Manuel Pinto & Helena Sousa, eds.

COMMUNICATION AND CITIZENSHIP

Rethinking crisis and change

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IAMCR Braga Conference
18 – 22 July, 2010

Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Sociedade
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Contents

Foreword

The acceleration of change and the globalization of fear and uncertainty are features of the present. The speed of transformations in all regions of our volatile and hyper-complex world makes it increasingly difficult to read social reality and to act meaningfully. In a time of profound economic, cultural and moral crisis, citizens, groups and organizations have no choice but to rediscover how individual and social life can be lived.

Participation in political and social life is a fundamental contemporary value which is supposed to have a concrete and permanent impact on the quality of people's lives. As a right and a duty, participation is expected to improve societies. Traditional media all over the world haven't fully responded to social participatory needs. Despite well founded expectations regarding the media's role in terms of promotion of participation, this is not satisfactorily happening. In most countries, the media ended up as promoters of government's and big business interests based on a top-down conformist communication model. Taking advantage of new technologies, citizens are fighting back. Both in developed and developing societies, it is possible to identify new participatory ideas and practices.

Moving away from utopian and dystopian political and academic discourses on the Internet, it is noteworthy that in different ways and contexts, citizens and social institutions are circumventing traditional media and developing new forms of participation. Though technology per se is not a relevant explicative variable, it is an indispensible element to fully understand significant changes in terms of citizen's access to alternative contents and social networks. Still, having access to the Internet or other participative technologies does not transform individuals into citizens.

If the defense of public interest depends on the overall functioning of the entire media construct, state and professional media regulation is far from sufficient. Citizens' participation - at different stages and levels - is crucial to the continuous attempt to develop responsible and accountable media cultures. But citizenry implies social exigency regarding media professionals' training, media professionals' deontological codes, media company's strategies, state policies and, above all, a critical and participative attitude regarding traditional and new media.

This critical observation and consequential participation can only take place if media logics are understandable and if communication rights and duties are common knowledge. In the past, literacy was a necessary condition to become a citizen. Today, reading and writing is far from sufficient for full citizenship. Citizens must have the ability to interpret mediated discourses about the world and must have the power to act.

In the present-day economic and ethical crisis, communication and media research might perform a fundamental role interrogating the dominant communication models and opening up new debates on citizens' empowering and participatory mechanisms. This could be the contribution of the communication scientific community to shed light on contemporary uncertainties and deadlocks.

These words sum up the general theme of the 2010 Conference of the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) that was hosted by the Communication and Society Research Centre, University of Minho, Portugal, 18-22 July.

Focusing on the relationship between Communication and Citizenship, researchers from different latitudes and backgrounds were invited to develop research as academics and also as citizens. More than 1300 researchers answered this call and the IAMCR community had a stimulating and vibrant week in Braga.

This book responds to the Local Organizing Committee attempt to collect plenary addresses on the general theme hoping that this contribution will keep the debate alive. We are profoundly grateful to the authors who managed to find the necessary time to put their thoughts in a written form and forever indebted to all who made the Braga IAMCR Conference possible.

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The Local Organizing Committee Coordinators

Manuel Pinto and ***Helena Sousa***

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Opening Ceremony

Theatro Circo, Braga
Opening Session

Opening words
By **Annabelle Sreberny**
President of the International Association for Media and Communication Research

'Communication and Citizenship - Rethinking Crisis and Change'.

The focus could hardly have been a more apposite title for our IAMCR conference deliberations in Braga, Portugal in July 2010.

The links between the first pair of concepts remain as complex as ever. Despite pronouncements about its demise, national television seems to have made a come-back, particularly with the televising of live political debates that galvanized the electoral process in both Iran (June 2009) and Britain (May 2010). At the same time, the growing range of platforms and programmes that facilitate public participation are producing new technophilic intellectuals in the emerging 'bloggerati' or 'twitterati' class. The nature and extent of participation, the links between communicative voice and political process, are the focus of debate and analysis around the world.

The formal practices of democratic citizenship are having a difficult time. Just in the Middle East and Central Asia, Iran's contested election result precipitated a year of unrest. Afghanistan's leader enjoys weak legitimacy. In Kyrgystan, a mix of street-based somatic solidarity and a weak state produced a rapid change of government. Iraqis are still wrangling as to the legitimacy of their recent vote. Elsewhere, Thai protestors have challenged the legitimacy of their government while in the Ivory Coast, the losing candidate has refused to leave office. The British electorate produced a 'hung parliament' and the first attempt at a political coalition in a very long time. So in many places, there is the 'performance' of formal democracy through elections while the 'actual' results often have little meaning. Yet, despite the evident difficulties, people everywhere are demanding greater participation and liberty while the transition from authoritarianism to more open societies remains an often bloody process.

Of the four 'C's in the title, crisis appears to be ubiquitous. Partly a function of media hype and partly a function of real social, political and environmental breakdowns, "crisis" seems to loom everywhere, including in Europe. Environmental crisis was manifest in the plume of volcanic ash that confound European airspace, in the catastrophic Deepwater Horizon oil pollution in the Gulf of Mexico and the

terrible floods that have engulfed parts of Australia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, China and Brazil in the recent period. Financial crisis has threatened economic stability in many countries while the Euro plummetted to its lowest value in years. And mediatised rhetoric can whip up many more crises, especially around immigration, terrorism and social deviance, so that the very fabric of our social lives can appear strained to breaking-point.

Nowhere seems immune from these social, economic and political crises. So there are challenges to our old analytic models of politics and media, of development and democracy, of knowing how different regions of the world function and the relationships among them. The world is one and yet deeply divided but not simply by the old geographies. The original Greek meaning of 'krisis' was 'decision'. We are badly in need of new critical paradigms, new criteria and forms of judgement and a new ethics to support global and national decision-making and creative problem-solving.

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2010 was IAMCR's 53rd year but our first visit to Portugal and it was a great delight. The town is entrancing, with its Roman, medieval, baroque and contemporary architecture; the astonishing trompe l'oeuil of Bom Jesus and its staircase; and a range of enticing late-night cafes in which we continued our debates into the night.

It was a particular pleasure to encounter the 'citizens' about whom we write and who were the abstract focus of the conference. The open-air concerts in the town square were delightful moments of encounter between an international crowd and local people, all enjoying the fado, folk and jazz music; also, the astonishing performance of Maria João and Mario Laginha in the exquisite Theatro Circo. We thank Francisco Mesquita Machado, Mayor of Braga, for supporting this friendly international invasion. But IAMCR also entertained ourselves. Cees Hamelink brought his jazz band to Braga and everyone thoroughly enjoyed evenings of music-making and dancing that proved academics have legs as well as heads, hearts as well as minds.

IAMCR was first established in Europe and historically our deep roots lie here, so conferences held in Europe are amongst our largest. This continues despite the growing difficulties of negotiating the Schengen security net, and the funding crises in many countries and in many systems of higher education. And yet Braga

turned out to be the largest conference in our history and special thanks are due to Helena Sousa and Manuel Pinto who headed the team, provided the intellectual theme and contributed to the organization of the plenaries. It was excellent once again to have so many students involved too. Us ageing academics need to be reproducing ourselves, so it's good to see new generations in the making, as within the body of IAMCR where the Emerging Scholars Network supports new entrants into the often arcane world of higher education.

António M. Cunha, Rector of the University of Minho, allowed us to utilize the Braga campus. A very impressive university is growing here, with recognition at national Portuguese and European levels, and we always hope that hosting an IAMCR conference helps local academics to improve academic relations with international partners. Moisés de Lemos Martins, President of SOPCOM, the Portuguese Communication Sciences Association, also leant their invaluable support to the actualization of the conference.

I also want to thank the Executive Board of IAMCR. This small group works tirelessly throughout the year to support the organization of the impending conference and plan for future ones; to find money for scholarships and organize that process; to oversee publications; to develop further outreach and expansion; to develop our various forms of communication which now include Facebook, Twitter and conference blogging. This is not paid work. This is voluntary, accomplished alongside our teaching and our research, our family and personal lives. Sometimes it even seems masochistic, as when one has to answer another batch of email rather than go to see the latest film.

It is important to remember that IAMCR is an auto-poietic system, a self-organizing structure. The rules are our rules, the processes are our processes. IAMCR is simply 'us'. So to those who are involved with the wider structure of IAMCR in its various sections, working groups, emerging themes, committees, task forces and anything else that I have omitted: thank you too! In Braga we also had our general assembly, where everyone can gather and where the collective business of the organization can be publicly enacted. To everyone who is a newcomer to IAMCR, there should be room for you to become engaged, there is more and different that we can do. So please take this as an invitation to become involved: IAMCR needs your energy and imagination.

I want to make another point about the nature of IAMCR. Conferences are now frequent events in an academic calendar. IAMCR has a particular history of conference organization and one that I think is important we treasure and pro-

tect. IAMCR has been and remains a form of intellectual all-inclusive holiday, an "academic Butlins" to use an English referent. Where else does one get the promise of academic research and intelligent debate during the day, coupled with good food, music and conviviality in the evening? I personally have developed many very long-standing friendships through IAMCR that have enhanced my life and there are many people whom I only see once a year at our conferences but whom I enjoy meeting enormously. I know such feelings are reciprocated within IAMCR.

