
Lecture 2/3

- Intro
- Political Bias?
 - non-democratic societies: media shapes public opinion
 - Democratic: media informs society [theory of a healthy society]
 - Does media actually fulfill this role? To what degree is this information objective. Is information presented with a bias. Do we live in a world where we have selective reporting?
 - 4 Types of Bias: 1)Partisan (intentional and explicit), 2)Propaganda Based (Intentional and inexplicit), 3)Unwitting Bias [unintentional and explicit] (most common form) selection of which stories appear in media and which do not, 4)Ideological [unintentional and inexplicit] reflecting certain values
 - Words matter: media is composed of words—words have a huge impact on how information is perceived.
- Experiment
 - Proposed options:
 - Program C- 400 people will die
 - Program D- 1/3 probability that nobody will die and a 2/3 probability that 600 people will die
 - Words matter—the proposed options are identical but framed in different ways. 78% of people chose program D because it is presented in a way that gives a sliver of hope/positivity
- Framing
 - Framing essentially involves selection and salience
 - What frames do:
 - Define problems
 - Diagnose causes
 - Make moral judgements
 - Suggest remedies

- How framing works:
 - By presenting or avoiding certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing information
- Saliency: how a story is placed or ranked has an impact on the hierarchy of information...what is not in the news/media?
- Agenda Setting
 - Is media trying to make you think in a certain way? Media don't actually tell us how to think, but they tell you what to think about [which subjects are included, which aren't?]. News is very carefully edited through the editorial process in order to protect the public and protect the business
 - Focuses our attention on what we are told is important*
- Objective journalism
 - Normative goal in journalism: media should be objective
 - When media was primarily print, objective standards of media were not important, subjectivity was encouraged
 - With radio and television, this begins to change
 - Television is trying to reach large audiences, no longer trying to target political party supporters, but a larger scale of audiences, therefore there is a reversal due to increase in social media causing the public sphere to split into spheres, allowing audiences to tailor their media outputs to their own subjective opinion
 - Manufacturing consent
 - mainstream perspective of what elites would like you to be thinking about
 - to present a certain image of society
- News as a Story
 - News is supposed to be telling us a story
 - Stories get constructed by going out, looking for a story, attempting to meet a deadline while moulding the story to meet a certain audience's interest
 - Video: Ukrainian Prisoner of War is harassed by British Journalist [how news should not be presented]

- Four Narratives: 1)The Quest (struggle towards goal—e.g., elections), 2)The Conspiracy (exposing something—covert organizations try to thwart), 3)The Bureaucracy (machine politics—), 4)The Soap (humans struggle together—human interest story)
- Audiences
 - Goal of privately owned media is to deliver audiences to advertisers
 - The evolution of the citizen of public sphere [Jurgen Habermas] transforming into the consumer in the private sphere.
 - Information over entertainment
- Trust
 - Getting the facts right
 - Truth in reporting is something that has been declining—in part because of the way that bias operates, partly because of agenda-planning.
 - Erosion of trust— only 6% of people say that they have a lot of confidence in the media
 - So what is the role of the media if we cannot trust the information it's providing?
 - Why do people want to control the media if it is not having an impact on public opinion?
- Summary
- Further reading
- Discussion questions
 - What were the main news stories that caught your attention recently?
 - How were they framed? In what way did this influence your reception of the information?
 - Canada-US relations? Trudeau/Trump? Trade?
 - Trust—To what degree do you trust the news outlets you use? What factors influence your choices of your sources

Lecture 4: Infotainment

- Rupert Murdoch—owns multiple media platforms and outputs
 - He describes the news business as “infotainment” [information+entertainment]
- Entertainment is never politically neutral
 - Political culture is represented in a very wide range of media
 - It is seen as difficult to draw lines between politics and entertainment
 - Politics needs to attract people’s attention, therefore it needs to be more entertaining than serious
 - Infotainment makes politics light and interesting, it de-engages society to make it more easily governable
- Washington + Hollywood
 - Politicians need to compete for people’s attention and therefore are turning to hollywood to do so
 - How is this done? Through political satire
 - Political Satire: treating politics and politicians with cynicism
 - Current media is having a field day with Trump and the ability to poke fun at him
 - Audiences for political satires must be slightly politically educated
 - It is sometimes criticized for being about political elites for political elites
 - The way the jokes are frames reflects the political values of those who are being satirical
 - Political satire is an open indication of a democratic society
 - Politics as Conspiracy
 - E.g., The Matrix
 - Don’t necessarily talk about politics but they construct a vision of the world
 - The message they produce is that what we see as the political process is not what is really going on and thats where power lies
- Entertainment as Propaganda

