

Globalization of News Industries: From the Telegraph to Al Jazeera

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What we've learnt so far

Political economy of media approach

- Vincent Mosco: “political economy is the study of social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communication resources”
- Some representatives of this approach: Noam Chomsky, Edward Herman, Herbert Schiller, Vincent Mosco, Peter Golding, Graham Murdock, Ben Bagdikian, Robert McChesney, Janet Wasko

What we've learnt so far

Theories of the press

Models of journalism/media systems

Characteristics of media/cultural industries

Economic characteristics of media commodities:

Operate on a dual market; are affected by public interest; prone to market failure
(e.g. concentration)

Mark Fowler, head of The Federal Communications Commission (US regulator)

“television is a toaster with pictures”

His program of deregulation has brought radical change to the industry, ranging from network takeovers to the rise of home shopping networks.

“In the Fowler era, broadcasting licenses, once rigorously monitored by the F.C.C., became commodities traded on the open market. Stations changed hands overnight and then changed hands again in a flurry of speculation, profit-taking and -inevitably - miscalculation and bankruptcy. The public interest, Mr. Fowler said, would be determined by the "public's interest." That is, if the public didn't like the way a broadcaster was running a station, the enterprise would fail; the public didn't need the Government's help. “

<http://www.nytimes.com/1987/01/19/arts/under-fowler-fcc-treated-tv-as-commerce.html>

What we've learnt so far

Advertising as a funding mechanism:

- ignores minority audiences, low-income groups and possibly results in low quality journalism

PSB vs. commercial broadcasters

- PSB – special roles in society and its independence from the market as well as the government is crucial

What we've learnt so far

Spatialization – time-space distancing

Globalization – of media products, producers, audiences and also regulation – our focus today

Global village

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HeDnPP6ntic>

“A globalizing society?” By Allan Cochrane and
Kathy Pain In David Held's *A Globalizing
World? Culture, Economic, Politics*

What is Globalization?

Increasing changes and uncertainty in the world

Politics, cultures and economics are merging across boundaries

Example of the global software market

The nature of global change

- The centralization of power in the hands of just a few major organizations → the notion of power as domination
- Advanced communication technologies have changed the spatial frames
- Big Corporations VS smaller companies

Homogenization of economy and culture

Significance of increased connectedness

Endless expansion of unregulated capitalist relations

‘Runaway World’ (Giddens)

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/reith1999/>

-Americanization/ Westernization

-Destroying local cultures

-e.g. Coca Cola, McDonalds

-a world of “winners” and “losers”

Social relations, economies, cultures and politics
merging across nation-state boundaries

Influencing each other

Climate change—unregulated capitalist relations

Worldwide concerns → seeking for consensus

What is Global about Globalization?

Jan Scholte's Globalization: A Critical Introduction

Globalization as:

Internationalization

Liberalization

Universalization

Westernization

Deterritorialization

“Globality (as supraterritoriality) describes circumstances where territorial space is substantially transcended”

“Within the domain of our planet, location, distance and borders place no insurmountable constraints on supraterritorial relations. In this sense they are suitably called ‘global’ phenomena”.