IAMCR is clearly cosmopolitan. We do not need to try to internationalise, because we are, although there are still issues about representation, about language and about global movement that we have not fully solved; so in Braga, there were sessions on Lusophony and language. We are convivial, we enjoy spending time together. But I also think that one of the reasons for our good humour is centered on our commensality, our sharing of food together. Breaking bread together at table builds community, religious and secular. It is what the conference registration fee covers: eating together, where graduate student and professor, people from over 80 countries around the world, rub shoulders with each other. Registration is differentially costed so that high-income country participants pay more, student pay less, and that is how it should be. It is hard to maintain this and there are pressures of cost, of the complexities of organization, of inflexibility. However, I think if we lose that, we will lose what makes IAMCR different. Actually, costs have not risen for the past few years so we will endeavour maintain the 'package holiday' approach that makes us such a unique academic association.

IAMCR is a space for the articulation of important issues and the Braga programme was rich with diverse and contemporary debates. But our conferences are also places where we enact cosmopolitan conviviality and practice the best kind of global citizenship. Our reflexivity and openness to each other are practices to be cherished and built on. We enjoyed much agonistic debate and much playful delight in Braga in 2010.

Opening words.
By **Manuel Pinto**
Director of Communication and Society Research Centre, University of Minho

Dear Guests,
Dear Participants and Colleagues,

Welcome to the IAMCR 2010 Conference. It is with great joy that, on behalf of the Local Organizing Committee, we welcome you and wish you a pleasant, fruitful and inspiring stay in this city of Braga.

It is an honour for us all to host researchers and scholars coming from so diverse and rich societies and cultures in an exercise of sharing and debating that is by itself - so we understand it - an impressive and challenging exercise of citizenship.

It is the debate about the relationship between citizenship and communication that gathers each of us and our association along this week. We are conscious of the economic crisis and difficulties that affect the daily lives of so many of our fellow citizens, particularly the young and the elderly. But we do so also motivated by the urgency and desire to work actively as citizens and as researchers in social and cultural changes.

Communication and citizenship do not exist one without the other. No communication without this dream and this experience of solidarity that binds us and gives meaning and horizon to citizenship. But (there is) no citizenship without communication, which implies the right to and the freedom of information as well as real conditions for the sharing of ideas and experiences, at inter-individual, group, social and global levels. What role must we assume, as academics, as teachers and as researchers? Which criteria do we adopt in the selection of themes and issues to be addressed? What kind of democracy do we practice in our relations as scholars? How do we hold the media institutions and ourselves accountable and assume the responsibility of sharing with our fellow citizens the results of our searches? How do we listen to their calls and needs? These are examples of challenges that we face daily and that should guide us along this conference.

Allow me to highlight in this opportunity three research directions that our time require us to deepen and give a wider expression, three points that make also concrete our overall theme. The first one is considering media field as an environment, a symbolic environment in a certain way as decisive for human dignity

and quality of life as the biophysical and social environments; the second topic is silence and silencing and all the sociocultural and political processes implied in their production. The last one is media and digital literacy understood as citizen's empowerment processes and practices with an undeniable strategic potential for the next generations.

As local organizers to whom the Executive Board endorsed the task of bringing up the 2010 Conference, we tried to live the organization as an exercise of citizenship. Which means participation, critical and creative thinking, autonomy in the decision-taking at different levels, demanding and rigorous work. We have done this, first of all, with the Executive Board, maintaining a permanent and intense interaction... and listening to its views and recommendations. We have also prepared this conference with the collaboration of a number of public and private institutions, regional and national, encouraging them to get involved in this kind of 'joint venture'. We wanted to do it too with graduate and postgraduate students. Not as a boring obligation (instead of going to a summer concert), but as another way of socializing, to discover people, new ideas, different cultures and world visions. This is, we believe, what education is about.

Finally, we have done it within the framework of our internal organization: two dozen of researchers who have been working together, really hard researchers, over the last years. The excellence assigned to the research activity of our Centre by an international panel was not only the evaluation of our work's results but also an assessment of the way we approach research and function as a team. The fundamental and decisive point is, doubtless, the existence of a true collective. Although an always fragile and threatened construction, this collective is the other face and the secret of our strength.

It was not easy raising a project of this scale, a year ahead of schedule, in a small city (compared with the size of those in which the conference has been held in recent years) and in a context of worsening crisis, in particular the Western economies. But as the saying goes, "the trouble sharpens the wit."

 On behalf of the Communication and Society Research Centre, a research unit of the Social Sciences Institute, University of Minho, thank you for the interest in this conference. We wish that your days in the country and in Braga is a true experience of humanity and recognition of the other: through debate, living together, enjoying leisure time, rising up projects, ties and networks that hopefully will flourish over the years to come.

Thank you and enjoy your stay!

1.

Building Accountable Media Cultures

Communication and Citizenship: Rethinking Crisis and Change – Reflections on the Theme of IAMCR's 2010 Conference

By Hopeton S. Dunn

The publication of post-conference reflections on the theme '*Communication and Citizenship – Rethinking Crisis and Change'* is both timely and important. The 2010 conference of the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) was convened at a time when the world was in the grips of a debilitating economic crisis, in the aftermath of an inconclusive Copenhagen conference on global endangerment from climate change, and at a time when citizenship and migration had become pressing public policy issues within and outside of Europe, the locus of the conference.

Expertly hosted by the University of Minho in the picturesque and welcoming town of Braga in Portugal, the conference was jointly organized with the leadership of the IAMCR, whose annual conferences are rotated each year among willing host countries around the world. Speaking for the Association on the eve of the Braga Conference, IAMCR's President Annabelle Sreberny appropriately observed that "this year's Programme is rich with diverse and contemporary debates". And so, indeed, it was! The programme unfolded seamlessly, with an unprecedented level of attendance, enthusiasm and with an emphasis on participation and citizenship.

The justification for selecting the theme for the conference lies in the acknowledgment by the Local Organizing Committee that "*Participation in political and social life is a fundamental contemporary value which is supposed to have a concrete and permanent impact on the quality of people's lives. As a right and a duty, participation is expected to improve societies. Traditional media all over the world haven't fully responded to social participatory needs. Despite well founded expectations regarding the media's role in terms of promotion of participation, this is not sa - tisfactorily happening. In most countries, the media ended up as promoters of government's and big business interests based on a top-down conformist communication mode*". The local conference planners cogently argued further that "*Taking advantage of new technologies, citizens are fighting back. Both in developed and developing societies, it is possible to identify new participatory ideas and practices*"[1].

[1] See http://iamcr2010portugal.com/content.asp?startAt=2&categoryID=1001&newsID=2309.

It is doubtless the case that global communications technologies are challenging traditionally hegemonic media systems and are facilitating, in a sometimes subversive and disruptive manner, new and diverse forms of participation by citizens in civil society, irrespective of their locale and social class. The technologies are engendering the emergence of new conceptions and manifestations of citizenship or even contesting the notion itself. Among the young web-savvy 'netizens' who interact globally, the idea of being walled into a city, as the origin of the word citizen suggests, is far too confining. They have adopted a more global and homogeneous conception simply called 'friends' facilitated in large measure through the global desire to interact online with peers in whatever 'city' or location one may be, within our cyber-world. The technologies and applications that are continuing to emerge are supplanting or re-inforcing traditionally geographic, political and nationalistic notions of 'citizenship'.

New Forms of Global Citizenship in Action

The 2010 IAMCR conference in Portugal was in itself a microcosm of global citizenship. It was huge and diverse by any standard, with over 1, 200 conference delegates representing more than 80 different countries in addition to a large number of volunteers made up of mainly university students. The youth presence was felt in the non-stop streaming online, in the elaborate conference blogosphere, in the social media networking presence including Facebook pages and constant micro-blogging updates through Twitter. The conference venue certainly appeared to be a site of 21st century citizenship at work.

On the academic side, the IAMCR in Braga showcased four appealing plenaries and six special roundtable sessions. There were approximately 292 academic panel sessions, most running concurrently with others, over the four days of conference activities. These sessions spanned the over 30 thematic Sections and Working Groups now active within the IAMCR. Not only was the conference expansive in the physical numbers of participants and conference panels, but there was sustained and in-depth analyses of a wide range of issues which were debated, contested and hopefully in some instances resolved. It was especially gratifying to note that at least two of the five special roundtable sessions were devoted to unpacking contemporary ICT issues as they relate to citizen rights and environmental sustainability. One roundtable focused on '*Confronting issues of ICTs, the*

Environment and Citizenship', while another debated *'Contemporary Citizen Activism: the "Greens" and the "Reds"'*. Other intellectually stimulating parallel sessions examined challenges such as *'The Use of ICTs by Activists', 'Environment and Crisis', 'Rethinking Citizenship in a Globalised World'* and another dissected the subject of *'Digital Literacies, Inclusion and Education'*.