- In certain countries, the state controls what can and can't be output in media
 - USSR, China, US
- Certain types of music, movies, stations, etc... are banned
- Not limited to non-democratic society
- Entertainment is used as a vehicle to promote views, idea, ideologies in democratic states as well
- Many celebrity activists who use entertainment as a way to bring attention to an issue
- Politics of Identity
 - Soap operas
 - Sitcoms
 - Game shows—promotion of a commercial society, strife to winning and money
 - Reality TV—highly ideological programs that give images of beauty, success, etc
 - Sport—competition for the rights to broadcast major sporting events. Sports are a formative identity shaper [who's us, who is them],[gendered male space —shaping the way we view society] Sports=massive source of revenue
- Impact?
 - Two views: 1) Political interest increases when politics achieves a high level of drama, 2) Infotainment leads to estrangement between politics [elites] and citizens [masses]
 - Nothing encourages you to challenge the dominant order that exists
 - Political views are being reproduced in non-political arenas
 - Politics is beginning to follow media
 - John Street argues that politics and entertainment are both important

Lecture 5

- Midterm:
 - in class

- short answer— 10 questions
- go over all lecture notes + all reading
- How does Media Influence Public Opinion?
- Two main models of communication:
 - 1)Transmission model [dominant]
 - according to this model, there are three actors of communication
 - [sender—>message—> receiver]
 - Focus on sender and message
 - this is how political elites conceptualize the communication process
 - 2)The Cultural Studies Model [becoming more convincing]
 - more complicated/ not linear
 - same components [sender, message, receiver], just not linear, maybe cyclical
 - audiences are not passive, they are active
 - audience might not receive your message as you want them to
 - focus on audiences [controlling the sender/message does not always shape the audiences response]
- Academic Debates Over Media Effects: The Effects Continuum
 - People have been studying this question for decades and there is still no consensus
 - Theory 1
 - One theory is called, the Powerful Direct Effects Theory
 - Media has a powerful effect on shaping how people think/public opinion
 - e.g., Hitler's propaganda
 - Theory 2
 - Limited Effects Theory
 - Very different data set
 - Media has minimal effect on public opinion

- What matters more than media are other dynamics: education, family, socio-economic class, gender, etc
- Theory 3
 - Limited and Indirect Effects Theory
 - Someone might have been impacted by media, and they effected you but media did not directly impact you
- Theory 4
 - Cumulative Effects Theory
 - Hearing a message repeatedly
 - The building up of media messages through repetition might begin to impact public opinion
- Theory 5 [one of the most recent]
 - The Differential Susceptibility to Media Effects Theory
 - Inaccurate to say that everyone responds to media the same way
 - Some people are highly susceptible to media
 - Some people are highly sceptical to media
 - What shapes your response is your disposition, your development, and your social status
- What impact does media have on voting behaviour?
 - The problem of causality
 - Different types of media will have different effects of causality

Lecture 6: Political Economy of Media

- Political Economy: Who owns the media?
 - All media outlets have owner
 - Three forms of media ownership
 - State
 - Public

- Private
- “Every state exercises some control over what journalists write or broadcast”—John Street
- Systems of Control [by the state]
 - Ownership
 - State can own media
 - This does not happen in democratic countries
 - Regulation
 - AND
 - Legislation
 - How media is regulated in democratic societies
 - Ex: pornography, violence, etc...
 - Censorship
 - Usually considered a negative instrument
- Ownership
 - Regulated through political means
 - Who is allowed to own media and how media owners are allowed to operate
- Regulation
 - Licensing powers
 - Subsidies
 - Tax incentives
 - Quotas [Canadian content quota: fosters Canadian culture, supports Canadian artists]
 - Codes and protocols
 - Non-intervention
- Legislation
 - Content rules

- Ownership restrictions
- Trade barriers
- Trade agreements
- Enforcement of intellectual property rights
- Restrictions on speech rights and information flows
- Secrecy
 - Freedom of information
 - Different traditions in various liberal democratic states
 - Selective release of information by governments
- Propaganda
- Structure vs Agency
 - Decision making process: secrecy, lobbying
- Goal in democratic society is freedom of press and media
- World Press Freedom Index 2017
 - Worrying trend is what's happening in democratic countries
 - Free speech is not fully free
- China
 - Authoritarian country which always ranked low on freedom of speech
 - The communist party of china sets out the role of media as very differently than us
 - The role of the media is to be the mouthpiece of the state
 - Reassure support for the state
 - Xinhua News Agency
 - Official news agency owned by the state
 - Reforms:
 - When? Late 1970s early 1980s, second phase early 1990s