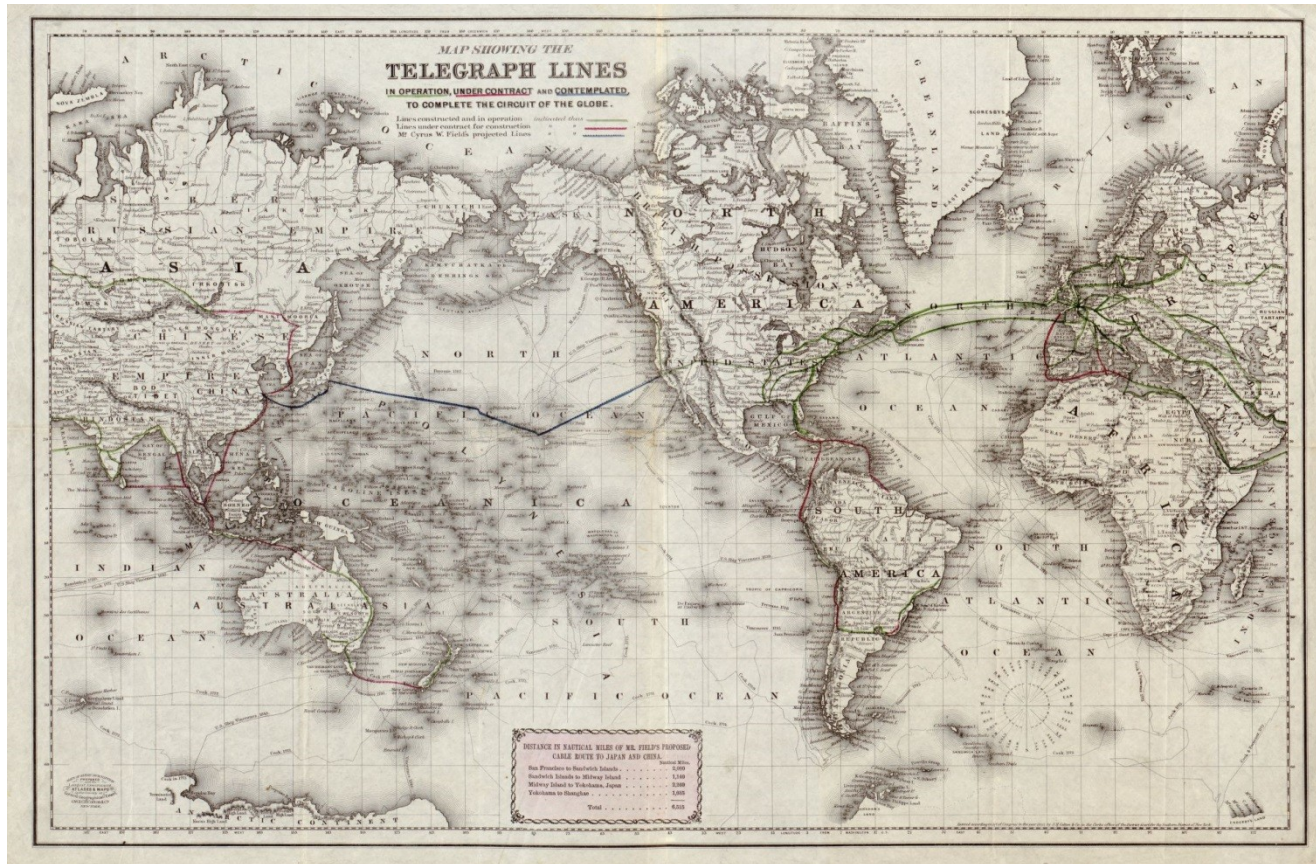
Global players on local markets

Box office hits

Advertising companies

Private broadcasters

Inequalities in access to communication resources persist



A NEW MAP of the SUBMARINE CABLES connecting the World, according to the best Authorities with all the latest Discoveries to the PRESENT PERIOD, 2015.



Foreign news flows – a few bits from history

- 1953 UNESCO study:
- Six telegraphic agencies can be classified as world agencies (came into being between 1835 and 1918): AFP (France; 1835), AP (USA; 1848), INS (International News Service, USA; 1909), Reuters (UK; 1851), TASS (USSR; 1918), UP (USA; 1907)

1970s – key in addressing imbalances in news

- Five news agencies dominate globally:
- AFP (France); AP (USA); Reuters (UK); TASS (Soviet Union); UPI (USA)

