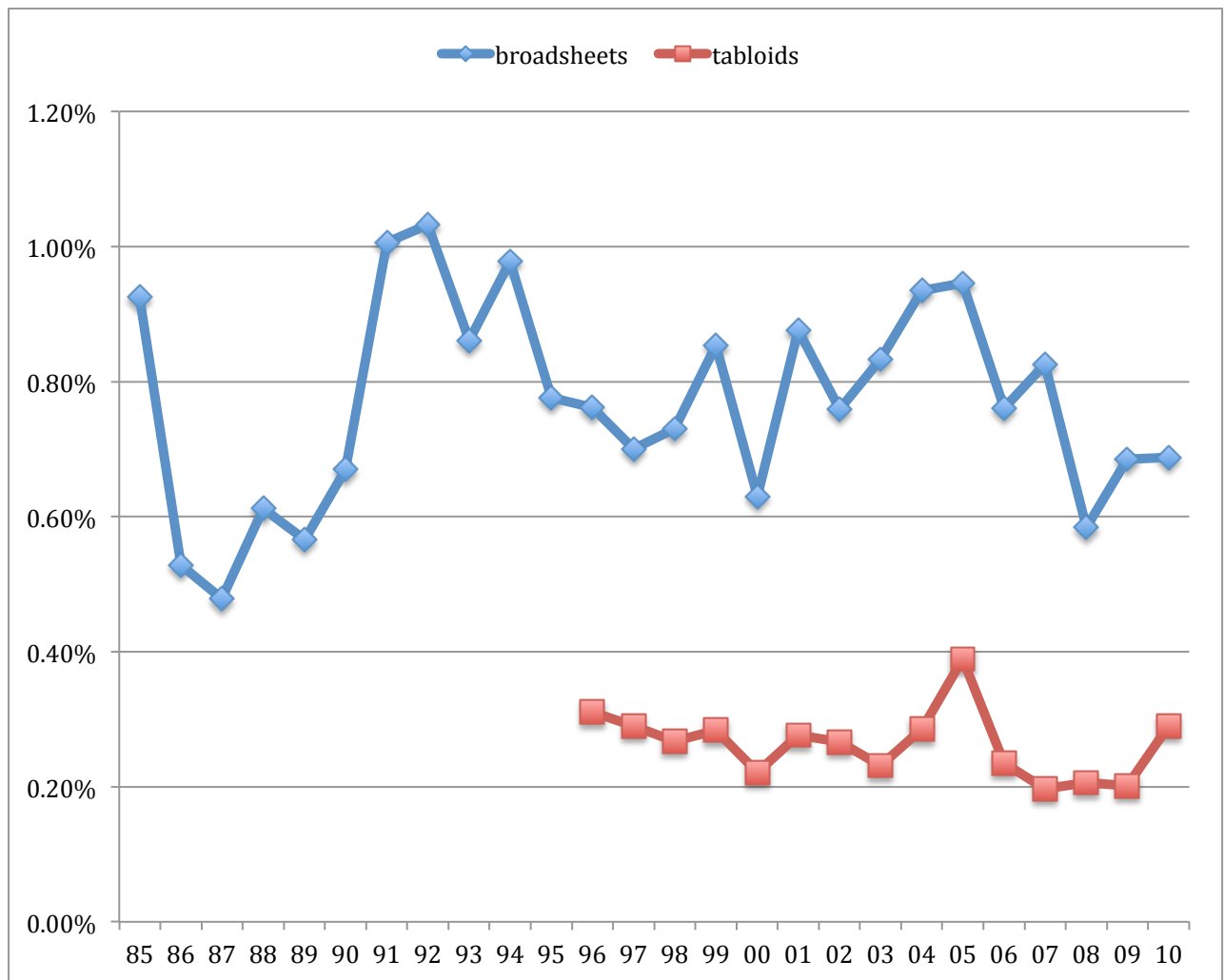
Note: 'broadsheets all' and 'tabloid all' refer to all the development and humanitarian NGOs explored for this research and show in Table 2 above.

Trends in the proportion of articles about development and humanitarian NGOs

14. Despite increases in the absolute number of articles, the proportion of articles on specific development and humanitarian NGOs has declined in the tabloids and the broadsheets. The latter peaked in the early 1990s. The high figure for 1985 may be a Live Aid effect but may also reflect the fact that the only source for that year is the Guardian.

15. Make Poverty History produces a visible rise in the proportion of articles about development and humanitarian NGOs in the tabloids, but not in the broadsheets.

Figure 11: Proportion of articles mentioning development and humanitarian NGOs



Mention of celebrity within articles about development and humanitarian NGOs

- 16. Articles mentioning celebrity and these NGOs increased in the broadsheets until 2005 in absolute and relative terms. Thereafter they have declined (Figure 12 and Figure 13).
- 17. There has been an absolute increase in such articles in the tabloids (Figure 12), but a decline in proportional terms (Figure 13).
- 18. Such articles are generally more numerous and common in broadsheets than tabloids (Figure 12 and Figure 13).

Figure 12: Number of articles mentioning selected NGOs and celebrity

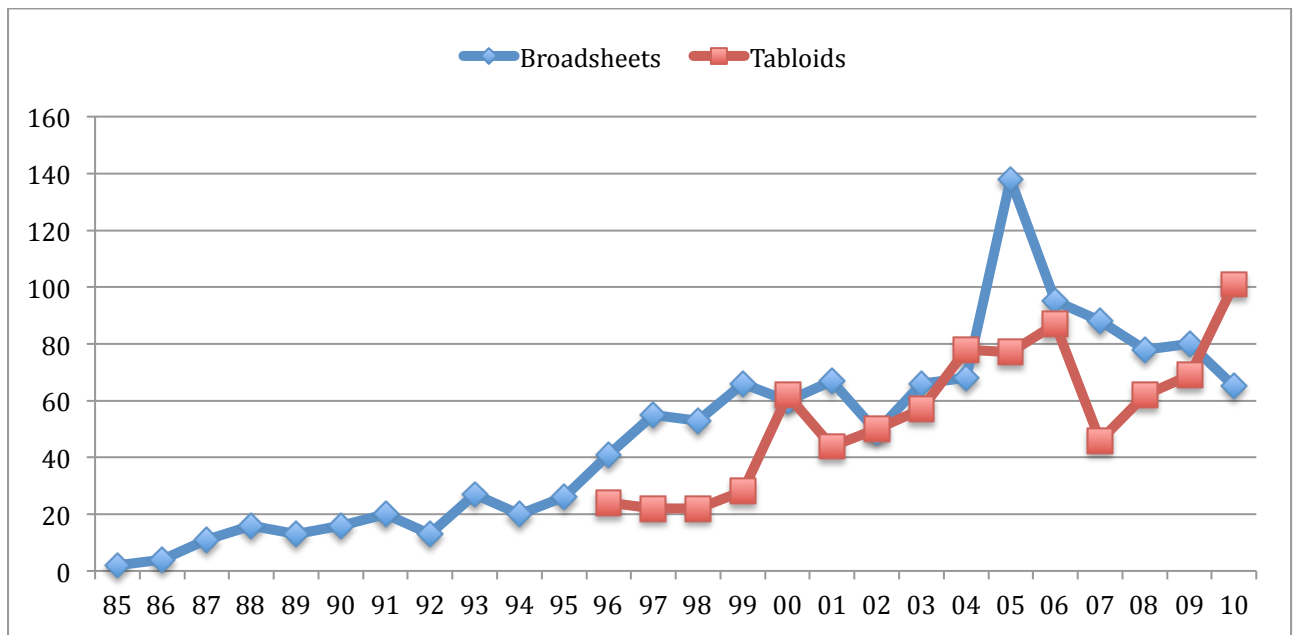
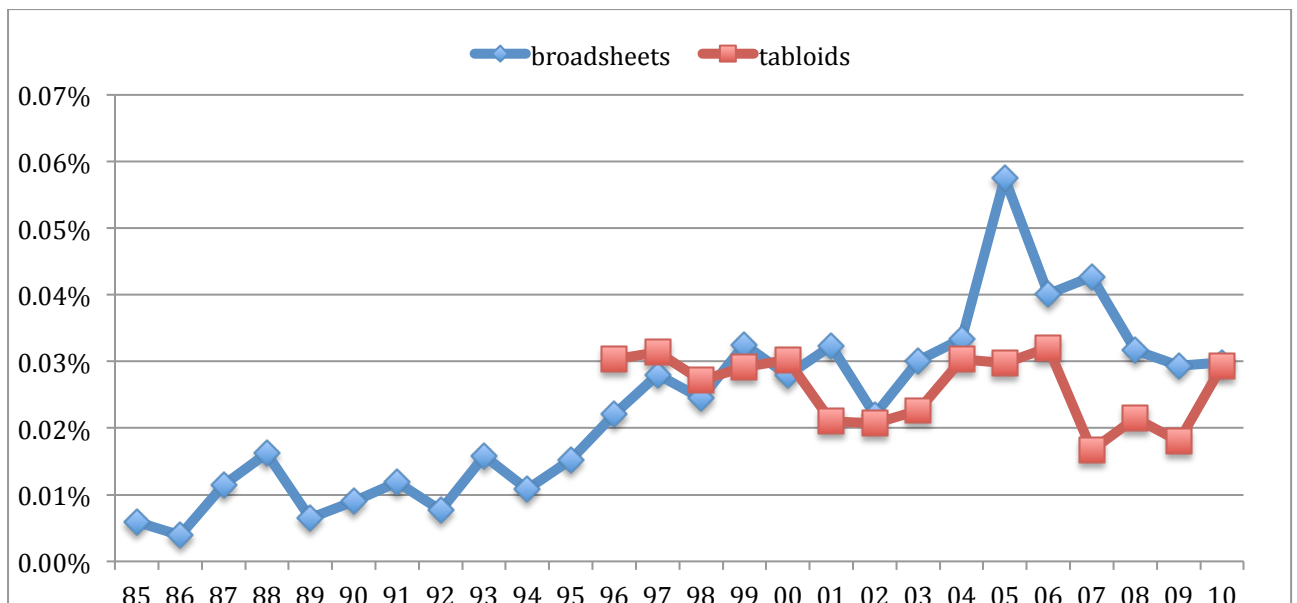