Through its Global Media Policy (GMP) mapping project, the IAMCR Braga conference further advanced its pioneering mechanism that seeks to build collaboration through cross-disciplinary and multi-method policy research towards the ultimate goal of establishing a framework for ensuring stronger linkages among institutions and existing initiatives. In its Special Sessions in Braga the GMP again fore-grounded the concept of mapping as a way of linking people, varied research interests and different knowledge bases. Interestingly, this approach is increasingly being adopted globally. This interdisciplinary and multi-method strategy is, for example, being advocated by political scientist and Nobel laureate Elinor Ostrom[2] and colleagues in the forthcoming book titled, *'Working Together: Collective Action, the Commons, and Multiple Methods in Practice'*.

The publication "*examines how different methods have promoted various theoretical developments related to collective action and the commons, and demonstrates the importance of cross-fertilization involving multimethod research across traditional boundaries. The authors look at why cross-fertilization is difficult to achieve, and they show ways to overcome these challenges through collaboration*"[3]. These approaches are consistent with the growing practice of cross disciplinary academic presentations, now taking root more widely within the Association.

Citizenship and Media Accountability

In Braga, the plenary on *Building Accountable Media Cultures* offered one of best opportunities to both reflect upon and participate in an intriguing global dialogue on issues of citizenship and media accountability. By common agreement among panel members the concept of citizenship was regarded as important and changing, embodying a balance of both rights and responsibilities. Marcos Palacios reminded the conference that accountability was not inconsistent with media

[2] Elinor Ostrom is a political scientist and a world leading authority on governance of the commons. She is the 2009 Nobel laureate in economic sciences for her work in the area of developing solutions for the problem of the tragedy of the commons.

[3] See http://press.princeton.edu/titles/9209.html.

freedom. This view was shared by Barbie Zelizer, who placed emphasis on the need not just for accountability but also for varied forms of responsibility in pursuit of the public interest. Divina Frau Meigs used the opportunity to call for more widespread media literacy among citizens, enabling them both to create their own output and as well as to better hold corporate media to account. Panel member Pradip Thomas, citing the experience of his native India, questioned the dominant role and accountability of large private media corporations and global conglomerates and underlined the countervailing influence of the emergent community media sector and of citizen journalism.

For me, the key question was who would watch the self-appointed media watchdogs of society? With the conventional press and even new media (such as Wiki Leaks of more recent controversy) continuing to assert their undoubtedly crucial roles as guardians of democracy, an *accountability gap* still remains in how society seeks to protect itself from the potential and actual ills of media corruption. Unethical or illegal practices such as corporate cover-ups, errors or misconduct, pay-for-play bribe-taking (called 'payola' in the music and broadcasting businesses) and illicit journalistic back-handers in return for favourable or unjustified media coverage, especially of the powerful, all still abound. In these circumstances, the right of citizens to balanced, truthful and unencumbered media output would appear to be at continuing risk.

In this analysis, we may benefit from the complex but enlightening discourse on modernity and communication offered by Jürgen Habermas. In his theory of communicative action, Habermas presents a diverse range of linked conceptual tools that can enable us to better observe patterns of communication and help to measure the communicative actions of different social players. He advances the notion of a competitive interest-oriented strategic action on the one hand and a dialogic values-oriented, communicative action on the other. The latter seeks out consensus around shared values and justifiable norms, while the former aims to satisfy competitive and strategic advantage within an oppositional framework. (Habermas, 1979, 1993: 294).

In discussing the complexities of the application of these and other theoretical constructs to the constantly changing communications landscape, Arens observes that Habermas "recognizes the ambivalent potential of mass communication, which has on the one hand, power and social control and on the other, emancipates by stimulating, disseminating and providing means of communication and reaching agreement" (Arens, 1988: 19).

Arens argues that it is possible to interpret Habermas as conceiving of communication as also embodying 'counterpower'. Such communicative counterpower is exercised by grassroot organizations and solidarity networks that "protest against the exclusion of issues and people from public discourse, where they claim and make use of the right to communication for all, where they work against distortion and obstruction in public communication, and for communication which is more participatory and free from restrictions, deception and domination..." (1988: 19).

Discussing similar issues of communication rights from a North South perspective, I have elsewhere described this process as *globalization from below*, in which the marginalized, the minorities and oppressed peoples all over the world are able conceptually to master the adaptation, use and management of the emerging communication and information technologies, including systems of design, patenting, marketing and consumer operation (Dunn, 2001: 66-67). Writing a decade ago, I further observed that: "We have to learn the ropes, so to speak, with the ultimate objective of originating a significant proportion of our own software and hardware needs...With such an approach, the present dominance in the form of a rampant *globalization from above*, via conglomerates, multilateral agencies and wealthy states can be mitigated by the creative adaptation of appropriate tools, media and content, deployed by ordinary citizens and their local organizations for their own use and for global inter-linkage" (Dunn, 2001: 67).

The technologies that are often implicated in these communicative processes are not neutral but purposive and often designed within specific contexts. "Where ever these technologies are in use, it is an inescapable reality that most of these tools were created initially to address the military and other strategic needs in the United States and Europe...While some imported technologies can be of immense professional and societal value outside of their cultures of origin, they have to be systematically adapted to the circumstances of their new use in order to gain maximum social advantage" (Dunn, 2001: 66).

Citizenship in the Global Commons

Against this background, citizens are regarded as having an important, even activist role in advocating or implementing change whether at the macro or micro level. Partnership with other global friends or citizens becomes essential within the

now prevalent process of networking. In this way, citizenship ought not to be seen just in the traditionally narrow meaning of the sovereign rights and responsibilities ascribed to individuals within their particular geographic and legally established national boundaries. The nature of the technological and natural environments, characterised by interdependence and indivisibilities, is anathema to a principally jurisdictional or geographical definition of citizenship. What is needed is a re-commitment to the concept of 'dual citizenship' of the global and the local, enabling people all over the world to share in a more comprehensive understanding of each other's interdependent roles in a digitally and environmentally interconnected global space, while remaining empowered within their local contexts.

It is the global ICT networks that lend glue to our inter-linkage and that facilitate instant communication between digitally connected individuals anywhere. Equally, it is our common dependence on the global ecology that binds us into a single community, disproportionally endowed, but equally vulnerable to the impacts of such environmentally threatening phenomena as climate change. Utilizing the Braga conference sub theme of 'Rethinking Crisis and Change' as an ongoing point of departure, we should constantly acknowledge the inter-related elements of **access to communication** and **care for the environment** as twinned and indivisible values representing key requirements for effective citizenship.

Citizenship, ICTs and the Environment

The communications sector is ultimately dependent on a constant flow of energy or electricity, most usually supplied by non renewable fossil fuels. Researchers such as Boccaletti, Löffler and Oppenheim (2008) note that emissions from the manufacture and use of PCs alone will double over the next 12 years as middle class buyers in emerging economies go digital. Similarly, worldwide growth in the use of mobile phones will triple their carbon footprint by 2020, in large part because of their consumption of silicon and rare metals.

According to these researchers "the fastest-increasing contributor to carbon emissions in the ICT sector will be as a result of growth in the number and large size of data centers, whose carbon footprint are projected to rise more than five-fold between 2002 and 2020 as organisations in all sectors add more servers to meet rising demand, even as companies and governments alike attempt to become more energy efficient" (Boccaletti et al, 2008: 2). Not only are ICTs con-

tributing to increased green house gas emissions, they are also contributing to the accumulation of e-junk such as old mobile phones, computers, printers, scanners among others that clutter our urban landscape. This e-waste problem could potentially get worst as digital switchover in the broadcasting sector becomes even more mainstream and citizens begin to replace their analogue television sets with digital TV. In addition, the increasing accumulation of disused or abandoned orbiting satellites and other ICT debris in space is also a growing public policy issue that should form part of the citizen agenda for public policy considerations well before they become crises.

Not only can the large global media and fast rising alternative new media systems play an important role in communicating the key issues surrounding climate change and other environmental challenges globally, but they can also seek to reverse the sector's own levels of unsustainable energy consumption. Through their mediating role and visibly exemplary leadership, new media and ICT service providers can shape perceptions and catalyze action even among the most unconcerned and nonchalant citizen.

Web 2.0 is a powerful platform for advocacy because of the sheer number of users there. It provides alternative channels to traditional mass media for finding and disseminating policy-relevant and citizen-friendly information. As an example, Technocrati, an online blogging research company, is indicating that based on their research, bloggers are having increasing influence on the direction of policies in government, technology decision-making, celebrity action, business decision-making, computing issues and the environment as the top six impact areas. The Technocrati research study further notes that "In the United States, blogging was an integral piece of the 2008 presidential campaign, where it was a key forum for citizen commentary on everything from Sarah Palin's clothes to healthcare policy". On average, respondents think that the blogosphere was as accurate as traditional media sources on the presidential election and that it was, in some cases, much more up to date. Further, many bloggers believe that blogging was a big reason Obama enjoyed a significant fundraising advantage throughout the campaign"[4]. While we must be cognizant of the high likelihood of distortions in the web 2.0 space, it is undoubted that this new platform has emerged as a potent force for social and political messaging that can contribute to transformation through citizen journalism.