Press Agency	Number of countries served	Number of subscribers	Number of countries covered by correspondents and stringers	Number of words issued daily	Number of regular staff	Number of correspondents in foreign countries
AP (USA)	108	1,320 newspapers 3,400 broadcasters in USA 1,000 private subscribers	62 foreign bureaux	17 million	not available	559
UPI (USA)	92	7,079 newspapers 2,246 clients outside USA + 36 national news agencies	81 foreign bureaux	11 million 200 news pictures	1,823	578
AFP (France)	152	12,000 newspapers 89 national agencies	167 countries 108 foreign bureaux	3,350,000 + 50 news pictures	1,990 incl.	171 full-time corres. 1,200 freelance corres.
Reuters (UK)	147	6,500 newspapers & 400 radio and TV stations	153 countries	1,500,000	2,000 incl.	250 full-time corres. 800 freelance corres.
TASS (USSR)	80	13,000 subscribers 200 subscribers to Tass photo 325 foreign subscribers	110 countries 400 bureaux		professional staff 560	61 corres.
DPA (West Germany)	78	144 foreign subscribers 55 film services	80 countries 37 film services	115,000	800 incl.	105 full-time corres.
ANSA (Italy)	69	1,600 (circa)	68 bureaux	300,000	568 incl.	47 full-time corres. 295 freelance corres.
EFE (Spain)	32	1,734	52	500,000	545	123
KYODO (Japan)	37	33 national agencies 40 foreign news agencies 64 Japanese newspapers 59 commercial radio and TV stations 14 non-member newspapers	37 bureaux	220,000 letters in Japanese 35,000 words in English	1,900	
TANJUG (Yugoslavia)	103		48	75,000 to 120,000 + 40-50 news pictures	896 incl.	46 full-time corres.
IPS Inter Press	36	19 national agencies 400 newspapers, weeklies and institutions	50	100,000	390	44

Source: The World of News Agencies Working Paper No. 11 of the UNESCO Commission for the Study of Communication Problems.

Others?

- Non-aligned news pool (1970s – Yugoslav and other news agencies)
- Inter Press Service (1960s Latin America)
- Part of something much bigger – the NWICO (New World Information and Communication Order) discussions at UNECSO – mid-1970s and mid-1980s with the particular aim of addressing imbalances in media coverage; media influence but also issues related to technologies, protection of journalists etc.
- MacBride Report:
- <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0004/000400/040066eb.pdf>
- US withdrew its membership of UNESCO in 1984; with UK and Singapore following in 1985

The major players remain the same

- 1980s: the big four continue to dominate Reuters; UPI; AP and AFP
- Not only scholarly interest (work of Oliver Boyd-Barrett) but also reported in general media:

A 1981 article in the New Internationalist:

Between them, the big four (Reuters, UPI, AP and AFP) send out 34 million words a day and provide 90 per cent of the entire foreign news output of the world's newspapers. The Third World, which represents over two-thirds of the world's population and area, accounts for only 25 per cent of reports from the four agencies. Since these agencies are based in the West, the major part of their news package is about events in the industrialised countries. Publisher of the *Fiji Sun*, Philip Harkness, complains about his editors being snowed under with British football results and other unusable material originating from the Western agencies. Running against the fast current of this broad river of news from the West is a trickle of information from the Third World which barely manages to reach the doors of the readers in New York, London or Paris. This counterflow from the developing countries is also controlled by the 'big four'. The exchange of news between the West and Asia is typical of the imbalance. AP sends out from New York to Asia an average of 90,000 words daily. In return AP takes in 19,000 words either from its correspondents or from the national news agencies of Asia. Reuters and UPI also send out four or five times more than they take from that continent. The news-gathering priorities of the news agencies are reflected in the postings of their own correspondents. Some 34 per cent are confined to the US while a further 28 per cent are based in European capitals. Only 17 per cent are in Asia and Australia, 11 per cent in Latin America, 6 per cent in the Middle East and 4 per cent in Africa. A reporter posted to Delhi is expected to cover events from Kabul in the west to Rangoon in the east - a land mass sprawling over five and a half million square kilometres.

- <http://newint.org/features/1981/06/01/four/>

Which news are in the news flow?

Check two websites in your country – what countries are the news from on the home page?

Is there a world news section? What countries appear there?

The West still rules on the news market in the 1990s?

- 1990s – e.g. Kim and Barnett's study The Determinants of International News Flow: A Network Analysis. *Communication Research* 23(3), 1996

This center-periphery structure of the international news flow network has two implications for communication dependency. First, Western industrialized countries are at the position in which they produce and sell international news. In contrast, the peripheral countries consume and depend on their information from the core countries. One way this happens is through the maintenance of historical colonial relationships. As revealed by the

Second, the strengths of interdependence between the core countries, especially in Europe and North America, are much stronger than those between the core and the periphery, and between peripheral countries. This is because most central countries actively seek international news produced by the other central countries. For example, the Continental European group with six members clusters more strongly than the southern Latin American group with six members. As both the sources and receivers in the network, the Western industrialized countries occupy the most central position. This implies that peripheral countries are structurally marginalized in the international news flow network by the news exchange within the core countries. Consequently, the periphery is not only dominated by the unequal vertical news exchange with the core but also marginalized by the news exchange within the core. This structural unevenness gives rise to communication dependency in the international news flow network.