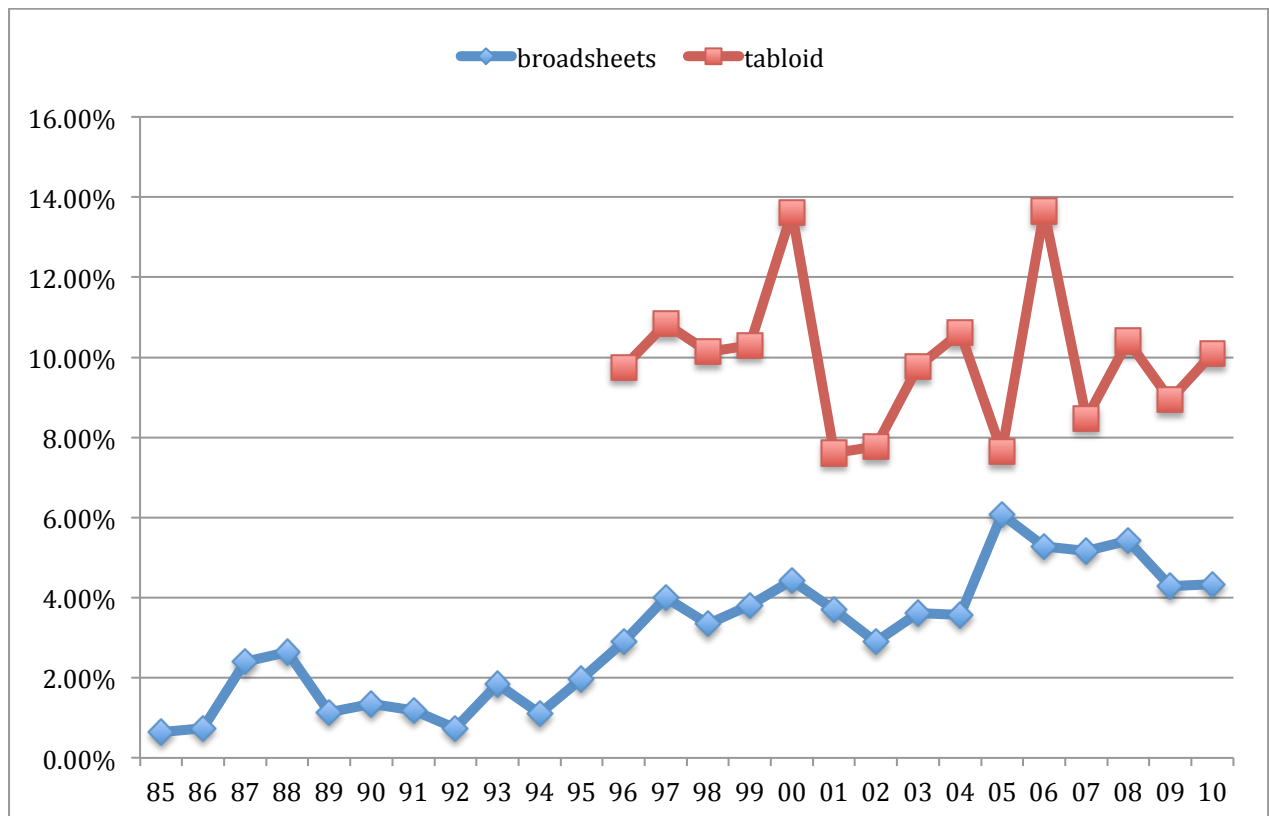
Figure 13: Selected NGOs and celebrity articles as a proportion of all articles in papers



Mention of celebrity within articles about development and humanitarian NGOs

19. The proportion of articles about development and humanitarian NGOs which also mention celebrity has increased within the broadsheets up to 2005 and since declined. There is no clear trend in the tabloids.
20. A greater proportion of articles about development and humanitarian NGOs in the tabloids also mention celebrity than in the broadsheets.
21. In the tabloids, articles about development and humanitarian NGOs are more likely to mention celebrity (around 10% mention it) than do all articles in those newspapers (around 4%, see Figure 4). But articles about these NGOs are less likely to mention celebrity than do charity articles generally (about 12%, see Figure 8).
22. In the broadsheets, the same proportion of development and humanitarian NGO articles mention celebrity, as do all articles (both 4-5%, see Figure 4). Articles about charity generally mention celebrity 8% of the time (see Figure 8) which is more often than articles about these NGOs (around 6% of the time).
23. Make Poverty History (2005) produced an increase in the proportion of articles mentioning celebrity in the broadsheets, but a decline in that proportion in the tabloids. Or put differently, the presence of Make Poverty History in the tabloids was not celebrity driven; it was boosted by celebrity in the broadsheets.

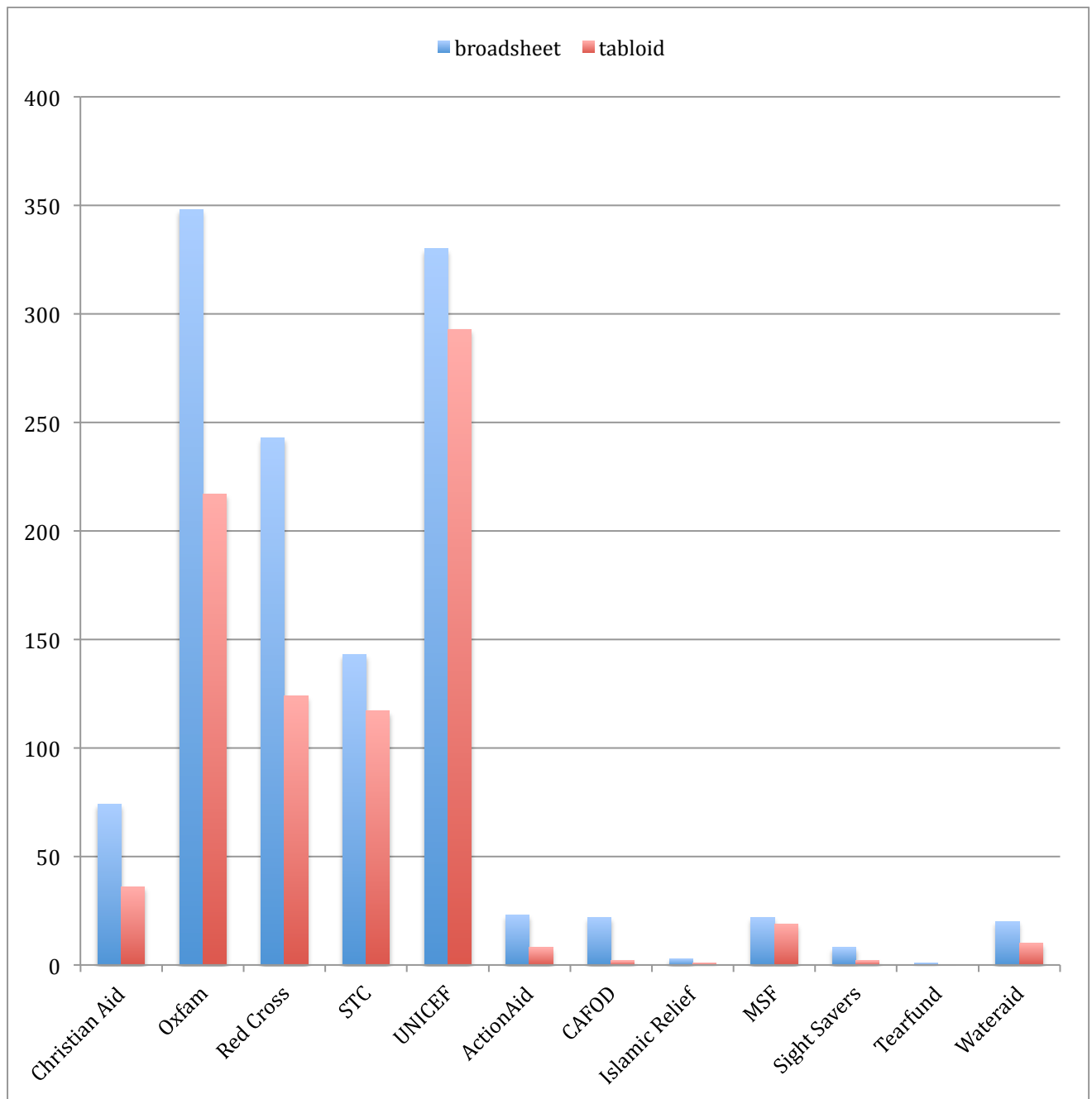
Figure 14: The proportion of articles about development and humanitarian NGOs that mention celebrity