[4] Read more: http://technorati.com/blogging/article/day-5-twitter-global-impact-and/page-2/#ixzz0tbf1uCEh.

Hilgartner and Bosk's 'Public Arenas Model' (1998 :58) offers a framework within which to consider these possible responses. Their model contends that media are among the key "public arenas in which social problems are framed and grow". Boykoff & Boykoff (2007), citing Nelkin (1987) and Wilson (1995) also reinforce this idea, and relate it to the climate change discourse, saying that "since the public (of which policy actors are a part) learns most of what it knows about science from the mass-media, scrutinizing the media's portrayal of climate change – and exploring how and why information about climate change is translated into news – is imperative".

The IAMCR has a leading role to play in advocacy and academic work on media and climate change and in stimulating participatory models to engage and coordinate global research within this arena. We are not and cannot be bystanders. As the largest global body of academic and research specialists, we collectively have access to broad and diverse audiences, including our students, publics and peers. The IAMCR 2010 conference was a forum at which we exercised the moral responsibility of our sector to spread this message about citizen responsibility and environmental sustainability.

IAMCR, Environmental Audits and the Academic Community

One of the most hopeful outcomes of Braga 2010 was a decision by the IAMCR General Assembly to establish a special committee within its Global Media and Communications Policy Task Force to conduct an environmental audit to consider the Association's own carbon footprints. This proposed self-examination, if pursued appropriately, should guide future decisions about how we convene our conferences, deploy resources and could even extend to influencing the approaches taken by our global network of academic member institutions. Because the academic sector is no small player in energy consumption.

It is estimated that there are more than 10,000 universities around the world, not including community colleges and other non-chartered institutions in the tertiary education system. Most operate air conditioned offices and lecture theatres, generate significant runtime energy demand for lighting, printing and other campus activities. Their operations also make extensive use of paper and printing supplies. Academics travel millions of air miles globally attending various conferences, symposia and fora annually. One can therefore begin to appreciate that our aca-

demic sector itself is a significant contributor to climate change at all levels, including direct, indirect and systemic.

Besides being scholars, we are also citizens with an equal obligation to help protect the planet. It is this reality that will hopefully inform each member and our Task Force in generating new recommendations for IAMCR action.

Concluding Remarks

IAMCR's continuing intellectual leadership on current and pressing global issues was a major highpoint of the 2010 annual conference. Among them, the pre-eminent issues of Citizenship, Media Accountability, Climate Change and research collaboration received significant attention in a manner that demonstrates our global interconnectedness as neighbours.

It is in this context that we must move apace towards meeting the still many un-met goals of the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). The technology strategies and targets emanating from the UN's Internet Governance Forum, from our lifelong partner UNESCO, from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and from other multilateral and post-WSIS channels should be more actively researched and pursued but with a renewed emphasis on active and global citizenship, collaboration and on the environmental implications that were so meaningfully highlighted at the Braga Conference.

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Accountability and Media Accountability: A View from India

By Pradip Ninan Thomas

Abstract: This paper focuses on the role of the Right to Information (RTI) movement in India in fostering and nurturing political and media accountability. It argues that formal media accountability initiatives, be it of a voluntary nature or an aspect of regulation, have failed to contribute to media accountability. The best hope for media accountability stems from movements such as the Right to Information that continue to play a major role in creating the basis for substantive democracy in India. Transparency and accountability have now become watchwords and the RTI has now become the basis for the leveraging of other rights – the rights to food and employments that are critical to the survival of India's many millions who live below the poverty line. The paper also argues that there is a need to revisit the roles played by civil society and political society in India in order to gain a better understanding of the basis and impetus for democratic reform in India.

Media accountability is a sub-set of larger systems of accountability. It cannot be otherwise given that media accountability, be it via self-regulation or other types of regulation is a means to ensure that the circulation of news and views and opinion in any given environment contributes to diversity and democracy. The existence of media watch groups and monitoring agencies are meant to watch the watchdogs, especially in contexts in which the perceived and real influence of the media on the mediation of public opinion is seen to be important. In the case of Australia, where I currently reside, there is just a single national newspaper – *The Australian*, owned by News Corporation. *The Australian* is openly and unabashedly conservative on issues related to both domestic and international politics. And despite the presence of media watch bodies – there is little accountability and, as a result, the national newspaper nurtures a virulently bi-partisan politics and supports a lop-sided view of the 'national interest'. The public broadcaster *ABC's Mediawatch* program regularly exposes the nature of agendas in stories printed in *the Australian* although such exposures have only had a limited impact and have certainly not resulted in retractions, apologies and/or the creation of a new reporting culture. This example shows that while we would all agree that media accountability is a good thing, it is extraordinarily difficult to implement. If this is the case with a so-called developed country with 'democratic' cre-

dentials and democratic institutions, it is even more of an issue in countries like India where functioning systems of democracy sit uneasily with a variety of received traditions. I will argue in this chapter that accountability and to a lesser extent media accountability in India simply cannot be enabled through voluntary schemes or regulatory fiat. This has not worked in the past and there is no reason to believe that it will in the future. There is however a chance that accountability can become the norm as a direct consequence of nation-wide movements such as the Right to Information RTI) movement that is playing an important in creating a framework for accountability in India. What is significant about this movement is that it began at the grassroots – a poor people's movement as one of the founder's of the movement, Nikhil Dey is fond of reiterating. "From our perspective, we began very much from the perspective of poor people – and that distinguished India's RTI movement from any other in the world is that the thought processes of the disadvantaged, the marginalised and the poor should continue to dominate the intellectual moorings of the RTI. That is our belief, that is what we feel" (Personal Interview, January 16, 2010).

What is the state of media accountability in India and what possibilities are there for creating accountable media cultures and structures that stem from and are supportive of traditions of democracy?

I will try to answer that question via an assessment of three contexts:

1) The context of media accountability
2) The current state of media accountability
3) New forms of social accountability that have emerged from the RTI and political society

1) The context of media accountability

I was on a sabbatical earlier this year and was involved in a study of communication rights movements in India (and by that I mean movements that are committed to the establishment of specific traditions of access and use of communication for specific communities) - specifically the women and media, FOSS, community radio, citizen journalism and RTI movements. One of the fascinating things about India is that it is, at any given moment, home to innumerable experiments with democracy, a land of 'a million mutinies' to use Naipaul's descriptor of India. It is a capacious country that reflects the world's diversity, heterodoxy and orthodoxy,

openness and sectarianism. These range from the Maoist rebellions that have virtually resulted in the control of vast territories in Eastern and Central India by the so-called Naxalities to the less violent but equally threatening attempts by Muslim women in Pudukottai, Tamilnadu to establish their own, all-women's mosque, to the 11-year long fast by Irom Sharmilla, an extraordinary woman fighting for the removal of the *Armed Forces Special Powers Act* that has legitimised impunity in her state – Manipur in North East India, state-civil society efforts aimed at legitimising public sector software – meaning open source software that will be used in nation-wide initiatives linked to e-government. These are each attempts to create accountability structures. While the Maoist movement is mainly supported by *Adivasis* (Tribals) whose lands have been expropriated by the state and private mining interests, the movements by Daud Sharifa Khanam (Woman Muslim leader) and Irom Sharmilla are backed up by ordinary women and men who have either been marginalised by the all-male Jamat courts or who face summary executions by the Indian army, the movement to legitimise public sector software is a joint initiative by the state and civil society aimed at strengthening India's informational sovereignty.

The state in India plays an extraordinarily ambivalent role. While on the one hand it is considered the key enemy of vast sections of the Indian population, it does on the other, play a significantly progressive role in society and does support public interests. In this sense, the Indian state simply has to be theorised as a multi-faceted and multi-layered entity shaped by regressive nationalistic urges while also being involved in the shaping of progressive people-centred initiatives and spaces supportive of the argumentative Indian. It continues to play a dominant role even in the context of the privatisation of large parts of the Indian economy and economic liberalisation precisely because it is involved in subsiding large sections of the Indian population whose links with economic globalisation are tenuous at best. These people are beyond the pale of development and the reach of 'civil society'. As the post-colonial scholar and political scientist Partha Chatterjee (2004: 38, 39) has observed, "Most of the inhabitants of India are only tenuously, and even then ambiguously and contextually, rights-bearing citizens in the sense imagined by the constitution…. Civil society as an ideal continues to energise an interventionist political project, but as an actually existing form it is demographically limited". Chatterjee has argued that in the context of India it is 'political society' rather than 'civil society' that has the greatest influence on people given that the state is involved politically in the lives of its inhabitants. While it is certainly

true that the boundaries between civil society, the state and political society are fluid, the millions of people who often exist beyond the pale of development really do not have any truck with civil society or experienced popular sovereignty, freedom and equality. In other words 1) these populations have had problematic experiences with formal citizenship & 2) and lead lives largely unconnected with the practices of NGOs and associations who are involved in advancing public interests. They are however part of political society, given that the state plays a vital role in every aspect of their lives. And it within this context of their negotiations for entitlements and services that new traditions of social accountability have emerged. While civil society and the media subsequently became players in the RTI movement, for our purposes it is important that we recognise the fact that they were not its key initiators.