Anything new?

- Al Jazeera; CCTV; RT – a bit of research on these
- Counter-flow or public diplomacy tool?
- Naomi Sakr (2009, p. 115) :
- Well before it launched into broadcasting in English, the station was routinely credited by Western observers with having “taken on the West”, even though broadcasters in languages other than Arabic could never have competed for the same Arabic-speaking audience. The station’s supposed challenge to Western media was magnified in these reports at the very time when its staff were being harassed, imprisoned and even killed and its access to sources and audiences was being blocked. In the Arab world, meanwhile, smear campaigns portrayed the station as a lackey of US neo-imperialism or a plaything of Qatar’s ruler, whereas its actual achievement was to create an unprecedented space for pan-Arab public discussion. To the extent that these depictions misrepresented reality, they suggest that Al-Jazeera’s original Arabic-language operation did pose a threat to hegemonic interests and was predictably subject to processes of neutralisation and exclusion.
- Hillary Clinton on Al Jazeera in 2011
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L6sYB5d1Bu4>

In her analysis of the coverage of the global financial crisis of 2008 by Al Jazeera, CNN, RT and BBC World, Robertson argues for a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which global news media cover global crises (and events in more general).

It can be argued that some channels (AJE, for example) are 'more global' than others when their framing strategies are considered. Nor should all global channels be relegated to the same corner of the newsroom – especially not the 'counter-hegemonics'. Where RT reports differently from BBC World and CNN in an 'old-fashioned' way (i.e. a way familiar from news reporting in the cold-war decades of the 1970s and 1980s, its world marked by great power rivalry), AJE reports differently, in a 'new-world-order' sort of way. Its world is also bigger and its component parts more interconnected. Whether or not it is a brave new world is a question that requires more empirical analysis (Robertson 2014, p. 623–4).

Are news flows still relevant?

- Segev: Visible and invisible countries: News flow theory revised. *Journalism* 16(3), 2015.
- Online news flows tested

Table 1. Countries, news sites, and the number of news items collected for analysis.

Country	News site	News items	Country	News site	News items
USA	Google News	21,542	Russia	Google News	22914
USA	CNN	15,240	Russia	Gazeta	117,125
USA	The New York Times	36,269	Russia	Pravda	30,989
UK	Google News	36,995	Arabic	Google News	22,361
UK	BBC	57,922	Arabic	Al Jazeera	35,181
UK	Guardian	42,221	Egypt	Al Ahram	3340
Israel	Google News	22,536	Egypt	Al Masry Alyoum	9700
Israel	Ynet	24,447	Iran	PressTV	2441
Israel	Haaretz	8497	Iran	Tabnak	71,446
Germany	Google News	21,541	Iran	Aftab	16,768
Germany	Bild	29,300	China	Google News	30,903
Germany	Spiegel	29,294	China	Sina	26,633
Germany	Welt	4453	China	People Daily	95,697
France	Google News	21,304	Japan	NHK	38,435
France	Le Monde	26,770	Japan	Yomiuri	2650
France	Le Figaro	22,669	Japan	Yahoo	15,518
Spain	Google News	21,574			
Spain	El Mundo	25,752			
Spain	El Pais	30,856			
			Total news items		1,041,283

Table 4. List of over- and under-represented countries in the news as predicted by the best-fit model.