The distribution of articles about development and humanitarian NGOs which mention celebrity

24. The distribution of press coverage for development and humanitarian NGOs with respect to articles about celebrity is uneven. The four major NGOs (measured in terms of voluntary revenues) and UNICEF, account for the vast majority of such articles in both tabloids and broadsheets (1925 out of 2066 articles in the 26 years of data; 95% of articles in tabloids and 92% of articles in broadsheets). Analysis of trends in individual NGOs will concentrate on these five alone.

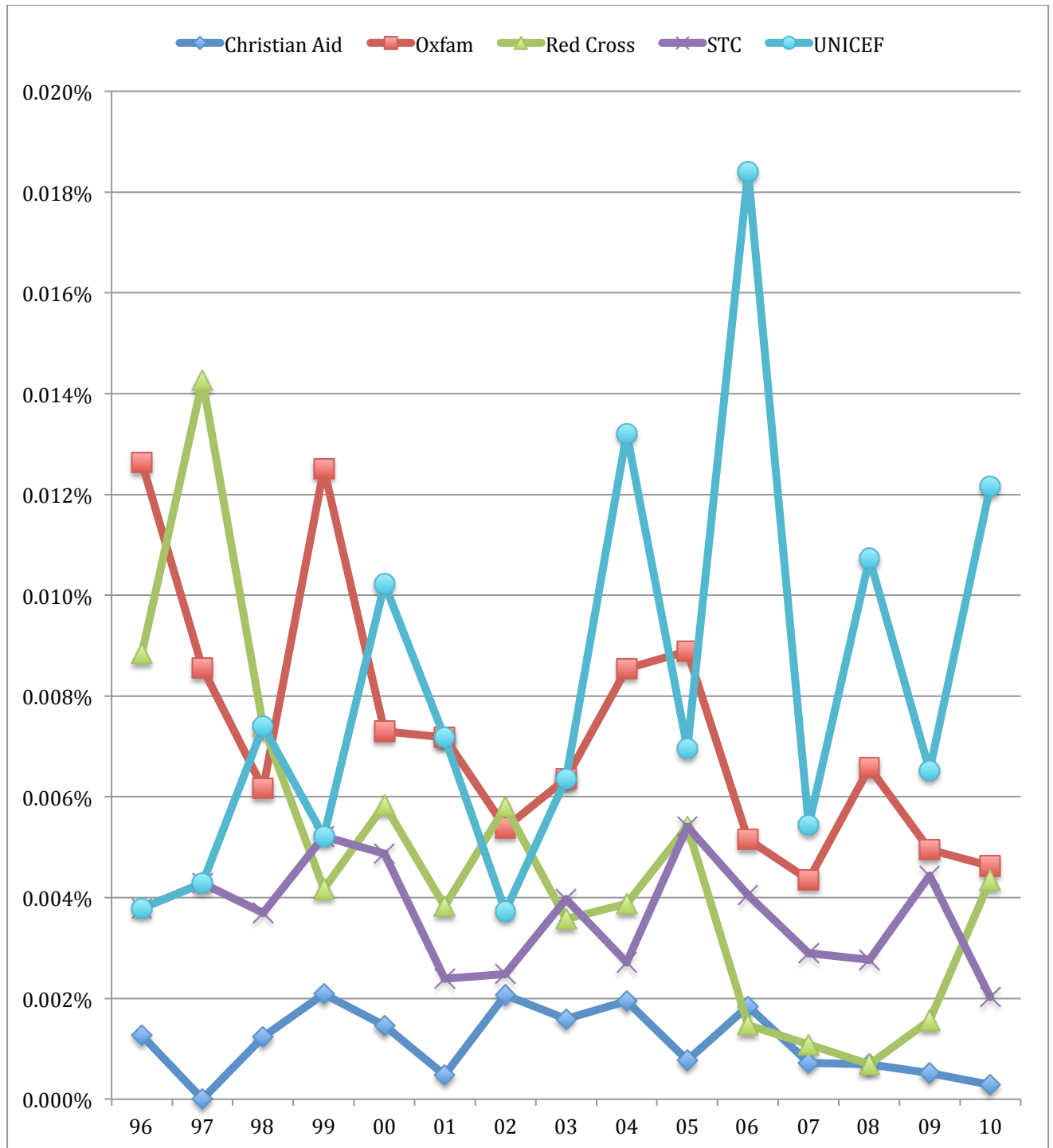
Figure 15: Number of articles in newspapers about different NGOs and celebrity



Varying performance of leading NGOs in the tabloids

25. The general absence of trend in articles about celebrity and development and humanitarian NGOs in the tabloids masks differing performances. UNICEF has increased their share of articles over time while the other four leading NGOs decrease theirs.

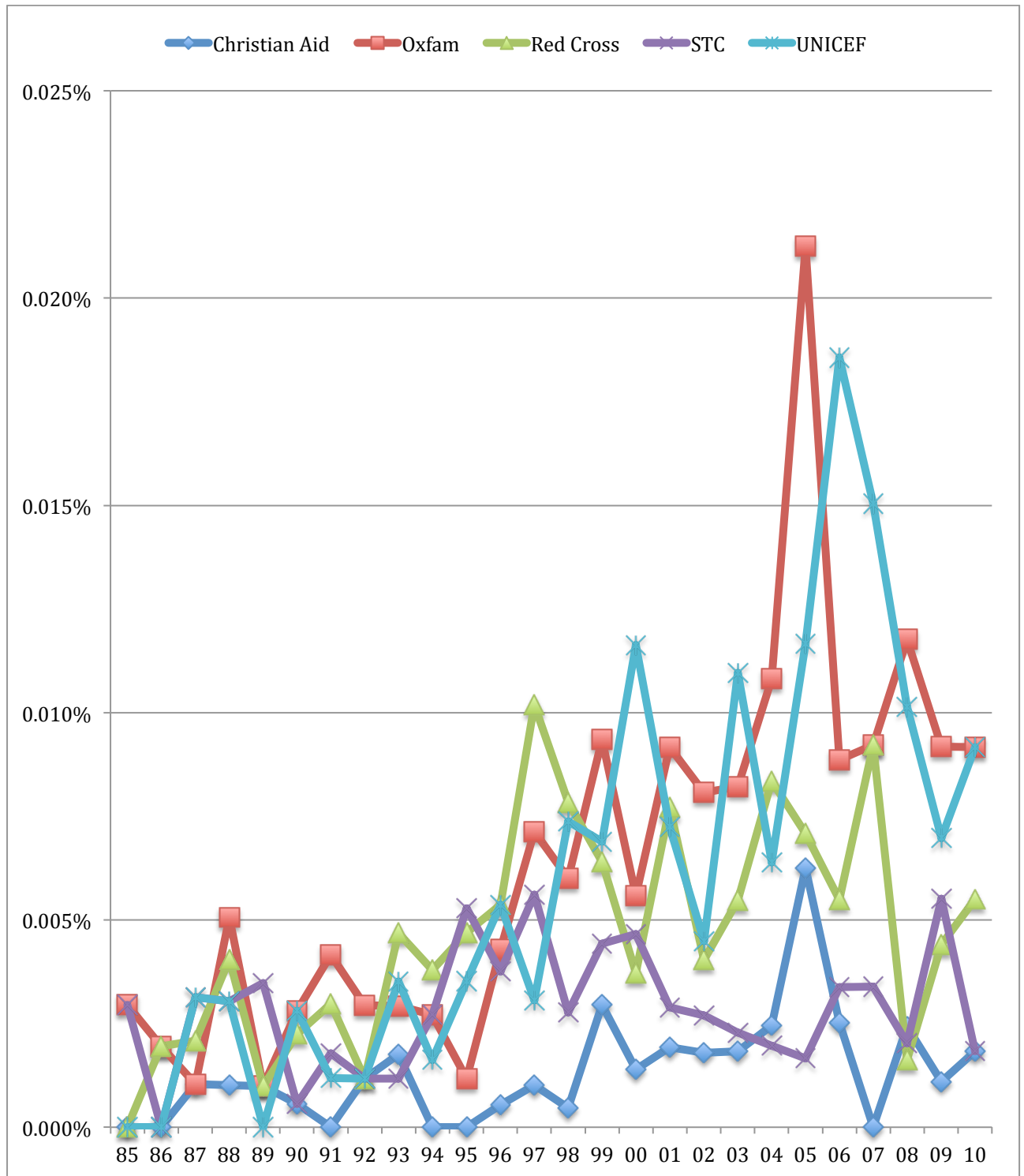
Figure 16: Proportion of all tabloid articles mentioning celebrity and the leading NGOs



Varying performance of different NGOs in the broadsheets

26. Trends in mention of celebrity within articles about leading development and humanitarian NGOs in the broadsheets also mask varying performances. Oxfam and UNICEF both show increases up to the mid 2000s with the other NGOs displaying an increase until the late 1990s and then no clear trend or else declines.

