Media Governance in a global era
Course leader

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Media and Communication in globalisation

- Communications and media industries; organisations; institutions
- situated within complex networks of industrial financial cultural political relations

Media and communications as industries
1. Characteristics of industrial production
2. Financial relations and position in the market
3. Regulated as industries and Fourth Estate?
The role of the media and their regulation

- Communications and media as cultural actors
  1. flow of meanings; production and reproduction of ideas through content generation
  2. due to hybridity of communications, the media become themselves cultural forms

- Communications and media in social and political relations
  1. generators of ideologies and beliefs
  2. media and international communications as political tools (propaganda, diplomacy, agenda setters)
The role of the media and their regulation

- Media as technologies
  1. tools for political and social, civic engagement (freedom of information)
  2. tools within a 'world order' characterised by disparities in access to technology and information (copyright, universal broadband and information service)
  3. tools for social ordering (surveillance/privacy)
Shaping the media: Policy

- What is policy?
- Who is involved in policy making?
- To what effect? Who benefits?
Policy process

- Agenda setting (problem)
- Political process: input
- Political process: output
- Impact of policy
- Evaluation of policy and outcome
Regulatory Assumptions

- Institution: the State
- Normative process but apolitical and non partisan
- Superior role of Experts

- Policy is driven by sovereign nation states
- Policy addresses objective problems
- Policy is applied in nation states
Shaping the media: critical questions

Critical questions regarding policy making as a process:
1. how democratic is the process?
2. who defines 'democratic'?
3. what kinds of agendas are considered?
4. who is represented?
5. how is output measured and assessed?
6. how is new policy designed?
Important conceptual considerations

- Legitimacy
- Jurisdiction
- Political mandate
- Representation of diffuse interests
- Social equality
- Social justice
Turn from the study of ‘government‘ to the study of ‘governance‘

Implies the study of institutions involved in policy making such as Parliaments, independent organisations, international organisations

Implies a complex, non hierarchical process of policy making

Suggests active involvement of citizens in multistakeholder policy environments
Media Governance

- The sum of processes and relations in the shaping of communications.
- It involves not only formal law but also informal but established practices, codes of conduct, regulation and soft regulation, economic and financial ‘management’.
- At macro-levels: international organisations, state constellations, G8 WIPO etc, transnational corporations
- At meso-levels: states and governments, regional authorities
- At micro-levels: everyday practice, codes of conduct, voluntary codes and self-regulation
The global

- Breaking down of nation-state 'territories'
- Breaking down of borders
- Trans-national market integration
- Mediation of financial transactions symbolically i.e. culturally through global media
- Mediation of financial relations and transactions through new communication technologies
- Breaking down of purely 'national' problems and solutions
- Sense of common experiences, common 'fate', common concerns
Global media governance

what matters?

- cultural change and preservation?
- power relations between societies, nation-states?
- Inequity according to social strata, gender and ‘race’
- access to communications?
- comparisons between nations and systems?
- the impact of technology?
- media representations of ‘others’?
“a retribalization of large swaths of humankind by war and bloodshed: a threatened Lebanonization of national states in which culture is pitted against culture, people against people, tribe against tribe—a Jihad in the name of a hundred narrowly conceived faiths against every kind of interdependence, every kind of artificial social cooperation and civic mutuality.”

“the onrush of economic and ecological forces that demand integration and uniformity and that mesmerize the world with fast music, fast computers, and fast food—with MTV, Macintosh, and McDonald's, pressing nations into one commercially homogenous global network: one McWorld tied together by technology, ecology, communications, and commerce.”

Benjamin Barber 1996 *How Globalism and Tribalism are Reshaping the World* NY: Ballantine Books
How are communications and media shaped globally?