- Official ambivalence
- After Tiananmen Square Protests 1989
- Banned social media from US
- Russia
 - Soviet real Agitprop
 - Used to own and control all media
 - 1991 things drastically changed
 - collapse of society union
 - privatization began
 - Part of the media remains state owned
 - The rest is allowed to be sold to other owners
 - Boris Berezovski
 - Political leaders began to use media as an appeal to audiences/potential voters
 - Political satire appears
 - 1999
 - Resignation of president, Putin becomes president in 2000
 - Putin radically changed most systems in Russia
 - He hasn't changed the form of ownership
 - But the media owners are controlled by Putin
 - Rianovosti
 - New information warfare
 - Purpose: Influencing the policies of another government
 - Undermining confidence in its leaders and institutions
 - Case study Ukraine:
 - Euromaidan to invasion

- Ukraine
 - Was part of the USSR
 - Has the same tradition of the media being controlled by the state
 - Like with Russia there was a diversification of media ownership
 - Channel 1 is state owned, the rest are privatized
 - Grass Roots Initiative
 - A group of journalists got together to form a public radio station that broadcasts information
 - No more state-owned, instead public broadcasting and private-owned media
 - Public: state funded, not meant to make profit, meant to give out as much information as possible
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Lecture 7: Part 2 of Media Ownership Structures

- Final exam: on all material from course
- Privately Owned Media
- Normative Functions of Media in a Liberal Democracy [How things should be]
 - To inform
 - Act as a watchdog of the state, expose corruption
 - Create a space for various views to be represented
- Media And Democracy
 - 2 Perspectives
 - 1) Political Scientists
 - Main threat to democracy and free speech
 - To safeguard democracy, media needs to be in private hands
 - Media in established democracies: vast majority is privately owned
 - Political and democratic engagement is declining [people are less and less engaged/involved in politics]

- 2)Media Scholars
 - The Media/Democracy Paradox [Robert McChesney]:
 - Rich media, poor democracy
 - Function of media in a democracy [vs] Needs of the corporate world
 - Democracy needs an active, informed citizenry
 - Corporate world needs views and profit
 - In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the corporate economy is increasingly dependent on the media cultural sector
 - History: theory of cultural dominance
 - Mid 1960s
 - Rapid development of television
 - Cultural dominance in the media
 - Media-cultural imperialism
 - Subset of general system of imperialism
 - Media-cultural industries supports economic objectives of industrial-financial sectors
 - Create a consumer society
 - Cultural production is ideologically profit-based
 - Media first appeared in newspaper
 - Concentration of media ownership
 - Convergence of media formats
 - used to be a clear division b/t media platforms
 - now they're all converged [ownership]
 - Globalization of media system
 - 'The Big 6'—US media ownership
 - Evolution of a global social-cultural space
 - Part of transnational corporate domination

- Media and Cultural Imperialism traits
 - English language
 - Consumerism
 - Disney style theme parks
 - Music
 - Information
 - Global communications infrastructure
 - All service supplying cultural-media environment
- Goal: Markets and Consumers
- Use of communication and telecommunication systems
- Push for deregulation
- Media messages are filled with marketing messages
- Soft Power
- Active Audiences?
 - Viewers, readers, listeners, make their own meanings from the media messages that come their way
- Post-Modern Perspective
 - 1.Imperialism no longer exists
 - 2.A new global community is emerging—global civil society
 - 3.No problem if cultural outputs come from one source since individuals interpret messages and their meanings
- Totalizing Cultural Space
 - Growing disparity between advantaged and disadvantaged countries
 - Widening the gap inside society
 - Concentration of wealth
- Summary
 - Capitalism benefits from having a democratic political system

- But
 - Capitalism works best when elites make most fundamental decisions and the bulk of the population is depoliticized
 - Thus
 - Privately owned media have become expert at generating content that suits and perpetuates the status quo
 - Does privately owned media safeguard and promote democracy?
 - Public Service Broadcasting
 - What are the functions and to what degree do their aims meet the standards of the role of media in a democratic society
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Lecture 8: Journalists as Watchdogs or Lapdogs of the state