2) The current state of media accountability

While the Indian government and media are fond of describing the country as the largest democracy in the world, at best a partial truth, the reality is that accountability is not a given but has to be fought for. The supply side of governance in India does not have a terrific record best illustrated by the state of the legal system in India and the fact that pending cases in subordinate courts are in the region of 26 million. It has been estimated that it will take 466 years to clear the backlog in the Delhi High Court alone!! So there are major issues with the formal mechanisms of accountability hence the many examples of demand driven social accountability. Media accountability too is at a very low ebb given that oversight mechanisms are either weak or are non-functioning. While the Press Council of India has on occasion played its part in the creation of a culture of accountability, it is largely ineffective against the might and power of local press magnates who have got away with debilitating price wars and paid news. The neo-liberal media environment in India is characterised by diversity (70,000+ registered newspapers, 500+ cable & satellite channels) but it is also clear that over the last decade there has been a concentration of media ownership and the emergence of a handful of media conglomerates with substantive cross sectoral media interests. The phenomenon of 'paid news' has become a major matter of concern over the last two years, with papers such as the Times of India directly implicated in selling space to politicians. As a Press Council of India report (2010) states "Over the last few years and since 2009 in particular, the phenomenon of "paid news" has acquired a new and even

more pernicious dimension by entering the sphere of political "news" or "reporting" on candidates contesting elections. Numerous favourable or complimentary "news" reports and feature articles on representatives of political parties, including candidates who have been contesting elections, have appeared in newspapers across the country in the run-up to the Lok Sabha (lower house of Parliament) as well as state legislative assembly elections and similar kinds of information have been aired on television channels without disclosing the fact that monetary transactions have taken place between the concerned candidate or political party to which he or she belongs and the owners or representatives of particular media organizations…… The entire operation is clandestine. This malpractice has become widespread and now cuts across newspapers and television channels, small and large, in different languages and located in various parts of the country. What is worse, these illegal operations have become "organized" and involve advertising agencies and public relations firms, besides journalists, managers and owners of media companies. Marketing executives use the services of journalists – willingly or otherwise – to gain access to political personalities. So-called "rate cards" or "packages" are distributed that often include "rates" for publication of "news" items that not merely praise particular candidates but also criticize their political opponents. Candidates who do not go along with such "extortionist" practices on the part of media organizations are denied coverage".

One can blame this state of affairs on the lack of media regulatory bodies but also to greater correspondences between political and economic interests. The Indian government's commitment to regulation has at best been rather desultory although, having said that, it is for the umpteenth time and at this very moment, involved in discussions related to the setting up of a Broadcasting Authority of India on the lines of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in the USA. However, and with the benefit of hindsight, this may well turn out to be just another periodic convulsion that does not in any way advance media regulation. While political expediency is one reason for this state of affairs, continuing turf wars between the Ministries of Information and Broadcasting on the one hand and Telecommunications on the other are also to blame. The media environment is characterised by, as Plaisance (2000: 258) has described it "… an absence of indicators of fallibility corrections". So the tremendous growth in the media in India during the last two decades has occurred largely within a framework characterised by minimum regulation and little legislation as a guide for policy. The Indian Telegraph Act in its amended 1885 version, for example, remains the default act that the government falls back on to legitimise and maintain its executive control over

telecommunications and broadcasting even today. It is quite extraordinary that in a country that boasts of being the world's largest democracy, is home to more than 500 television channels, a large FM radio network and a fledgling community radio scenario – that an Act that was established under colonial auspices, to regulate the ownership and flows of communication supportive of Pax Brittania, continues to provide the justificatory basis for state control.

I have argued elsewhere that a situation characterised by No Formal Policy actually functions as a policy that has enabled private media to establish a cross media foothold and concentrated ownership across all media, and the state to play havoc with the community media sector. A good example of the latter is the licensing process related to community radio – a ponderous process that seems to have been designed to wear down all but the most tenacious of license seekers.

The Licensing Process for Community Radio In India
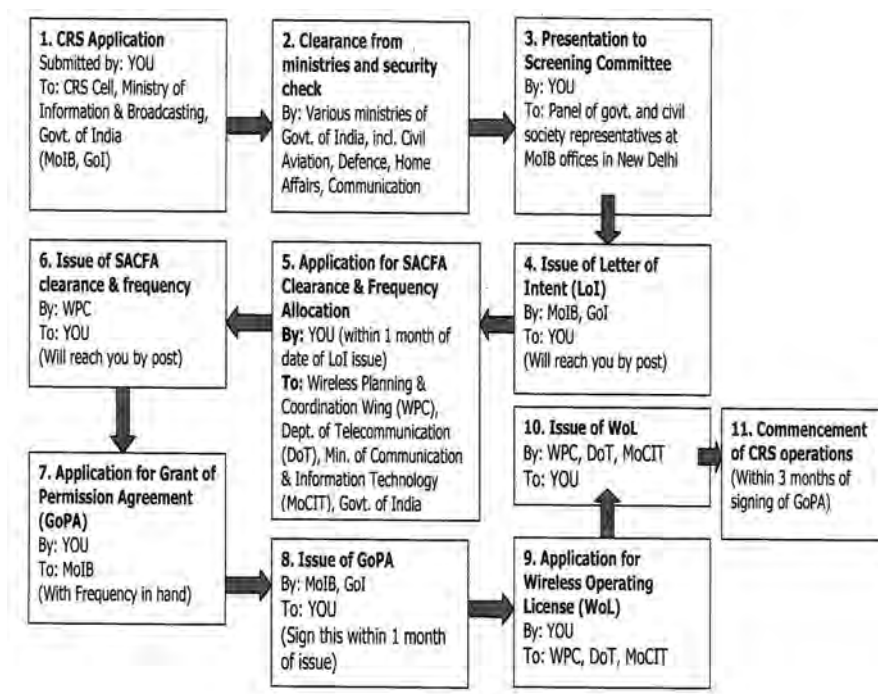
(Taken from, Ramakrishna, N. (2008), *Applying for SACFA clearance and allotment of frequency for a Community Radio Station (CRS): A step by step guide* (1-25), Ideosync Media Combine, New Delhi)

A comparison of the lack of policy related to community radio (CR) and an excess of policy related to the IT sector in India inclusive of software, e-governance and the like is instructive. Without a doubt, the IT industry has proven itself as a cash cow and for more than two decades, export earnings from the software and Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) sectors have contributed to the bulk of export revenues earned by India. The increasing importance of this sector to productivity has been complemented by a range of initiatives meant to bolster and strengthen the informationalisation of society in India. To a large extent the existence of policy has given this sector both direction and focus. While a lot has been written of the Indian government's commitment to a new style of government – Gov.2 – one can argue that what really has happened is that bureaucracy and power have been recombined in an era of e-governance or what some prefer to describe as the era of e-governmentality.

Poverty, Citizen Journalism & Accountability

While there are some important private sector media correctives such as the investigative journalism portal Tehelka.com that came to fame via a sting operation (Operation Bluestar) that netted defence and ministerial bigwigs accepting bribes in the year 2000, Cobrapost.com along with other initiatives, for the most part, media accountability exists in formalised codes but not in practice. The most trenchant critic of the media in India today is the poverty journalist P. Sainath who has consistently pointed out that the mainly neo-liberal media in India in its search for ratings has missed out on matters of concern for the ordinary Indian. Writing in *the Hindu* (2008: 1) Sainath reports that there were 16,632 farmer suicides in India in 2007 with the majority occurring in five states – Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Chattisgarh. To put it more graphically, Ajay Uprety writing in *The Week* (2008: 34) has noted that " …the seven districts of Bundelkhand (in Uttar Pradesh) – Banda, Mahoba, Hamirpur, Jaluan, Jhansi, Lalitpur and Chitrakoot – have witnessed around 2000 unnatural deaths in the last four years…Most victims were impoverished farmers or landless labourers driven to the edge by the fall-out of the five-year drought". Another report by P. Sainath (2001:45) indicates that the problem is far more serious than what is officially admitted. "Recent government figures show that in Anantapur, just one district of Andhra, 1,826 people, mainly farmers with very small holdings of two acres or less, committed suicide between 1997 and 2000". The suicides do not normally make head-

line news, although it does, when the issue is occasionally raised in parliament. There seems to be a pattern to these suicides irrespective of the community. A combination of factors, rising costs of inputs, low returns, landlessness, increase in the prices of essential commodities, food grains in particular, the lack of subsidies, an increase in debt payments, the lack of back-up social services and the dismantling of the welfare economy – seem to be the key factors that have contributed to the suicides. In direct contrast to this image of pre-colonial penury, is the image of the new Andhra Pradesh on the move. It is an image of a technological paradise, of software engineers, of dot com companies, of the stern, lap-top carrying ex-Chief Minister, Chandra Babu Naidu, of e-commerce, software parks, Cyberabad – the new name for the capital city Hyderabad, and electronic democracy.