Some main theoretical lenses:
- cultural imperialism
- cultural hybridization
- Globalization
- Transnationalism
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<th><strong>International</strong></th>
<th><strong>Global</strong></th>
<th><strong>Transnational</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>IC is a n interdisciplinary field: issues-oriented approach (Semati M 2004)</td>
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<td>Economic and political dimensions of IC: supremacy of Global North and impact for Global South (Thussu 2006)</td>
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<td>‘World’ rather than ‘International’ (Hamelink 1996)</td>
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<td>Communications change globally due to differences between men’s and women’s realities and everyday experiences. Networking, activism, citizens and connectivity. (Rush and Allen 1989; Allen, Rush, Kaufman 1996)</td>
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<td>Study of globalisation processes in the use of media by, culturally and nationally distinct different generations (Rantanen 205)</td>
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<td>Emerging and understudied conditions in IC: media, diaspora, transnational networks (Karim 2003)</td>
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<td>Transnational media users, transnational and local connections, urbanism and mediated communication (Georgiou 2006)</td>
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<td>‘Gender troubles always manifest global troubles’ (Shome 2006)</td>
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Core Communication Processes and Social Change:

- Technological advancement: satellites, networks, media
- Transnational connections: audiences, networks, users
- Transnational contents: advertising, soap opera
- Globalisation: interaction of the global and the local
- International media: broadcasting, media exports, media formats
- Cultural processes: tourism, music, cultural production and consumption
- International flow of meanings: Americanisation, McDonaldisation, contra-flow
- Institutional international communications: propaganda and government communications
- Global trends in production: global structures of labour in international communications and media
Emerging Perspectives in the study of Media Governance

- Institutions and Citizens: exploring the interaction
- The global Media system: media employment, decision making, content
- Information Society: technological networks, convergence, users
- Political participation and Democracy: Human Rights, Communication Right, Accountability
- Development and Women
- Health, Gender, Journalism
- Communication Policies: international policy regimes, local-global interactions, supranational polities, global social movements
Technology and Social Change:

MATERIALITY AND IDEOLOGY
A history of communication technology

1775 BC Greeks use a phonetic alphabet written from left to right.

900 BC The very first postal service - for government use in China.

530 BC The Greeks start the very first library.

105 - Tsai Lun invents paper

1454 - Johannes Gutenberg finishes a printing press with metal movable type

1835 - Samuel Morse develops the Morse code

1849 - Associated Press organizes Nova Scotia pony express to carry latest European news for New York newspapers

1889 - Almon Strowger patents the direct dial telephone

1500s BC - Phoenicians develop alphabet

776 BC First recorded use of homing pigeons used to send message - the winner of the Olympic Games to the Athenians.

500 BC to 170 BC Papyrus rolls and early parchments made of dried reeds - first portable and light writing surfaces.

1450 - China - wooden block movable type printing

1831 - Joseph Henry proposes and builds an electric telegraph

1843 - Samuel Morse builds the first long distance electric telegraph line

1876 - Alexander Graham Bell and Thomas Watson exhibit an electric telephone
1901 - Guglielmo Marconi transmits radio signals from Cornwall to Newfoundland

1925 - John Logie Baird transmits the first television signal

1972 HBO invents pay-TV service for cable.

1976 Apple I home computer invented. First nationwide programming - via satellite and implemented by Ted Turner.

1980 Sony Walkman invented.

1983 Time magazines names the computer as "Man of the Year." First cellular phone network started in the United States.

2010 Apple presents its new technological gadget, the iPad

1963 - First geosynchronous communications satellite is launched

1975 satellite television instructional experiment – India,

1979 First cellular phone communication network started in Japan.


1989 - Tim Berners-Lee and Robert Cailliau built the prototype World Wide Web

- Adapted from /www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Timeline-of-communication-technology
“It is an immensely powerful and now largely orthodox view of the nature of social change. New technologies are discovered, by an essentially internal process of research and development, which then sets the conditions for social change and progress. Progress in particular is the history of these inventions, which ‘created the modern world’. The effects of these technologies, whether direct or indirect, foreseen or unforeseen, are as if it were the rest of history”

Williams, 1990: 13
Technological Determinism

- companies invest in research and development
  - or technology is accelerated by the state at times of war
- turning points in human history can be attributed to such change
- a “progress of great men” approach

In class task:
The Internet case: name people, companies, institutions etc associated with the internet

- what is left out?
Augusta Ada King, Countess of Lovelace (December 10, 1815 - November 27, 1852), is mainly known for having written a description of Charles Babbage's early mechanical general-purpose computer, the analytical engine. Over one hundred years after her death, in 1953, Ada Lovelace's notes on Babbage's Analytical Engine were republished after being forgotten. The engine now has been recognized as an early model for a computer and Ada Lovelace's notes as a description of a computer and software. On December 10, 1980, (Ada's birthday), the U.S. Defense Department approved the reference manual for its new computer programming language and named it after her, "Ada".
Kay McNulty, Betty Snyder, Marlyn Wescoff, Ruth Lichterman, Betty Jennings, and Fran Bilas, original programmers of the ENIAC.