Figure 17: Proportion of broadsheet articles that mention celebrity and the leading NGOs



Different strategies for working with celebrity in different newspapers

27. With respect to articles about specific NGOs, UNICEF stands out among articles in the tabloids for the frequency with which these articles make mention of celebrity (Figure 18, the red line includes all 11 other NGOs).

28. In articles about specific NGOs in the broadsheets, Oxfam and UNICEF stand out for the proportion of articles about them and which mention celebrity (Figure 19, the red line includes the other 10 NGOs). The difference becomes marked since the late 1990s.

Figure 18: The proportion of tabloid articles about specific NGOs that mention celebrity

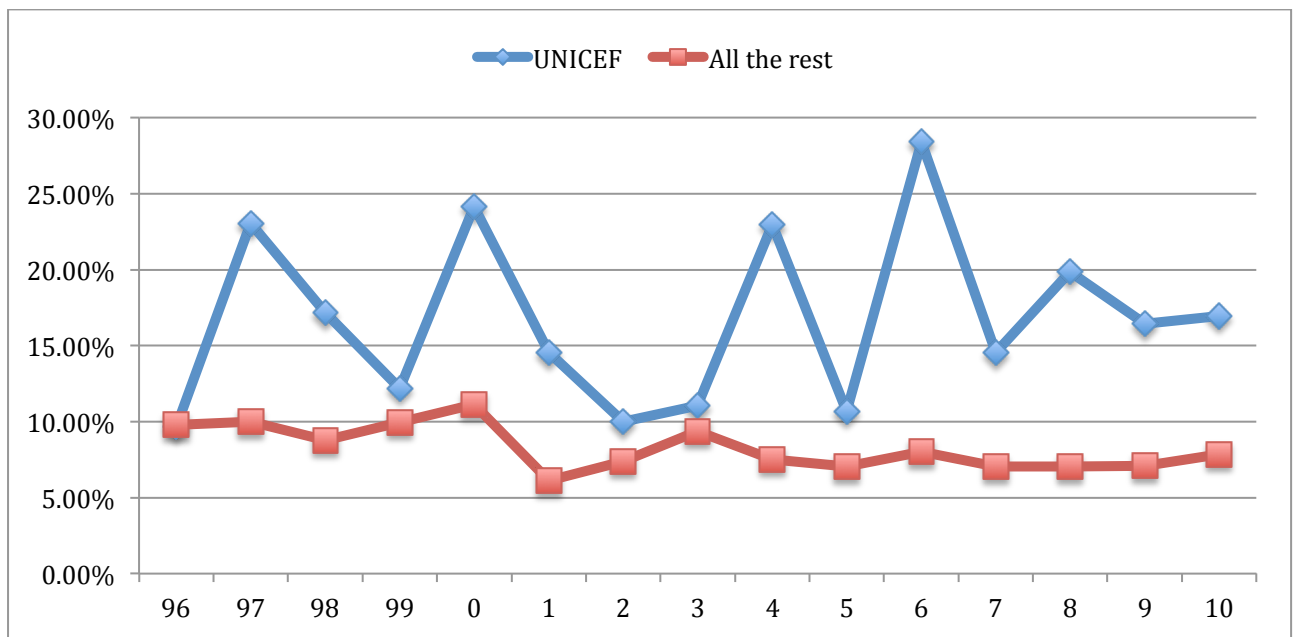
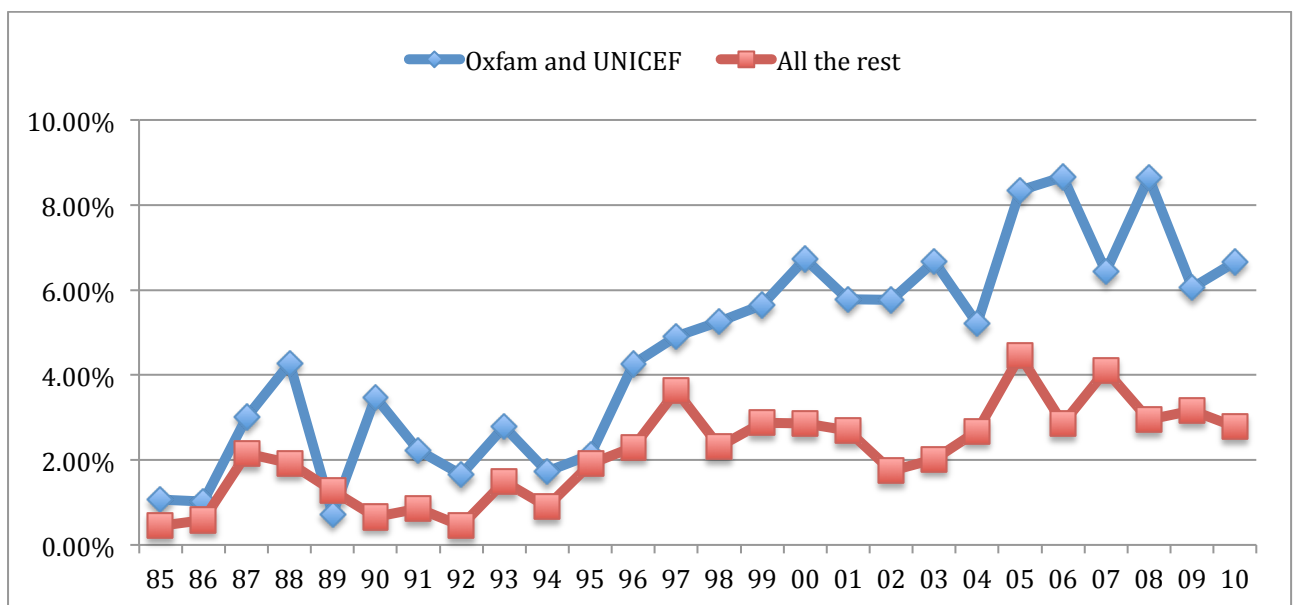


Figure 19: The proportion of broadsheet articles about specific NGOs that mention celebrity



Different strategies for working with celebrity and different trends in coverage

29. UNICEF in the tabloids (Figure 20), and UNICEF and Oxfam in the broadsheets (Figure 21), do not experience the long term declines of coverage visible among the other NGOs. In fact their coverage increases.

Figure 20: The proportion of tabloid articles mentioning specific NGOs divided between UNICEF and the rest.