- Normative Functions of Media in a Liberal Democracy
 - Inform society
 - Act as a watchdog of the state
 - To represent different views
- The role of the watchdog
 - requires the news media to provide a check on powerful sectors of society, including leaders within the private and public domains.
 - journalists are expected to guard the public interest and to protect from incompetence, corruption, and misinformation
 - Empirical data shows that in many countries the free press does promote transparency
 - A watchdog journalism is at the heart of many news organizations
 - Based on normative expectations
- Elements of the Watchdog Model
 - Objectivity
 - Your views are not to be apparent in your reports

- Factuality
 - Facts must check out, which takes time and effort
- Critical Coverage
 - Collect the facts and engage with them. Be curious and always suspicious
- Factors Affecting Watchdog Journalism
 - Legal environment
 - Political environment
 - Economic environment
- Watchdog Role Paradox
 - Availability of information should produce healthy democracies
 - yet
 - Many examples when journalists expose corrupt behaviour of individuals and they still get elected
- Public Attitudes Towards Media's Watchdog Roles
 - Support for the medias watchdog role rises even as other press ratings show little signs of improvement
 - US adults see the news media as performing it's watchdog function—but also say media is bias
- How Do Journalists Find News?
 - It depends on the type of journalist....
 - First you find the news—build a reputation—then news will come to you when you are established [through contacts]
 - A really good journalist has his eyes/ears open and can sense news
- Models of Journalism
 - 1)Journalism as observation
 - the task of the journalist is to observe and to report
 - Criticism: Who decides what to report and what not to report?

- 2) Subjective journalism
 - Journalists are individuals who have a point of view
- 3) Journalism as a structured activity
 - Are journalists where the news is or is news where the journalists are?
 - Technology—citizen journalism[does not have to be a journalist who makes the initial report]
 - Importance of images—without images, a lot of time stories will not go to air/ make the news because audiences are so hooked to images
- Media as Lapdogs
 - Some think that media is not being a watchdog but rather a lapdog in the palm of the state
- Churnalism
 - A form of journalism where they take information from the state, not make their own stories but just ‘massages’ a press release and put it out as news.
 - They are not critically engaging with it
- Spin doctors
 - PR reps who make the ‘pre-packaged’ messages which news produces as a story
- Summary
 - The mass media’s dual role: ‘watchdog’ and guardian of their own interests’
 - Watchdog Journalism Paradox: exposed yet elected

Lecture 9

- Guest speaker: Kyrylo Loukerenko
 - Hromadske Radio, Editor-in-Chief
- 80 people
- Story:
 - Case of Carlos.
 - Carlos is an ‘air traffic controller’

- 2014, MH17 flight Malaysian airlines
- 289 people died
- Twitter account @spainbuca (shut down now)
- Carlos claimed that he knew what caused the crash
- He claimed that he was a Spanish national working for the Ukrainian airport
- Said that B777 was escorted by two military planes then disappeared
- Twitter (unreliable source)
- Some journalists (Russian) trusted the tweets and made them newsworthy
- Built stories around it
- Next day, Ukrainian officials made a statement that this 'air traffic controller' was non-existent
- Fake news
- A year later, the same account a woman reclaimed the account in Russian phrases that were ungrammatical and incorrect
- Oliver Stone interviews Putin in documentary called "The Putin Interviews"
 - Also published a book in English and in Russian
 - Putin, in the interviews mentions Carlos and his tweets. Claims information based on fake twitter account
- Found original picture of the man on the twitter picture, 'Catch Carlos If You Can'
- His name IS Carlos, he is a Spanish citizen, who resides in Romania, he is NOT an air traffic controller, but a petty criminal. He told them that Russia paid him 48,000\$ USD for this job
- Hromadske Radio
 - Founded in 2013
 - Grassroots movements respond to authoritarian advance
 - October 2013—first crowdfunding campaign
 - 2013-2014—Euromaidan
 - Facts & Figures