ENIAC, short for Electronic Numerical Integrator And Computer, was the first large-scale, electronic, digital computer capable of being reprogrammed to solve a full range of computing problems.
Grace Murray Hopper (December 9, 1906 - January 1, 1992) was an American computer scientist and United States Navy officer. A pioneer in the field, she was one of the first programmers of the Harvard Mark I calculator, and she developed the first compiler for a computer programming language. Image of Grace Hopper at work on a UNIVAC mainframe computer
Technological Roots of the Internet

- Babbage’s “Analytical Engine”
- Colossus and binary code (1940s)
- ENIAC (1946) and UNIVAC (1950)
- ARPANET (1969)
- E-mail (1972)
- Internet protocol (1974)
- Personal computers developed (1970s)
Ideology is a term used to describe the social production of meanings – John Fiske

Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence [...]. It has the function (which defines it) of ‘constituting’ concrete individuals as subjects – Louis Althusser

Ideological struggle is a continuing feature of any society in which one social group has dominance over another – Antonio Gramsci

Ideology: erroneous beliefs whose inadequacies are socially motivated – Terry Lovel
‘Medium is the Message’ (Marshall McLuhan)

‘A new ideology that dares not speak its name has become part and parcel of the ‘nature of things’ and suddenly ranks as the dominant paradigm of social change’ (Armand Mattelart, 2003:2)

‘To understand a myth involves more than proving it to be false. It means figuring out why the myth exists, why it is so important to people, what it means, and what it tells us about people’s hopes and dreams’ (Vincent Mosco 2004: 29)
“as the laws and mechanisms of technological rationality spread over the whole society, they develop a set of truth values of their own, which hold good for the functioning of the apparatus—and for that alone”

(Marcuse 1978 [1941]:146)
The technologically determinist vision of communications

- modernization
- Lerner: the passing of traditional society
  - related: empathy; magic multiplier; diffusion of innovations
  - us/europe the standard for all to emulate
The technologically determinist vision of IC

After a thousand years of explosion by means of fragmentary and mechanical technologies, the Western world is imploding. During the mechanical ages we had extended our bodies in space. Today, after more than a century of electronic technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned. As electronically contracted, the globe is no more than a village.

A firm refusal to identify the transition, big enough though it is, with the life story of the global totality, should free us from some of the excessive fears as well as from the metaphysical hopes.

Gellner 1969: 145

“Vision in this technological feast becomes unregulated gluttony; all perspective gives way to infinitely mobile vision, which no longer seems just mythically about the god-trick of seeing everything from nowhere, but to have to put the myth into ordinary practice.”

Haraway 1991:188-189

Simians, Cyborgs and Women
• Ideology of science and technology as an all-seeing, all-knowing legitimator of truths.

• The *eye* is an indirect reference to the ideology of eye-witness, that is almost the ultimate organ for observation and therefore scientific enquiry/production,

• *Disrespectful, abusive, exploitative* attitude (gluttony – greed) towards the world through the use of technology: cameras, films, telescopes, screens all are the extension of eyes;

• ‘Ways of seeing’ are filtered and programmed by very *specific conditions*. 
The ways we 'normalise' technological change define the ways in which we accept or not decisions about it.

*Can you think of an example from your everyday life?*

- Social relations are embedded in technology; communications and the media are not 'neutral zones' unaffected by them.

*Can you think of a recent example where this may have been the case?*
Can you think of media and communication policy examples?
Can you think of a recent media story about media policy?
Can you think of ideologies and myths surrounding our media and communications?
The Propaganda Model

A propaganda model focuses on the inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass media interests and choices.