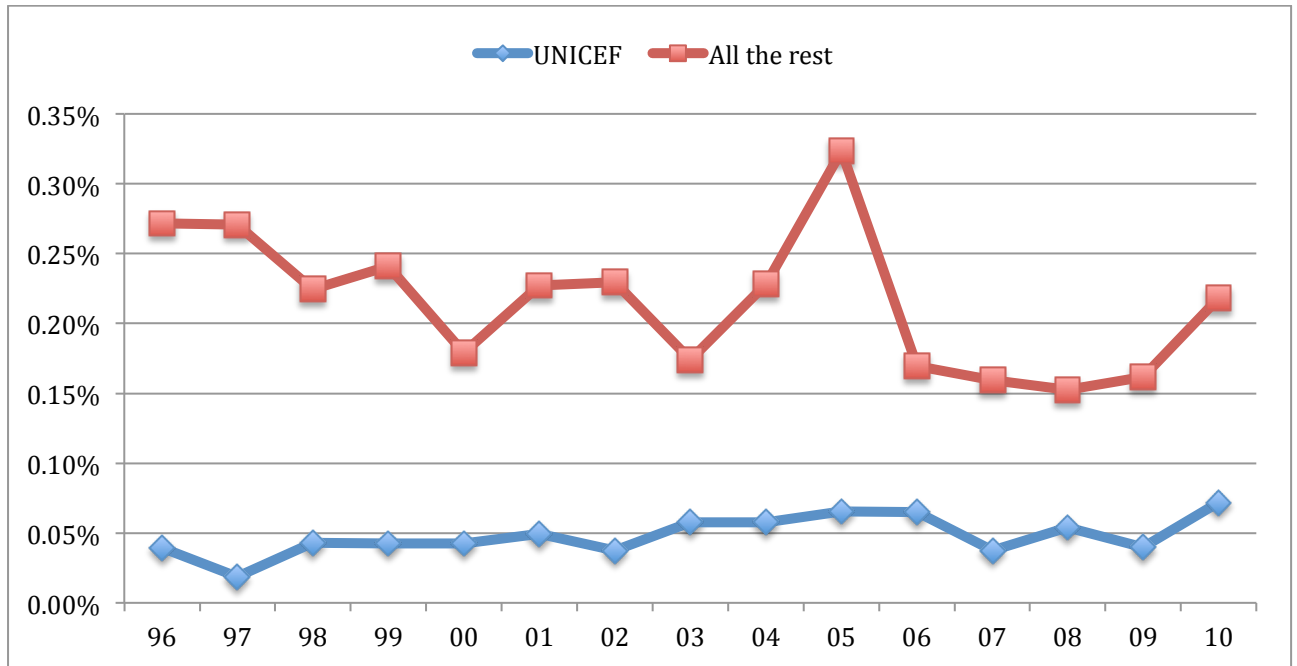
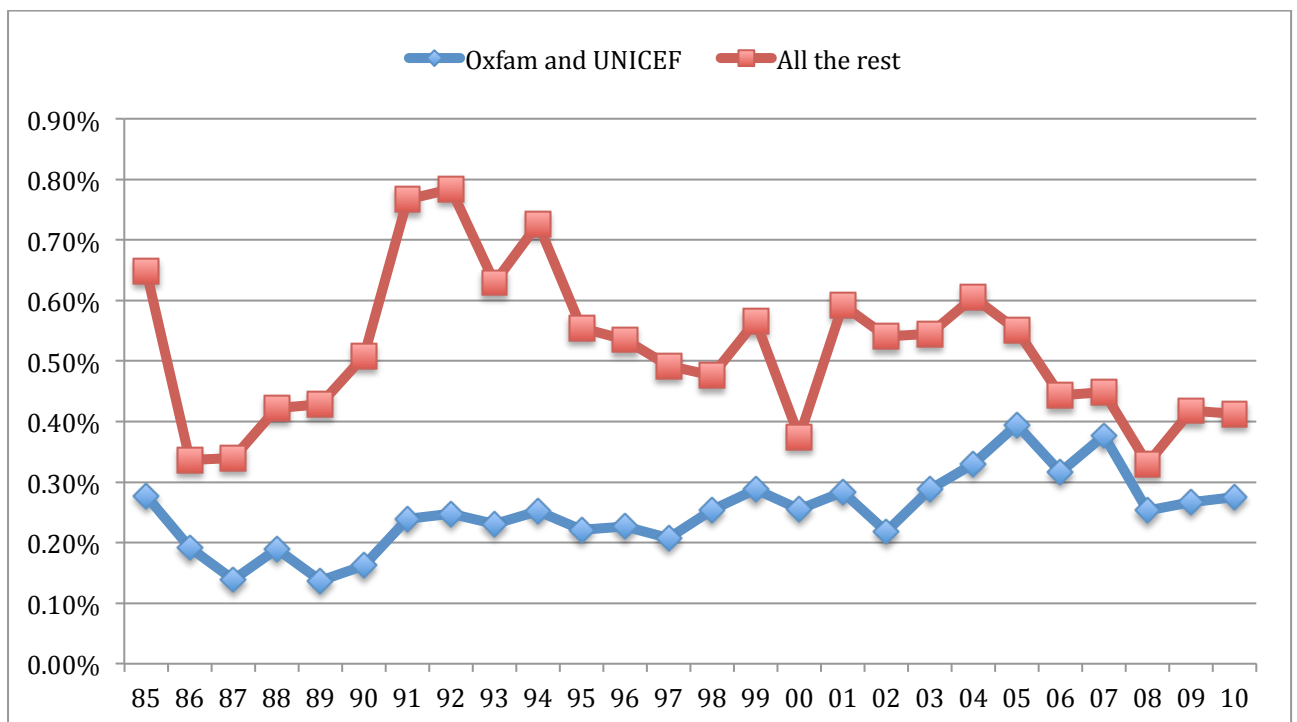


Figure 21: Proportion of broadsheet articles mentioning specific NGOs divided between UNICEF and Oxfam and the rest.



The role of celebrity in improving coverage of UNICEF and OXFAM

30. The improved coverage of UNICEF in the tabloids (Figure 22), and UNICEF and Oxfam in the broadsheets (Figure 23), is not explained by the presence of articles about celebrity. Articles without celebrity display the same trends as those with them (compare the graphs on this page with those on the previous page).

Figure 22: Trends in the proportion of articles mentioning leading NGOs without mentioning celebrity in the tabloids

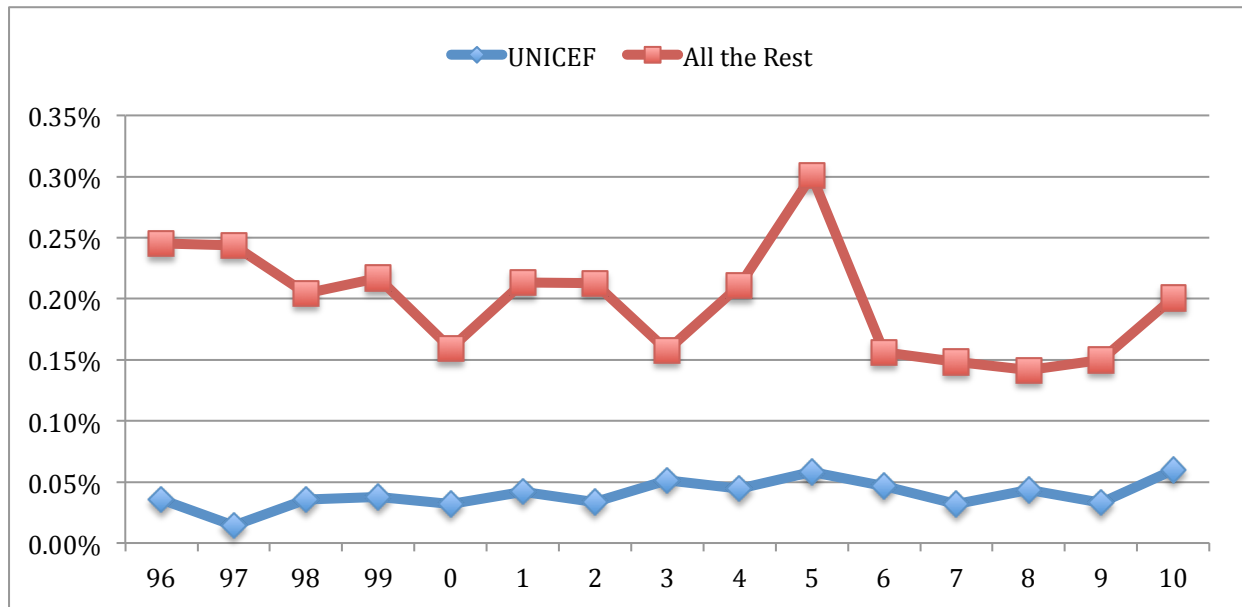
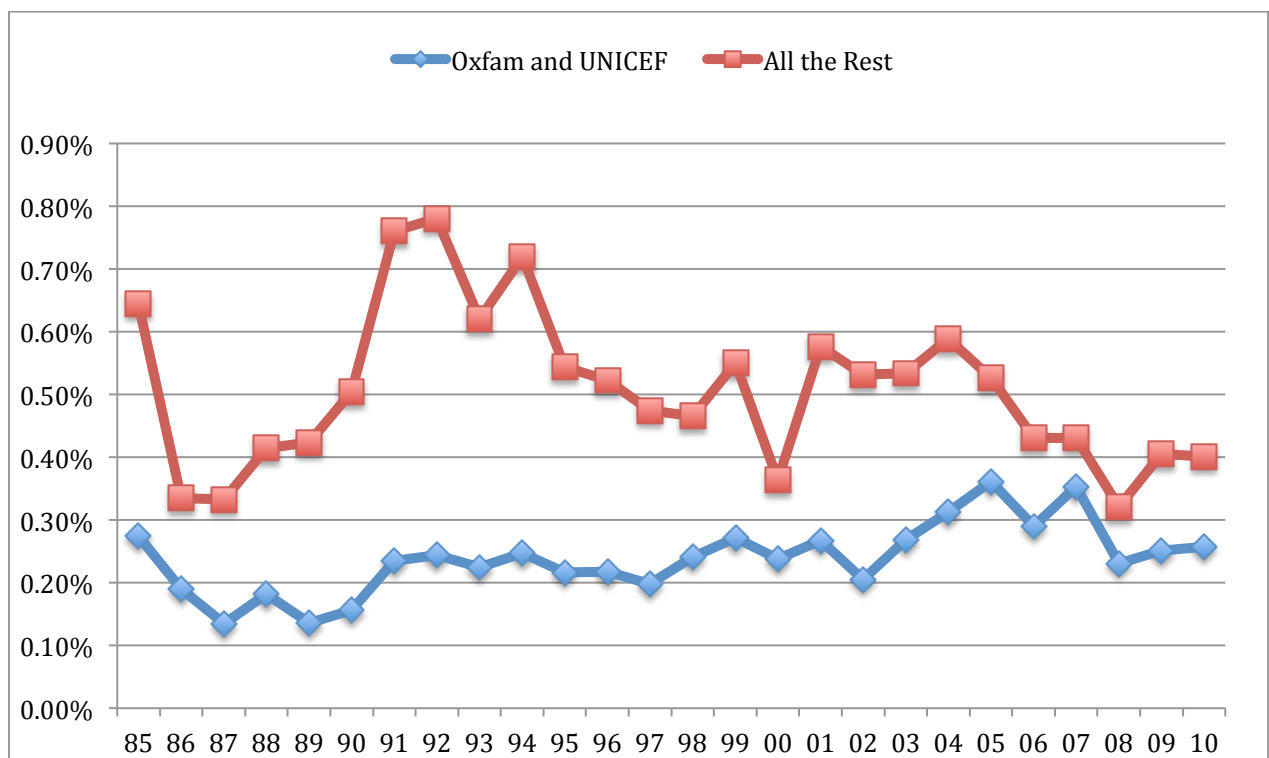