While mainstream media do occasionally deal with critical issues, for the most part, they are part of a ratings war and there is little consistency in the reporting. The era of the Internet and citizen journalism has certainly contributed to the making of traditions of social accountability and such practices have even been incorporated into the daily reporting schedules of major broadcasting channels such as CNN-IBN. One can also mention accountability that has emerged in the context of the localisation of news in rural India which, to a large extent, is the result of the contribution of citizen journalists although they tend to be predominantly male and upper caste. The influence of CJ tends to be proportionately related to major events such as the Mumbai siege although one can argue that, for the most part, CJ has morphed into another avenue for the chattering classes. The best examples of CJers contributing to accountability practices are those reporting from India's many trouble spots such as Manipur, Chattisgarh and other places where the state rules with an iron fist although even in these instances, its influence is limited given that internet penetration remains a mainly urban phenomenon. In other words, there is, at least for the moment, limited scope for the institutionalisation of such mechanisms of social accountability. One of the more intriguing sites is the Chattisgarh People's News Site. The Chhattisgarh People's News Site – CGNet, is primarily devoted to discussing local issues in the Northern state of Chhattisgarh that is primarily 'tribal'. The tribals live in remote areas where mainstream media penetration is often limited. In any case, mainstream media hardly deal with issues of local concern except when these tribals become victims of the crossfire between the army and the Maoists. Geeta Seshu (2010) describes the context for this type of journalism "As mining and industrialisation-related growth accelerates

along with protests against these by the displaced populations, it is in the interest of the pro-development lobby to suppress all type of negative publicity. This is done by controlling the media through ownership, doling out largesse in the form of advertisements to others and intimidating those who cannot be neutralised by these. Among the worst affected are the faceless, and often nameless, stringers who form the feeder lines for the city-based media and have to bear the first brunt of media suppression by the powerful. The attacks on journalists are inextricably linked to the changing equation between the state and civil society, brought about by the triumvirate of aggressive industrialisation, political interests and competitive media houses". The Hindi (Devangiri) script is used to express a variety of tribal languages. It has sections on Tribals and Forests, Dalits, Culture, Agriculture, Education, Youth, Employment, Mining & Industry, Media, Naxal Issues, Water, Women and Health. What is interesting about this site is that it offers locals an opportunity to speak up on issues in this state – particularly the plight of local people caught up in the cross fire between Maoists (known as Naxalities) and the state police as well as the para-military group, the Salwa Judum. Tribals, also known as 'Adivasis' in India, rank among the most marginalised of Indian citizens. While they live in resource rich environments, development has favoured large industries such as mining at their expense. High rates of poverty and illiteracy along with state neglect have led to tribals becoming core members of Maoist movements in India. They have faced the brunt of state-sponsored counter terrorism. CJs related to CGNet, mainly of tribal origin, have played an important role in exposing human rights violations. In this process CGNet has become a common platform for tribal groups, the space for a variety of discussions on issues related to tribal life in Chhattisgarh. Shubhranshu Choudhary (2009), who co-founded CGNet, writes of the critical role played by CGNet in an environment where there are virtually no journalists of tribal origin. Not only has CGNet trained tribal CJs "CGNet has trained some young adivasis in simple tricks of citizen journalism, such as how to record and convey their concerns over mobile phones using the built-in camera. These images are then uploaded on the Web site and discussed on the forum through email", CGNet meetings have become the space for stakeholder meetings between representatives of mining agencies and tribal leaders. CGNet also has plans to establish a community radio station. To the locals CGNet is an online public 'Panchayat' (local village council), a shadow Panchayat that functions as a watch on authority and a space where people's voices can be heard and concerns discussed.

While civil society continues to be the location for numerous innovative and creative engagements with democracy – as for example the anti-sexual harassment initiative Blank Noise that is based on a combination of online and offline activisms aimed at reclaiming the body and the street, by their very nature such movements have not been able to impact on a state whose interests are closer to business interests than to that of civil society. So one can argue that in general, such initiatives have connected to the interests of segmented, largely middle class audiences but have been unable to impact on the mainstream.

3) New forms of social accountability that have emerged from the RTI

While these movements and others have contributed to the strengthening of a variety of counter public spheres in India, the impact and influence of the RTI is on a totally scale, best illustrated by the fact that scarcely a day goes by in India without the mainstream media reporting on the many ways in which the Right to Information movement is becoming an essential aspect of the body politic, its ramifications for civil servants and the public sector in general and resistance to it. There are at least 20 websites devoted wholly or in part to the RTI, at least 17 organisations involved in RTI work throughout the country and any number of blogs and e-discussions groups on the subject (See NCPRI: Right to Information). There are RTI awards that are, interestingly enough, supported by private sector organisations such as the news channel NDTV and the Hindustan Times newspaper. The vast, gargantuan public sector network in India is slowly but surely becoming responsive to the RTI. Most, if not all states in India either have their own RTI legislations or are working towards one, their own information commissions and even the workings of these commissions are now open to public scrutiny. The extraordinary march of this movement is linked to ordinary people realising the value and worth of information as a tool in social change. Literally hundreds of thousands of RTI applications have been filed by ordinary people throughout India. By 2008, three years of the promulgation of the RTI Act, in Bihar alone over a 100,000 applications were filed and "12,000 appeals and complaints registered in the State Information Commissions" (Ranjan, 2009:18). Key processes linked to the RTI, as for instance popular hearings and social audits have arguably led to the advancement of substantive democracy. Opposition parties regularly avail of the RTI Act and file applications aimed at exposing government "inactions and mis-

deeds" (Lewis, 2010: 4). And the Indian public have resisted any attempt to dilute the RTI in its present form. These examples of the RTI in process indicate that it is becoming a key layer of the democratic process – a means towards the end of enabling the project of substantive democracy. As such, and given its ramifications for the 'system', the RTI is both an opportunity and a threat**.** The murder of RTI activists in India, such as Satish Shetty in January 2010 in Talegaon Dabhade, and Venkatesh in Bangalore in 2009, allegedly by the land mafia, for exposing land scams in Pune and Bangalore, signifies the enormous value of information in the public sphere and the lengths to which people will go to keep that information hidden (See the Hindu: 2010 and the South Asian: 2009). In January 2010, another RTI activist, Shashidar Mishra was killed in Bihar for exposing corruption at panchayat block levels. When Supreme Court judges dissent and resist the RTI, it is a clear indication that information in the public domain is problematic, even for key upholders of democracy in India.

What seems to be happening with the RTI is that it has become the source for a myriad articulations of accountability resulting in repercussions that are being felt not only at every level of the state but also in key institutions such as the media. Not only has the RTI given a fresh lease of life for investigative journalism and outlets such as Tehelka.com and cobra.com – but the very reporting of the RTI on a daily basis by the English and vernacular media suggests that accountability and transparency have become just too public to be ignored. In the context of rural India where much of the media growth has occurred, journalists have been emboldened by the RTI to explore the various gaps between policy and practice, especially in matters related to social and cultural issues – from caste oppression to gendered violence. The RTI has opened up spaces for the articulation of collective responsibility – as for instance between local development institutions and local communities – through mechanisms such as social audits, participatory policy, budget making and monitoring and evaluation. Public hearings have provided the space for ordinary women and men to speak, to be heard and to be listened to and this has resulted in validations of mutual respect and legitimised self-respect.

Public Hearings (Jan Sunwais) & Accountability

The Jan Sunwai is an important indigenous means and pedagogical device used by this movement to mobilise, radicalise and give voice to marginalised peo-

ple who have traditionally been expected to remain silent, even in the face of the most atrocious atrocities committed by the forward castes and wealthy. As Jenkins (2007: 60) describes it " The MKSS's key innovation was to develop a novel means by which information found in government records could be shared and collectively verified: the *jan sunwai* (public hearing). A jan sunwai is a publically accessible forum, often held in a large opens-sided tent pitched on a highly visible sport, at which government records are presented alongside testimony by local people with firsthand knowledge of the development projects that these records purpose to document. Key pieces of information from project documents are read aloud. Those with direct knowledge of the specific government projects under investigation are invited to testify on any apparent discrepencies between the official record and their own experiences as labourers on public-works projects or applicants for means-tested antipoverty schemes".