Country	News prominence (%)	Standardized residuals	Surprise index	GDP	FP	CI	Group
Over-represented countries							
Haiti	1.06	2.99	13.72	134	48	0	Ad hoc events (Low GDP, FP, No CI)
Iceland	0.36	2.04	9.70	115	162	0	
Egypt	1.28	1.52	5.68	40	78	0	Different parts of the world
Honduras	0.38	1.37	9.13	109	60	0	
Madagascar	0.22	1.29	7.44	129	126	0	Ongoing political events (med/low GDP, FP, high CI) Mostly Middle Eastern countries
Afghanistan	2.84	2.40	1.76	108	102	2	
Lebanon	0.96	2.07	2.04	81	80	0	
Georgia	0.56	2.06	3.64	120	85	0	
Israel	3.85	1.82	1.68	41	24	1	
Jordan	0.54	1.75	2.09	91	113	0	
Iran	3.90	1.66	2.07	26	45	1	
Syria	0.66	1.52	2.35	66	104	0	
Sudan	0.93	1.26	3.21	64	135	1	
Iraq	2.52	1.25	1.69	62	65	2	
Greece	1.58	1.35	3.24	32	22	0	Ongoing economic events European countries
Ireland	1.06	1.09	2.92	42	25	0	
China	5.53	1.41	1.51	2	28	0	Regional center (High GDP, FP, no CI)
South Korea	1.97	1.37	1.75	15	98	0	
UK	4.34	1.27	1.44	6	4	0	Europe and Asia
France	3.94	1.12	1.47	5	5	0	

Country	News prominence (%)	Standardized residuals	GDP	FP	CI	Group
Under-represented countries						
Angola	0.07	-2.19	61	93	1	Invisible conflicts (medium GDP, FP, high CI)
Ethiopia	0.09	-1.50	89	90	1	
Central African Republic	0.02	-1.45	159	163	1	
Algeria	0.23	-1.41	49	26	1	Africa and Asia
Philippines	0.32	-1.26	45	13	1	
Sri Lanka	0.24	-1.14	73	57	2	
Dominican Republic	0.05	-1.78	72	35	0	Regional peripheries (Medium-low GDP, FP, no CI)
Slovakia	0.06	-1.72	60	59	0	
Oman	0.07	-1.43	68	36	0	
Lithuania	0.06	-1.37	84	71	0	Mainly East European and Middle Eastern peripheries
Albania	0.04	-1.36	118	50	0	
Bangladesh	0.14	-1.23	57	10	0	
Slovenia	0.07	-1.08	74	108	0	
Kuwait	0.09	-1.06	54	143	0	Global peripheries (Low GDP, FP, no CI)
Suriname	0.01	-3.01	151	99	0	
Swaziland	0.01	-1.79	150	154	0	
Botswana	0.02	-1.40	110	159	0	Mainly Africa
Zambia	0.04	-1.25	106	119	0	
Barbados	0.02	-1.16	147	128	0	
Lesotho	0.02	-1.07	155	117	0	

Note: GDP and Foreign Population (FP) are represented here in their ranks out of the 200 countries rather than by the absolute values. Conflict Intensity (CI) is based on PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset. Surprise index is calculated as the maximum news prominence divided by the average news prominence over three years. The list is sorted by the standardized residuals within each group of countries.

And what about new technologies?

In terms of mainstream news contents online – no greater diversity found

Commercial alternatives to established news agencies can also be found:

<http://www.demotix.com/>

Importantly, the work of journalists is also changing, e.g. crowdsourcing:

Ian Tomlinson case:

http://www.ted.com/talks/paul_lewis_crowdsourcing_the_news

Help me investigate:

<http://helpmeinvestigate.com/>

Ushahidi

<http://www.ushahidi.com/>

http://www.ted.com/talks/erik_hersman_on_reporting_crisis_via_texting?language=en

Online-only US media move into global news

Thirty of the largest digital-only news organizations account for about 3,000 jobs and one area of investment is global coverage. Vice Media has 35 overseas bureaus; The Huffington Post hopes to grow to 15 countries from 11 this year; BuzzFeed hired a foreign editor to oversee its expansion into places like Mumbai, Mexico City, Berlin and Tokyo. The two-year-old business-oriented Quartz has reporters in London, Bangkok and Hong Kong, and its editorial staff speaks 19 languages. This comes amid pullbacks in global coverage from mainstream media. The amount of airtime network evening newscasts devoted to overseas reporting in 2013 was less than half of what it was in the late 1980s. International reporters working for U.S. newspaper have declined 24% from 2003 to 2010. As the new digital native outlets continue to add staff, the country may be seeing the first real build-up of international reporting in decades – save for a few start-ups like Global Post. It could even perhaps be the start—at least in approach—of U.S.-based news outlets that are truly international, both in their audience and the focus of their content.