Figure 23: Trends in the proportion of articles mentioning leading NGOs without mentioning celebrity in the broadsheets



The performance of celebrity coverage in UNICEF and Oxfam

- 31. Articles about celebrity and UNICEF do not display the same general trends as the other NGOs’ articles about celebrity in the tabloids (Figure 24).
- 32. In the broadsheets UNICEF and Oxfam produce more articles which mention celebrity compared to other NGOs but they are still subject to the same general trends as other NGOs (Figure 25).

Figure 24: Differing trends over time for the proportion of tabloid articles mentioning specific NGOs and celebrity

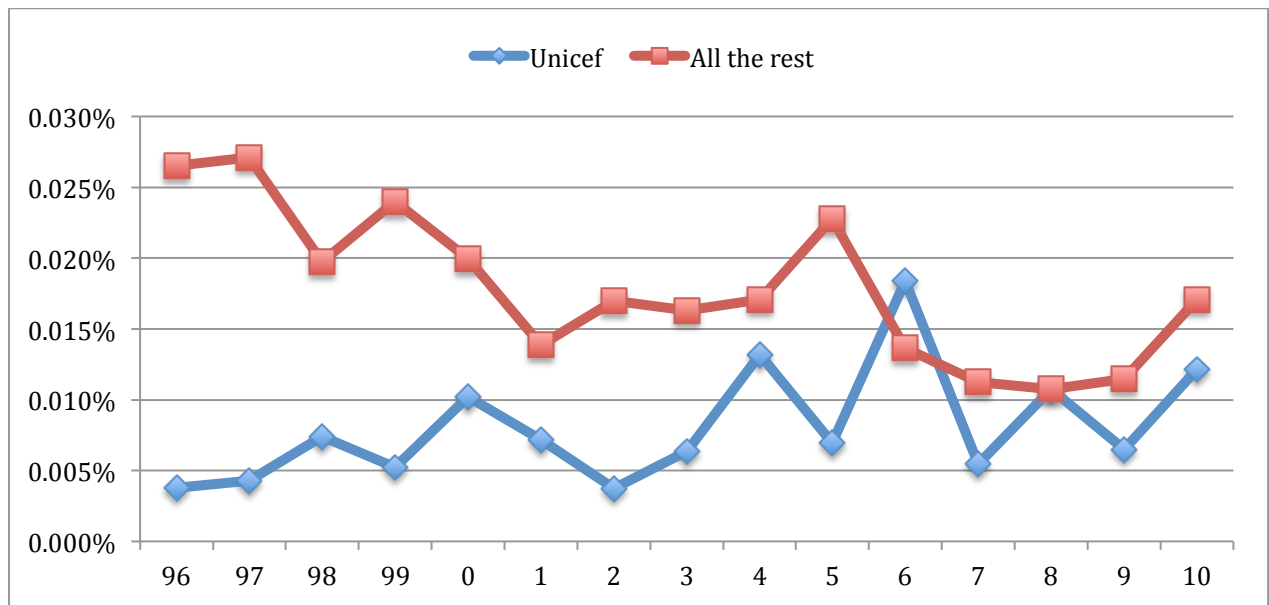
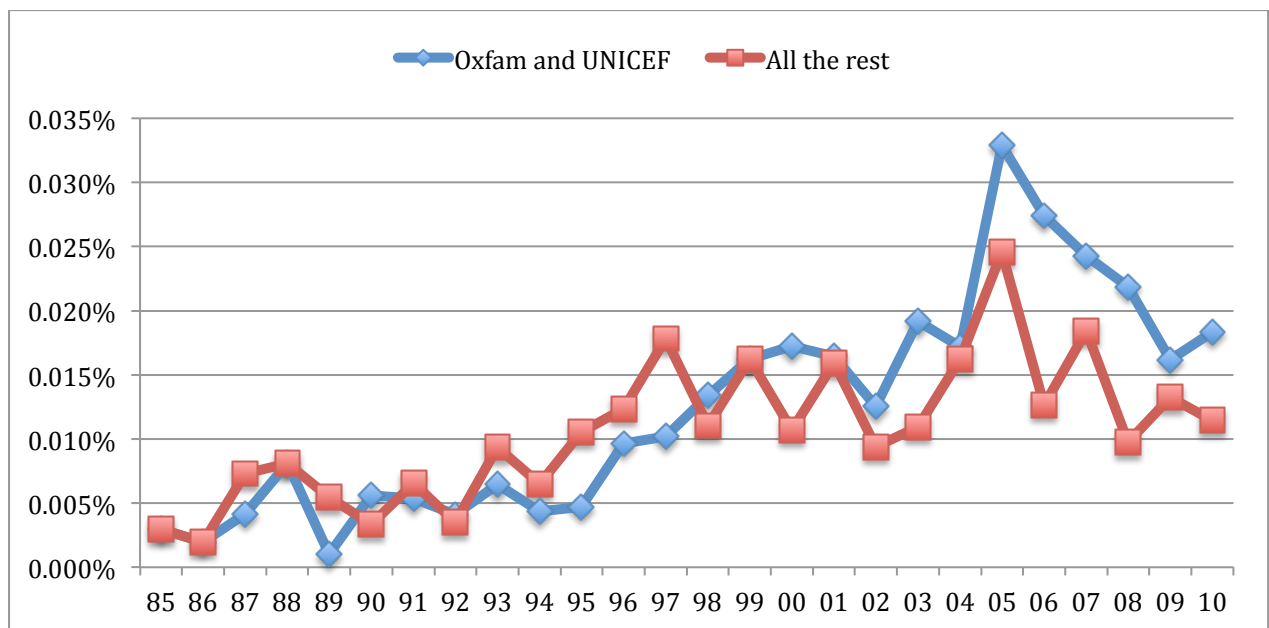


Figure 25: Differing trends over time for the proportion of broadsheet articles mentioning specific NGOs and celebrity



The effect of articles mentioning named ambassadors in addition to celebrity for UNICEF and Oxfam

UNICEF and Oxfam both have strong ambassador programmes which may help get articles into newspapers but which do so without using terms like ‘celebrity’. To explore this effect I searched for articles about these ambassadors and these two NGOs and which excluded terms like celebrity. I used lists of ambassadors available on websites for this year (names are listed at the end of the document) but only conducted this search back to 2004. I did not look further back because the further back one goes the less reliable the list of ambassadors in 2011 become. 2004 however takes us back far enough to catch the effects of the decline since 2005 which is generally visible in the broadsheets.

The main findings of that search are:

- 33. A significant minority of articles about ambassadors are not captured by search terms using the word ‘celebrity’ and derivatives (Table 1).
- 34. These missing articles are not sufficiently numerous with respect to Oxfam in the broadsheets to alter the general findings of the previous pages (last two columns).
- 35. With respect to UNICEF in the tabloids, and possibly the broadsheets, the missing articles are more significant (columns 2 to 5).

Table 5: The proportion of articles about UNICEF and Oxfam which mention celebrity and those which mention either celebrity and/or the ambassadors

Year	Tabloids		Broadsheets			
	UNICEF		UNICEF		Oxfam	
	Celebrity	Celebrity + Amb’or	Celebrity	Celebrity + Amb’or	Celebrity	Celebrity + Amb’or
2004	30%	55.3%	6%	18.9%	5%	6.9%
2005	12%	35.8%	10%	18.9%	9%	10.5%
2006	40%	61.1%	18%	29.7%	5%	7.2%
2007	17%	33.0%	10%	17.9%	5%	6.8%
2008	25%	44.0%	12%	22.6%	8%	11.0%
2009	20%	45.7%	9%	16.4%	5%	7.1%
2010	20%	35.9%	10%	22.8%	6%	8.4%

The effect of ambassador articles in broadsheets

36. Articles about UNICEF and Oxfam which mention both celebrity and ambassadors are still subject to the same general trend as articles about other NGOs mentioning celebrity (Figure 26). The trend is similar to that of Figure 25.