Shah & Agrawal (2005) have highlighted the participatory nature of the step-by-step process related to a typical jan sunwai as follows:

- Information on suspected corruption in local development projects is generated from extensive research by volunteers organizing the *Jan Sunvai*.
- Official records on amounts sanctioned and actually spent on local development projects are procured from local government offices and analyzed.
- A public hearing is organized independently, not through the official village assembly, in a public place in the village concerned.
- Extensive publicity is given to the public hearing. All villagers, government officials, elected representatives and the press are invited.
- The hearings are presided over by a panel of respected individuals from the local community.
- At the start of the *Jan Sunvai* the rules of the meeting are laid out. All, except persons under the influence of alcohol are entitled to speak. Everybody must speak on the theme and be restrained in their language.
- Identified cases are taken up one by one. Detailed accounts of development expenditures from official records are demystified, paraphrased and read out aloud for the assembly.
- Villagers particularly laborers, suppliers and contractors speak out and verify whether they received the money due to them or whether construction took place as claimed. Officials are encouraged to clarify or defend themselves.
- In this way discrepancies are highlighted and officials are asked to account.

To a limited extent, mainstream media in India – such as the *New Delhi Television* (NDTV) and the national newspaper the *Indian Express* – have been involved in RTI awareness campaigns although whether the RTI has influenced their own commitment to accountability is difficult to establish. What seems to be the case is that the RTI has emboldened local communities to demand accountability from the public institutions that they interact with. It is also a fact that all government institutions throughout the country have to be RTI-compliant. RTI stories are newsworthy. Not a day goes by without the RTI being reported on. Since there is extensive national interest in the RTI and multiple mediations of the RTI, the functionings of the media may well become a subject for RTI enquiries and this, in turn, may lead to the development of accountable media cultures.

Conclusions

While civil society continues to be a source for interesting projects related to social accountability, these initiatives, by their very nature, tends to be piecemeal and isolated and that very rarely have led to the creation of environments supportive of accountability. In the absence of any efforts from within the media to create accountable environments or for that matter from the state to facilitate such environments, much of the impetus for renewal now emanates from within political society best illustrated by the RTI and other movements that have the potential to contribute to the building of cultural environments, accountable media environments and democracy.

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Building Accountability in Media Education via Media Education: A Human Rights Perspective

By Divina Frau-Meigs

Media education is becoming an accepted paradigm in today's political arena, after years of pioneers' work at the margins. Those working in the subject area have been allowed to develop proposals for curricula, for national policy indicators and for teacher training, in spite of little support from research. But the conditions of feasibility of such a comprehensive view of media education, as a lifelong process, inside and outside schools, need to be articulated very carefully, for successful implementation. They require to be critical of the current public discourse and policies around it. They also require to anchor media education within an engaging vision around the master narrative provided by the human rights framework, lest it should be associated with neo-liberal policies exclusively. Finally they require to take into consideration "the cyberist moment", i.e. the third millennium shift from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0, characterized by a move from a centralized technology that allowed for a modicum of interaction, around emails and blogs, to a decentralized network of speedy broadband applications, browsers and social platforms, that encourage broader participation. Nowadays, most human activities around labour and leisure start on-line first, with off-line consequences second, even in developing countries. The future direction of this paradigm shift is of primary importance for media education as a sense-making process and as a collective practice (Frau-Meigs, 2010).

Media Education in the Digital Agenda

Media education advocates should rejoice at the success of their efforts to promote their ideas and goals but in the current neo-liberal context, deregulation policies seem to consider media education as a panacea, whatever the political spectrum under consideration. In Europe, a series of measures have been taken that integrate Media Education within the Digital Agenda: the Audiovisual Media Services Directive (formerly Television Without Borders), that mentions media literacy in its paragraph 37 (2007); the communication of the European Commission

on the obligation to follow-up and report on national policies (2007); the European Parliament resolution that relates media literacy to digital access, inclusion and participation (2008).

Media education seems to be a concession granted by the neo-liberal forces to mitigate their commercial conquests over state regulation (less emphasis on quotas, more inclusion of product placement),—the sweet candy around the bitter pill. For such policies promote self-regulation and place the responsibility of media risks on the individual. They disengage the public sector and the private interests, as they tend to place control in the hands of intermediate entities, such as the media regulatory bodies. The leading example is OFCOM in England that spears the movement as media literacy has become part of its missions, since the UK Communication Act of 2003 (Lunt and Livingstone, forthcoming).

Self-regulating the audience

Hence, the risk for the implementation of media education policies lies in their being used as a lever to weaken market regulations, in particular those concerning the protection of children, of consumers and personal data, historically acquired by the public after heated debates on manipulative advertising or harmful content. Since it has become acceptable to have product placement (called "clandestine publicity" in the past), it seems fair enough to teach about advertising; since consumer protections are lowered, it has become necessary to teach about consumption practices. The implied idea is that education is not a deterrent to consumption; and protection is no longer a citizen right, but a paid-for service (Frau-Meigs, 2010).

Under the buzzwords of participation and empowerment, two other phenomena are happening, relatively unquestioned in the public sphere: the self-regulation of the audience and the privatization of media risk (together with the rampant privatization of education). The audience is consistently constructed as a consumer, not a citizen and is therefore expected to treat media as services and to adjust to the self-regulation of the market vindicated by the media companies. In this context media education is construed as self-regulation by the audience, which has to deal individually with the privatization of risk online and offline. Self-regulation is supposed to foster self-help solutions, in the form of privacy-enhancing technologies and security tools for instance, provided by the market, for a price.

Privatization of risks and rights

Added to this trend is that of the privatization of rights, as a secondary, unexpected effect of deregulation, with the attendant risk that inequalities and info-poverty related to access and content may increase the digital divide. Indeed, the challenges raised by the new communication services with respect to rights, extend beyond the nevertheless essential questions of pluralism, freedom of expression, privacy or protection of minors. The new digital services present the risk that the rights which are protected in the public domain of the real world are subcontracted to private interests in the virtual sphere, thus compelling individuals to buy them as services, instead of enjoying them as free, unalienable civil liberties (Rifkin 2000; Rotenberg 2000). This is the case with protection of minors, which today comes integrated in "Internet security packages" that include anti-virus and anti-spam, such as the ones offered by Norton or McAfee (Frau-Meigs, 2010).

Due to the new dichotomies of the cyberist moment around access and ownership vs. the preservation of privacy and freedom, the actual fight for media education promoters and activists, may be in preventing fundamental universal rights from being turned into mere commercial services. This is all the more so as globalization facilitates trade to the detriment of rights (making services migrate to countries that have little respect for them). This kind of blind spot in the public discourse is partly due to the fact that such new media services are developing within the context and mindset of the United States, where most of them are being invented and legally located. For both legal purposes and pragmatic commercial problem-solving, rights have been and still are construed as property, as exemplified by the American Digital Rights Management system. Yet, in a Human Rights perspective, the challenges of new media and services in cyberspace strongly link rights to dignity and as such they are unalienable.

The privatisation of rights and services is also connected to a budding cyberist society that has internalized the digital networks' production of risk. There is no ethical questioning of what happens to individuals forced to engage in self-protection when enormous corporations are endowed with legal and political lobbying capacities to crush their attempts at protest or independence. There is no consideration for class inequalities and information asymmetries as only people with considerable wealth at their disposal will be able to maintain their dignity and integrity, whereas poor people or young people will fall prey to all sorts of abuse. A failure to consider the problems around the privatization of risks and rights can entail the failure of the whole social fabric that media education proponents and activists have been fighting for since the pioneering stages.

Yet applying human rights to media education implies a move away from a normative vision of human rights as rather abstract, top-down moral principles, to a more operational, bottom-up ethical values. Such a perspective promotes autonomy and cooperation so as to ascertain the consequences of one's actions in everyday life and to evaluate what is good and equitable for all according to the situation. This experience of rights as values can allow, in the long term, real and effective empowerment and participation.

Due to the nature of new digital media and communication services, and their focus on codes, sites, cases, simulations, representations and networks, there are options for such implementation of media education in the cyberist moment. As more and more people join cyberspace activities, and as more and more cyber-space activities have real-life effects (intended and un-intended), there is a need to combine media education and human rights in a heuristic and generative process. Such a process can help stir media education away from just being self-manage-ment within the market sphere and self-defence within the political sphere.

Media Education within the Human Rights Framework

To ensure that media education does not just become a neo-liberal tool for the employability of young people only, but exists as a sense-making mechanism and an opportunity for meaningful participation online and offline, several ele-ments need to be taken into account: specific competences, cyberist opportuni-ties and a coherent rationale buttressed on research, beyond cultural studies.

Articulating the 7 C's and human rights

The different models for competences that circulate in Europe and other regions of the world seem to share three main over-arching competences. Recur-rently, these models insist on developing abilities for Comprehension, Criticism and Creativity. They are the 3 C's of media education Competences, at the core of the school system. When non-formal school activities are considered, four more abilities tend to be added that provide mastery over participation: Consumption, (Cross-) Cultural Communication, Citizenship and Conflict. All in all, they can be packaged as the 7 C's, whose main strength lies in the fact that they cannot be reduced to workplace skills.