It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalise dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interest to get their messages across to the public.
The propaganda model: five filters

1\textsuperscript{st} filter: size, ownership, and profit orientation of the mass media

2\textsuperscript{nd} filter: Advertising as the primary income source of the mass media

3\textsuperscript{rd} filter: The reliance of the media on information provided by the primary sources

4\textsuperscript{th} filter: ‘Flak’ as a means of disciplining the media

5\textsuperscript{th} filter: ‘Anticommunism’ [anti-terrorism] as a national religion and control mechanism.
First Filter
Size, ownership, and profit orientation

- “They are profit-seeking businesses, owned by very wealthy people (or other companies)”

- Thus, this first filter has been relevant for over a century.
# The impact of technological advancement on media access and ownership

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<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
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<td>Greater perceived diversity</td>
<td>Encouraged strategies of expansion and diversification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry barriers eroded</td>
<td>Consolidation of ownership and increasing convergence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadcast channels have multiplied</td>
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Media Concentration Chart

djspooky.com/media/Entertainment_Nation.pdf
• 18th century: launch of advertisement in newspapers → served as a powerful mechanism weakening the working-class press (dissident press)
• an advertising-based system will tend to drive out of existence the media companies that depend on revenue from sale alone
• with advertising the free market does not yield a neutral system in which final buyer choice decides
Advertising License to do Business

- Mass media are interested in attracting audiences with buying power (capitalistic-orientated readers), not audiences per se
- Working class and radical papers also suffer from the political discrimination of advertisers
- An advertising-based Television media system will gradually increase advertising time and marginalize or eliminate altogether programming that has significant public-affairs content
Today:
Herman argues that the advertising filter has changed because of corporate concentration and globalisation
Chomsky/Herman:

“the mass media are drawn into a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest.” (1988: 18)

- “Ruling class=ruling ideology”
Mass Media News Sources in the US

White House
Pentagon
State Department

corporate sources

INFORMATION

-Mutual dependency
-Threats
-Personal relationships

Source: Chomsky/Herman:1988
political economy of communications

- „political economy is the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communication resources“ (Mosco, 1996: 2)
- How do large companies control the production and distribution of media products and restrict the diversity of content? (Galbraith, Lawson, Veblen)
Herman in 2007 about the third filter

- More infotainment than news production
- But: „Governments are now primary definers of what constitutes news. Governments, in fact, now manage the media, rendering them more dependent and malleable. “
Critical Perspectives

- Golding/ Murdock: „Owners, advertisers and key political personnel cannot always do as they wish... [but] operate within structures that facilitate.“ (2000: 74)
- Boyed-Barret: “the PM has nothing to say about public opinion or media impact.“ (2007)
- Mosco emphasizes the process of „creating social relations, mainly those organized around social class, gender and race“ (structuration).
- Herman/ McChesney: Rise of a „genuinely global commercial media market“ (1997: 1) and restructuring of national media markets
- Influence of the development of ICTs, to what extent does the Internet empower the citizens as news sources and to what extent the TNCs? (f.ex. Mosco)
- Media reform movement; shifting from research with focus on capital, corporative power and elites to the research on resistance to it (f.ex. McChesney, Mosco, Mc Kercher, Schiller)
Where does the concept come from?

Corporate community counterattacks by producing FLAK to “correct” the media

When criticisms expose the hidden agenda of the corporate elite & the government
What is FLAK

“negative responses to a media statement or [TV or radio] program” by politicians or publics organized by vested interests to “exercise a chilling effect on media journalists long after the initial criticism”

Flak can take the form of letters – telegrams – phone calls - petitions – lawsuits Speeches and bills before congress, and other modes Of complaint, threat and punitive action.
Who produces Flak?

- The government is a major producer
- Credible institutions supported by the corporate community
  - Media Institute
  - Freedom House
  - Accuracy in Media
  - Centre for Media & Public Affairs

All initially set up as media watchdogs
Example

- 1982 – Reagan administration
  - **Issue/Problem**: they couldn't contain the media reporting of the systematic killing of civilians by El Salvadoran Army
  - **Flak counterattack**: Freedom House denounced the “imbalance” in media reporting from el Salvador.
5th Filter: Ideology

- Ideological forces are deployed and adapted to correspond to interests of powerful parties.

(Herman and Chomsky, 1988, pp. 1-35; Khaen, 2002, pp 158-162)
Cultural Milieu; the religion of Anticommunism
Anti-communism; a powerful control mechanism
(Herman and Chomsky, 1988, pp. 1-35)

Manichaestic frames → Representations of a dichotomized world

Legitimacy of OUR side’s perspective → demonization of the OTHER

Range of news is limited

Demand for credibility is suspended
Current Ideological Forces
(Critical Discussions and Evidence of the Ongoing Relevance of the Herman and Chomsky Propaganda Model.)