37. As a proportion of all articles printed, articles about UNICEF and OXFAM which mention neither celebrity nor ambassadors show the same performance relative to other NGOs experience with respect to articles about them after 2005 (Figure 27 and compare to Figure 23).

Figure 26: Trends in article mentioning celebrity and / or ambassadors

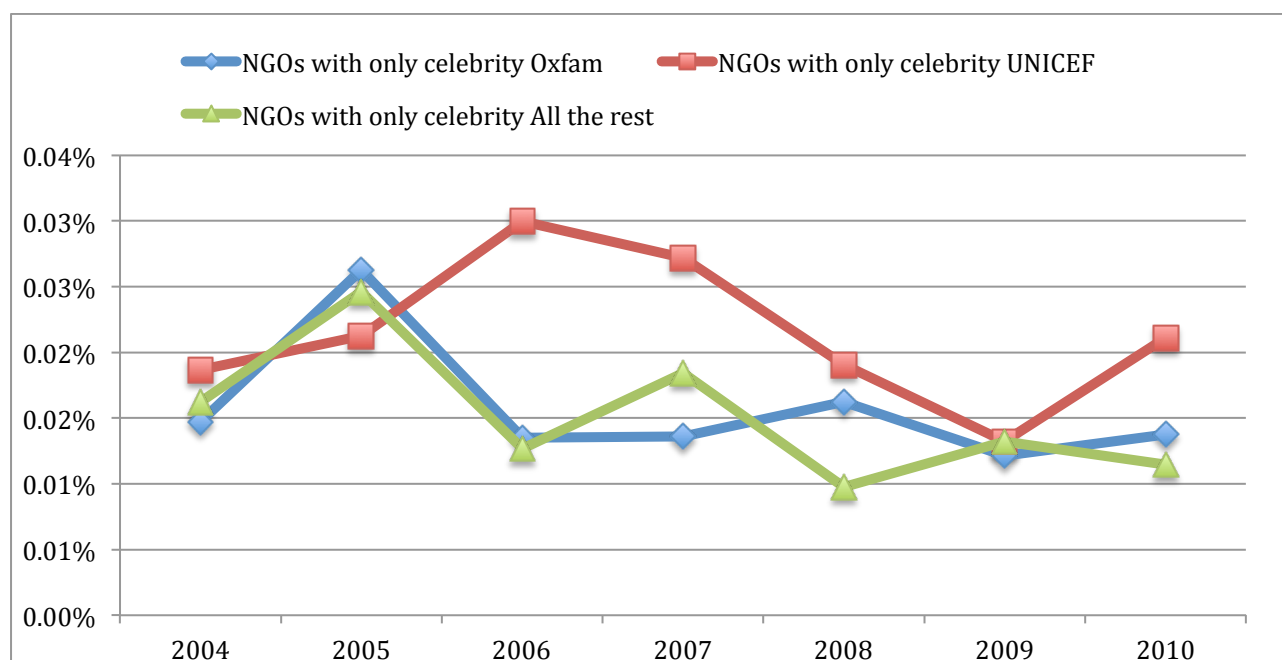
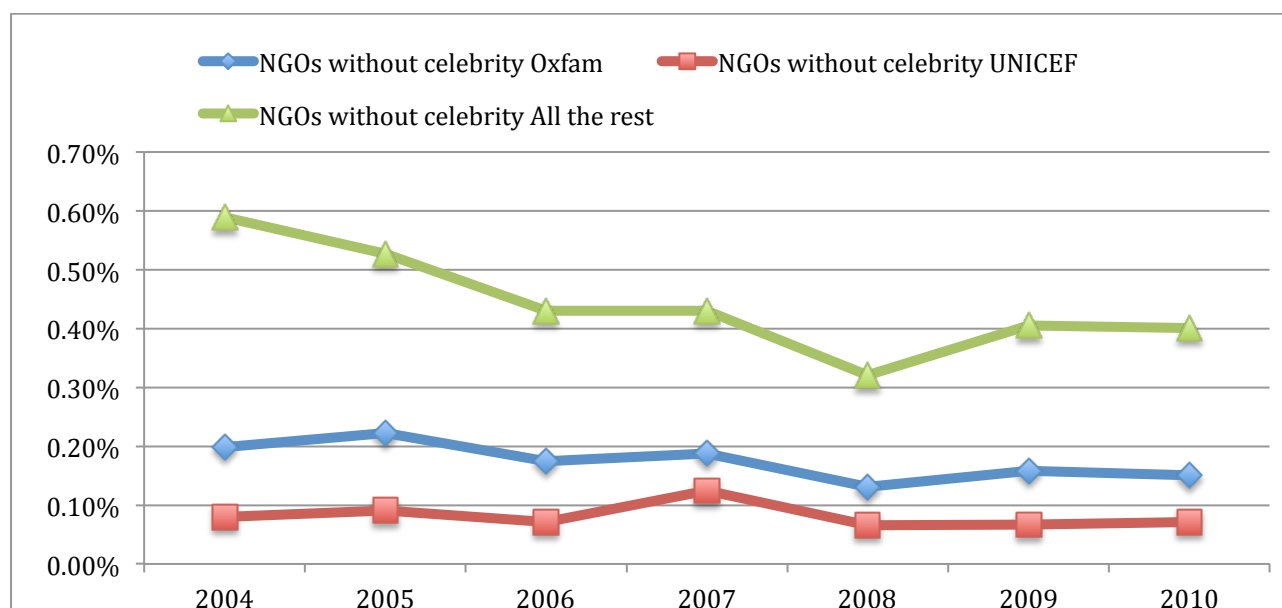


Figure 27: Trends in articles with no mention of celebrity or ambassadors



The effect of ambassador articles in tabloids

38. In the tabloids articles about UNICEF which mention celebrity or ambassadors follow the general pattern for all NGOs.

39. There is an unexpected finding with respect to articles without celebrity or ambassadors. Here UNICEF has not increased their articles in the tabloids as other NGOs have. This suggests that, if tabloids are printing more articles which are not celebrity focused, UNICEF has not been able to respond to the challenge as well as other NGOs.