Transnational/Global Audiences

- societies becoming increasingly multicultural – even if politicians shy away from the concept
- implications for journalists/content makers/policy makers
- how do media hold societies together if the audiences are fragmented?

Rise of The Prosumer: Democratization of Media Content Making or Labour for Free?

The example of journalism

- a profession that has developed over a couple of hundreds of years
- undergoing significant changes as technology impacts on all its aspects: funding, practices, relationship with audiences, skills set, structure of newsrooms etc.

<http://www.eyerevolution.co.uk/blog/bbc-news-broadcasting-house/>

Important question for political economists of communication

Do these changes result in more democratic journalism?

Does control shift significantly away from journalists/editors?

How do journalists understand their profession?

Public service

Autonomy

Objectivity

Immediacy

Ethics

What gets into the news?

- ✗ Gatekeeping
- ✗ David Manning White's seminal gatekeeping study conducted in 1949 – how and why an individual editor selects certain news stories sent by the news agencies while rejecting others (about nine tenths were rejected), White's conclusion: through studying his overt reasons for rejecting news stories from the press associations we see how highly subjective, how based on the gatekeeper's own set of experiences, attitudes and expectations the communication of news really is.
- ✗ Subsequent studies pointed out that White disregarded organisational and institutional influences in the course of gatekeeping (news values: drama/surprise, importance/relevance/magnitude, entertainment, proximity,

News – cultural/ideological dimensions

- ✗ Agenda setting
- ✗ Agenda-setting is the creation of public awareness and concern of salient issues by the news media. Two basic assumptions underlie most research on agenda-setting: (1) the press and the media do not reflect reality; they filter and shape it; (2) media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues.
- ✗ Source:
http://www.utwente.nl/cw/theorieenoverzicht/Theory%20clusters/Mass%20Media/Agenda-Setting_Theory/

News – cultural/ideological dimensions

cont.

- ✘ Framing - linked to the agenda-setting tradition of research
- ✘ Framing as a theoretical concept can be understood as the way that media emphasize certain aspects of issues or events at the expense of others when defining social processes, issues or events (Kerbel et al., 2000; Tankard, 2001). Gitlin summarizes this well by saying: ‘Frames are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters’ (1980: 6). Dimitrova, D. and Stromback, J. (2011). “Election news in Sweden and the United States: A comparative study of sources and media frames.” *Journalism* 13(5).

Framing of terrorism

- ✘ THREAT frame – a new form of threat that requires special measures
- ✘ RIGHTS frame – critical of the military intervention in Iraq – breach of international law; Guantanamo Bay inmates held unlawfully
- ✘ REDRESS frame – developed by the terrorist groups themselves – redressing real/imaginary wrongs and injustices
- ✘ Deacon et al. *Researching Communications*

Who sets the agenda/keeps the gates closed?

Mainstream media – audiences can comment, contribute contents to some extent – is this change radical enough to justify saying that journalism is more democratic now?

New players – amateur and professional appear

Deca – a co-operative of journalists

<http://www.decastories.com/>

Refugees Deeply

<https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/>

Citizen journalism:

<https://www.bellingcat.com/>

Old players experiment with new tricks

VR – New York Times

Using technology for in-depth reporting:

<http://www.nytimes.com/projects/2012/snow-fall/>

Technology plays a role in gatekeeping and even production of news

Facebook – who does the gatekeeping for News Feeds? Algorithms or human editors?

Robots replacing journalists?

<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/listeningpost/2015/11/robot-journalism-human-reporters-151115095033120.html>

Who sets the agenda?

In some cases those outside the media (and that on a global scale):

Wikileaks

NSA leaks

Panama Papers

https://theintercept.com/2015/11/12/edward-snowden-explains-how-to-reclaim-your-privacy/?utm_source=Daily+Lab+email+list&utm_campaign=f2f15e1936-dailylabemail3&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_d68264fd5e-f2f15e1936-395936393