- 24/7 broadcasting service
- Audience about 2 million
- Six regions of Ukraine
- 17 Frequencies
- Broadcasting to the conflict zone in Eastern Ukraine
- Sources of Funding:
 - Government (UK, USA, EU, Canada)
 - Private donors
 - Crowdfunding
 - Advertising
- Show: Ukraine Calling (volunteer support) [edited by Marta]
- Donbas War and Media
 - Grave in 2014
 - 12/17 frequencies are in Donbas
 - Local people are not able to understand what is happening because there is a mix of fake and correct information
 - Ukraine is an imperfect democracy
 - Debate in Ukrainian Media
 - How to handle the information war? By which means?
 - Facts v. Propaganda
 - Propaganda cliches by some Ukrainian media or politically motivated opinion leaders
 - Internally displaced people are criminals
 - Separated territories are lost
 - NGO activists as fraudsters
 - Some nationalities or religions are evil
 - LGBT are not patriots

- Private media owned by oligarchs vs. Public media not controlled by politicians
- Challenges ahead
 - Conflict-related: unstable, frozen-conflict country
 - Political: not able to get frequencies in big cities
 - Social: poverty, inequality, too-trusting in media
 - Technology: Radio vs. Net
 - Sustainability

Lecture 10: Power of Media & exam review

- What is the power of media?
- What impact does it have on democracy?
- Is this different for social media?
- To what degree does propaganda work?—Power of media to shape public opinion
 - Ex: Russian Propaganda
 - Leonid and Arturas findings: Propaganda only works if you already have those beliefs. It won't necessarily change your vote, but it might make you think more harshly about those who have opposing views.
- Media and Power
 - Central question: how is media power?
 - Types:
 - 1) Discursive Power
 - Knowledge is power, whoever controls the knowledge, that is where power is based. How information is framed shapes the way we view the world. What is common sense?—the way that words and images are presented in the media.
 - 2) Access Power
 - Who has access to media? We don't all have the same position in society [ownership structures—speaker, message, audience]

- Who decides?
- 3)Resource Power
 - Distribution of resources within media conglomerates: how owners compete with each other—who gets the story first, who has the best stance, distribution of resources, who is the biggest.
- Theories of Media Power
 - Pluralism
 - Role of media is the fourth estate
 - To serve the public by providing information about public affairs
 - Debates as to how well this is functioning
 - Constructivism
 - Media is an actor in the political sphere. The media shapes public perspectives of what is going on and therefore owns power
 - Colonization
 - Media sets the agenda, it has colonized politics
 - Structuralists
 - Larger philosophical look at how media shapes society's opinion
 - Structure vs. Agency
 - Institution shaping behaviours [university]
 - Agency is what you do with it—
 - Network Power
 - Technological determinists
 - The way that information is channelled through technology—technology shapes the way the information is presented, formatted, organized, exercised etc...
 - Historical Perspectives
 - “Centralized control over mass communications is scarcely new”
 - Technology changes, but power in media really does not

- Ex: The Christian Church in Early Modern Europe
 - Transmitting the message
 - Sermons delivered to mass audiences in vernacular languages
 - Churches filled with images that reinforce the message
 - Monasteries dominated book production and education
 - Result: Cultural Domination
 - Changes: Paper replacing parchment as main raw material for books, introduction of printing leads to expansion of book production and this undermines the Church's power over knowledge
 - British Media History
 - Changing media in the 20th century
 - Trend toward more bi-partisan coverage of politics, shift of focus to entertainment
 - Traditional connection between partisan press and readership weakened
 - Rise of radio then television increases the electorate's exposure to bi-partisan communications. Decline of party press contributes to weakening political parties
 - Growing rivalry between journalists and politicians—who holds power?
 - Social media
 - International
 - Global power
- REVIEW
 - Power Structures and media change over time, but communication is an important part of any society in any structure
 - KEY CONCEPTS
 - Media Bias
 - Infotainment
 - Media Power

- Media Effects
- Political economy of the media
- “Every state exercises some control over what journalists write or broadcast”
Street
- Information War —how information can be weaponized and used for disruptive purposes
- Media-Cultural imperialism
- Transnational corporate culture domination
- Active audiences
- Public service broadcasting
- Churnalism
- Technological determinism
- Information society
- Celebrity politics
- International public sphere
- THEORIES
 - Framing
 - Agenda Setting
 - Two main models of communication
 - Media effects theories
 - Normative functions of media in a liberal democracy
 - Models of journalism
 - Commodification of politics and lifestyle democracy
- KEY QUESTIONS
 - Where do threats to free speech come from?*
 - Do media without political bias exist?
 - Do media shape public opinion?

- How can media be used as a weapon?
- Why is media important in democratization?
- Do privately owned media safeguard free speech?
- ...
- Who controls & shapes global information flows?
- What does globalization do to the public sphere as ideal and practice?