Figure 28: Articles mentioning celebrity and or ambassadors in the tabloids

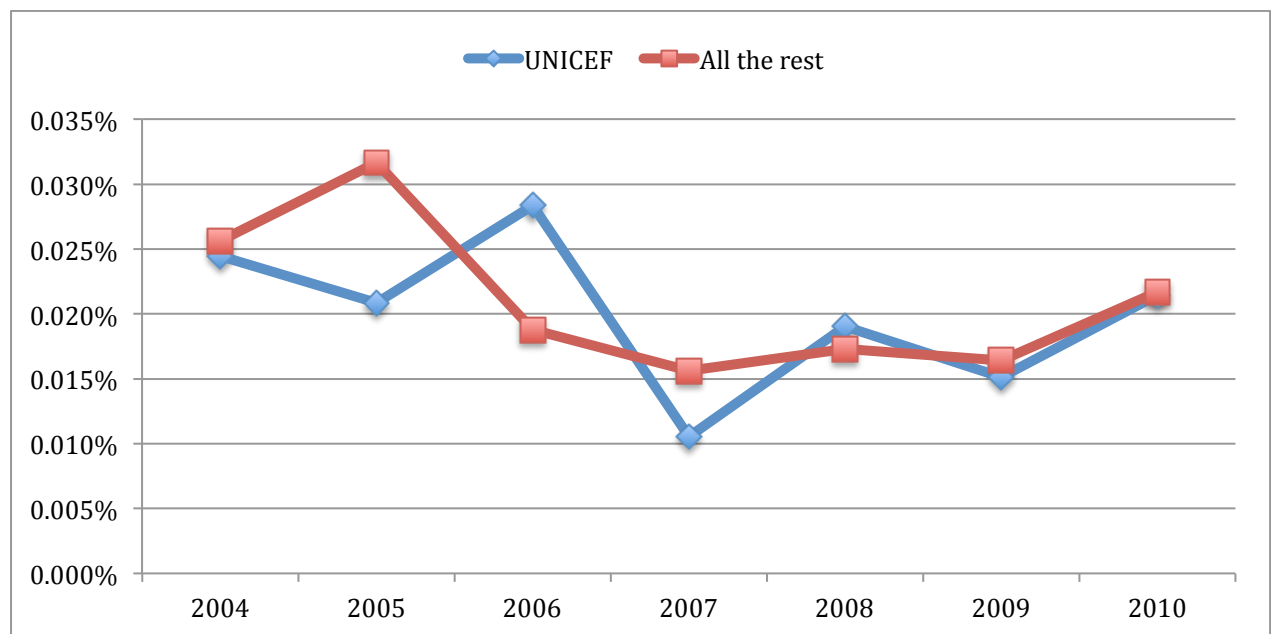
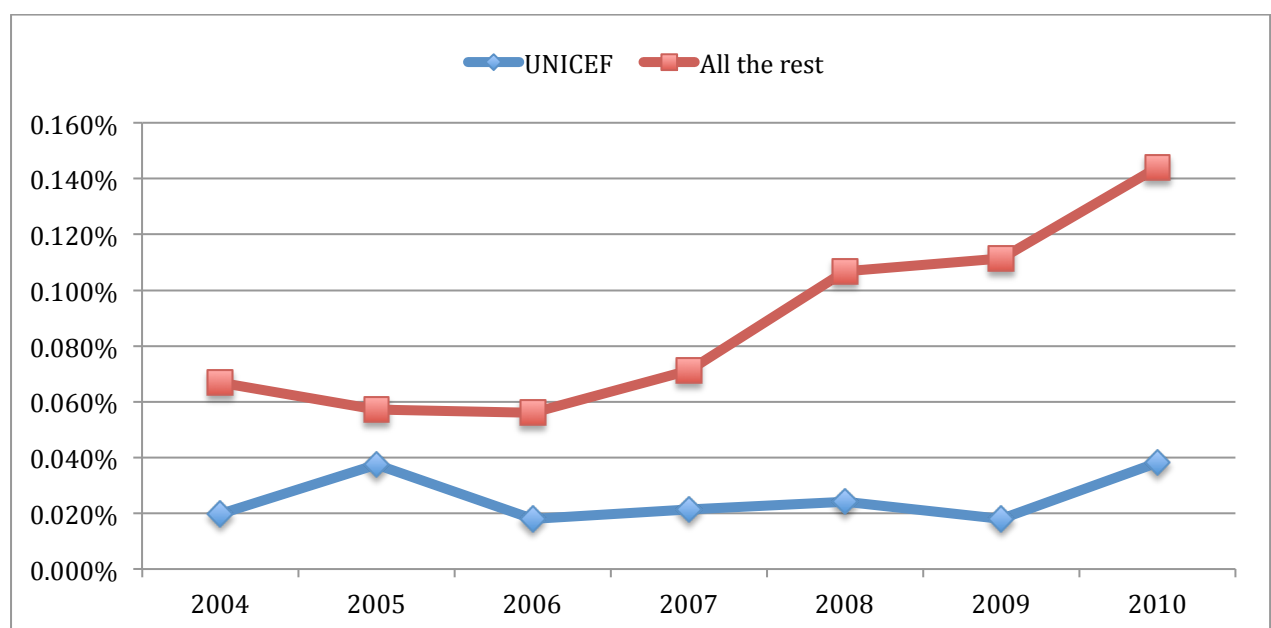


Figure 29: Articles mentioning neither celebrity nor ambassadors in the tabloids



Discussion

Before we can present any conclusions it is worth reviewing the limitations of this sort of study. This has been a study of just five British newspapers. It has not covered any of the more celebrity focused magazines, any television, radio or websites. It is, in short, a study of the presence of celebrity in broadcast media, at a time when a number of observers are noting the power of celebrity is best demonstrated in narrowcasting (Thrall *et al.* 2008). Appearance in such media is just a fraction of the ways in which public figures can work with NGOs. The list will include doing radio interviews, You Tube videos, field trips, attending fundraising evenings, meeting high value donors, lobbying and campaigning behind the scenes and sending out messages to NGO supporters and activists. Not all of that activity will be, or will be intended to be, captured by these newspapers. This study therefore cannot be taken to be any form of appraisal of the work of celebrity with NGOs more generally.

It is, however, a useful indicative exercise, suggesting patterns which might be meaningful. A number of findings here confirm those reported elsewhere. For instance, Mickelwright and colleagues observed a slight deconcentration in funding to the leading four NGOs from about 70% of voluntary donations in the early 1980s to around 50% in the mid 2000s (Atkinson *et al.* 2008). This accords with the figure above showing a larger number of articles on development and humanitarian NGOs covering other NGOs apart from the top four in the broadsheets (Figure 10). Furthermore the finding that celebrity is relatively unimportant in driving the presence of Make Poverty History into the tabloids (Figure 14) accords with the media evaluation of Make Poverty History which found that only 600 of 1650 articles mentioned celebrity (Metrica 2006).¹

It is clear from these findings that mention of celebrity generally is no longer increasing as clearly as it once was in the British press. As a proportion of all articles printed there is a marked decline of celebrity and charity generally in the tabloids since 2002 and the broadsheets since 2006. Articles about charity are still more likely to mention celebrity than other newspaper articles. Articles about development and humanitarian NGOs are less likely to mention celebrity than other charities.

There are some interesting contrasts between the tabloids and broadsheets. Articles about celebrity and development and humanitarian NGOs are more numerous and more common in the broadsheets than the tabloids, despite declines since 2005. This reflects the fact that the growth of celebrity in articles about development has been dominated by the rise of celebrity in the broadsheets.

The relative lack of articles about celebrity and development and humanitarian NGOs also reflects the fact that tabloids generally print few articles about development and humanitarian NGOs at all, or indeed charities more generally. When tabloids do print them they are more likely to mention celebrity in those articles than other articles for the paper as a whole. In that respect celebrity clearly represents a useful hook to get stories into the paper. But the word is still only mentioned in 10% of articles.

¹ Sireau reports slightly different figures but the same basic trend: 103 of 367 articles (28%) mentioning the Make Poverty History rally in Edinburgh, and 249 of 803 articles (31%) reporting on the G8 mentioned a celebrity (2008: 181).

There has also been a decline in the proportion of newspaper articles mentioning development and humanitarian NGOs at all. NGOs with strong celebrity programmes are able to buck that trend in the tabloids (UNICEF) and in the broadsheets (UNICEF and Oxfam). However articles mentioning celebrity do not explain that performance. Articles without mention of celebrity are also bucking the trend.

Indeed there are indications that too much reliance on celebrity might not be fit for purpose in the present climate. The apparent recent move in the tabloids away from use of celebrity with respect to articles about development and humanitarian NGOs has meant that UNICEF has not performed so well in the tabloids with such articles compared to other NGOs. More time is required to see how solid a trend this change in the tabloids actually is, but note that there is historical precedence (in the Make Poverty History campaign) for a surge in articles about development and humanitarian NGOs in the tabloids that has not been driven by celebrity.

In considering the general implications for work with celebrity, recall that this is only a survey of mainstream UK newspapers. It is quite possible that the celebrity work in other organisations is not orientated to producing copy in these outlets. However, if mainstream newspapers are useful measures of celebrity work, then it is likely that those NGOs with good coverage in this press (within a general context of declining stories for the sector) have achieved this because their strong celebrity programmes are also part of good media teams and perhaps because their celebrity programmes are well integrated into the rest of what the organisation does. Or put differently, the presence of a strong celebrity strategy does not guarantee good news coverage. It is the way that celebrity programme is used by the broader organisation as part of wider media and communication strategies associated with fundraising, campaigning, corporate relations and awareness raising that will facilitate effective use of any celebrity programme.

List of UNICEF and Oxfam Ambassadors

UNICEF Global Ambassadors

Richard Attenborough; Amitabh Bachchan; Ishmael Beah; David Beckham; Harry Belafonte; Orlando Bloom; Jackie Chan; Myung-Whun Chung; Judy Collins; Mia Farrow; Danny Glover; Whoopi Goldberg; Maria Guleghina; Ang!lique Kidjo; Yuna Kim; Tetsuko Kuroyanagi; Femi Kuti; Leon Lai; Lang Lang; Ricky Martin; Shakira Mebarak; Leo Messi; Roger Moore; Nana Mouskouri; Youssou N'Dour; Berliner Philharmoniker; Queen Rania; Vanessa Redgrave; Sebastião Salgado; Susan Sarandon; Maxim Vengerov; Serena Williams; Liam Neeson

UNICEF UK Ambassadors

Cat Deeley; Matt Dawson; Duncan Bannatyne; David Puttnam; Charley Boorman; Claudia Schiffer; Ryan Giggs; James Nesbitt; Elle Macpherson; Ewan McGregor; Paul Clark; Trudie Styler; Alex Ferguson; Martin Bell; Andrew O'Hagan; Jemima Khan; Robbie Williams

Oxfam Global Ambassadors

Bill Nighy; Anthony Wong; Ang!lique Kidjo; Colin Firth; Gael García Bernal; Helena Christensen; Miguel Bosé; Rahul Bose; Annie Lennox; Desmond Tutu; Coldplay; Chris Martin; Djimon Hounsou; Helen Mirren; Kristin Davis; Minnie Driver; Scarlett Johansson

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