- Comprehension refers to the capacity to call upon the felt experience of matrices, scripts and representations to engage with the ICT-driven media spectacles, services and situations.
- Criticism implies the capacity to evaluate the reliability of the contents, attitudes and values proposed by the media.
- Creativity evokes the capacity to use media so as to understand better social roles and activities whilst also solving problems and fulfilling cultural expectations.
- Consumption takes into account market events as commercial strategies that need to be decoded before deciding to engage with them or not.
- Cross-cultural communication consists of the capacity to place spectacles and services within their cultural networks and evokes the possibility, especially with transborder media, to become more tolerant because of increased access to content from various cultures.
- Citizenship refers to the capacity to test dynamic models of the world and, in so doing, to strengthen civic participation and ethical practices connected to human rights.
- Conflict hints at the double capacity to solve the cognitive conflicts created by media spectacles and services, especially in terms of harmful content and risk of harm, and to revise positions and values by using the pluralism of the media during situations of real conflict (riot, war, genocide) (Frau-Meigs, 2011).

These 7 C's reintroduce 'value' in education and in media while showcasing 'values' inherited from the human rights heritage. They can serve as a socialized cognitive framework to train young people in democratic participation. These values, in the cognitive meaning of the world, are less rules for behaviour than frames for action, that can create a sense of membership in a given culture, while allowing for their revision, if need be. The 7 C's can modify young people's behaviour towards the media and others, by making them sensitive to dignity, respect, mutual tolerance, responsibility and the common good. They hold the potential to turn the current civic apathy into agency as young people become producers and creators of content on the digital networks. They can empower young people to resist the tenets of the privatization of risk in the cyberist moment, by creating new benchmarks for social justice, that differ from those promoted by the neo-liberal policies.

Harnessing the opportunities of the cyberist moment

Such an approach has gained in complexity with the recent evolution of Web 2.0 and needs to integrate the cyberist moment as an opportunity for attitudinal change. The cyberist moment, with its transition from analogical to digital modes of data input and output, is an accelerator of change that displaces the prominence of the value of transmission in education to promote co-construction of knowledge and collaborative intelligence. In so doing, it can transform any media spectacle or service into a learning event, be it in formal or non-formal settings.

The cyberist moment is also characterized by the progressive mutation from alphabetical culture to visual culture. The potential for disruption of such a cultural shift is real in itself but it also has implications as a learning shift. Visual culture is akin to material culture and implies a change in the socio-material conditions of the production of culture. This is evidenced by the transition from a notion of media as mostly texts and spectacles (for news as well as entertainment) to a notion of media as services (for decision-making and action), as manifest in the very title of the European Audiovisual Media Services Directive. If nothing is done to prevent it, services will always be paid-for services, as the principle of public service value on the networks, has been erased from political discourse on the left as much as on the right.

The learning shift implicit in such a process needs to be verbalised and rationalised so that its disruptive potential is integrated and appropriated by the body of teachers and learners. Focusing on user-generated content reinforces the need for new media literacies (about the image, information, internet, games,…) and even "trans-literacies", as the ability to read and write extends across a range of media platforms and networks (Thomas, 2006). New cognitive and intellectual tools can thus be made available to teachers. When applied to education, media can serve both as means for understanding our interactions with the environment and engaging with it, be it via spectacles or services, and for determining the organization and nature of the learning events facilitated by such situations. In that sense only can learners move from information to actual knowledge, as it emerges through social negotiation and through the evaluation of individuals and groups that apply it to their situation.

A researcher like Aminata Sen reinforces this perspective for development, as his "capability" model is based on "functionings", i.e. the competences a person needs to achieve his or her goals within local living conditions (Sen, 1993). The opportunities afforded by media education then encompass their civic agency

as well as their employability. Sen insists on the fact that such literacy allows for the conversion of commodities like media into functionings that serve basic needs of poverty and deprivation as much as fundamental needs for freedom and social justice.

Moving Research Beyond Cultural Studies

Such complexity and such paradigm shifts call for a comprehensive framework for implementing media education policies and training tools. Historically, countries that are advanced in the field, particularly in the English-speaking world, have benefited from the development of cultural studies in the research field, beginning, with Richard Hoggart's influential *Uses of Literacy* (1957). Cultural studies have provided a relatively coherent framework for understanding the construction of media texts around the representations of genre, race and ethnicity in postcolonial settings. They have also incorporated the audience as social subjects whose multiple subjectivities allow them to work with the media for their own interest, while accommodating commercial ones (Hall, 1973). They have thus enabled teachers to introduce the media practices and popular culture of their learners in the school process, without neglecting the contribution of the media "reality" in the class. They have made it possible for teachers to design learning events with a hands-on approach without a heavy scientific apparatus.

However, this rather amorphous field of studies, that has incorporated media studies and visual culture, needs to be criticized and upgraded. It needs to be criticized because of its focus on reception rather than on production, a blind spot that has not allowed for the political economy of media to be given a proper place. As a result it is a field that doesn't prepare well for the critical analysis of labour in the cyberist moment, or the political implications of risks, rights and services. With their current emphasis on market culture as a given, cultural studies have disengaged themselves from the critique of political discourse, and as such they tend to encourage an attitude that is more about "coping" with the media than actually proactively "mastering" the media. They don't seek out alternative views to the neo-liberal system and can be seen as having been abducted by it.

Cultural studies also need to be upgraded, if they are to be used at all. As a fifty year old field, born in the 1960s, some of its key notions and concepts no longer encompass the reality of the media environment in the cyberist moment, when the digital humanities are transforming the meaning of all classical disciplines and research areas. The notion of 'text' is rather weak when faced with 'spectacles' and

'services', both of which cannot be separated from power and control relation-ships. The notion of 'representation' no longer applies just to social events but also to mind theory and social cognition. Gender, race and ethnicity remain valid per-spectives on the varied nature of the audience but their on-line extensions need to incorporate other identity constructs, such as avatars and cyborgs. The notion of 'risk' has emerged with force because it is a way of constructing social problems for public issues that have been carefully erased by cultural studies, particularly media effects around violence, advertising or even addiction. Finally, globalization has shaken the micro-analysis perspective favoured by cultural studies, with phe-nomena that require methodologies ranging from virtual ethnography to digital mapping and visualization.

Researchers thus need to perceive media education as a challenging field that offers new possibilities for development, instead of considering it as a peda-gogical spin-off from their nobler activities. New perspectives can be offered, informed by recent developments in the research field, around social cognition in particular, with such notions as social intelligence and cognitive modelling that reconfigure issues of attention, memory, engagement, attribution and action, while affecting values and attitudes (Goleman, 2006; Tomasello, 1999). Notions proposed by other fields of research also offer renewed perspectives, like sociology with its critique of information and risk (Lash, 2002; Beck, 1992), political economy with its special focus on postcolonial and postcommunist transformations (Rifkin, 2000), anthropology with its focus on flows and diasporas (Appadurai) and urban stu-dies with its focus on networks and infrastructures (Castells, 1997).

Such trends are needed to propose a complex analytical framework for media education, away from traditional linear cause-effect analysis to more reticular, process-oriented approaches that incorporate the global governance of media, while at the same time providing levers for action in such a cyberist context. Bols-tered on human rights priorities, such a framework might additionally offer a rationale that moves communities of practice and interpretation away from pre-cyberist polarities, that used to oppose: uses and effects; risks and gratifications; high culture and low culture; rights and responsibilities; and protection and par-ticipation. It might foster media education as a lifelong process, propitious to transliteracies that can prepare young people for dynamic learning in a changing international media environment, that needs to be mastered, not simply managed without resistance. The long-term viability of the democratic model in the cyberist moment then requires a change from the original 19th century motto of educa-

tion as "free, lay and compulsory" into a 21st century motto of media education as "open, participatory and ethical".

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Building Accountable Media Cultures: some peculiarities of media accountability in digital environments

By Marcos Palacios

Abstract: Media accountability in digital environments poses new problems and new challenges. Never before in human history had communication represented such a multiplicity of forms of expression and modes of circulation of ideas. Publication is, more than ever, a plural phenomenon. An acknowledgement of plurality has to be coupled with a rejection of a kind of 'ideology of equality' that tends to permeate common sense and most political discourses about the Internet, its uses and control. Starting with Professor Denis McQuail's ideas on the building of media accountable societies, some specificities of media accountability in digital environments are explored.

Some six years ago, Professor Denis McQuail delivered an open class – *uma Aula Aberta* – to researchers and students of University of Minho. His open class dealt with the same subject that brought us together for this IAMCR session in this same University. The conference was entitled 'Publication in a free society: The problem of accountability' (2004) and was remarkable in many ways, establishing firm foundations for any discussion on media accountability. I will use some of Professor McQuail's ideas as starting points and as a safe harbour for my intervention in this session.

I must confess that despite a quite long experience of public speaking, each time I am confronted with the difficult task of gaining and - particularly - retaining the attention of an audience in a situation of public debate, I ask myself the same question: "Is there anything new I can bring to this conversation?"

This question becomes even more crucial and disturbing when one is confronted with such a qualified audience as on this occasion, to whom – to make things even more difficult for me – I will address in English and not in my native Portuguese language.

I will try at least to rephrase and expand some questions on media accountability, in a manner that I hope will make them provocative enough to constitute a contribution to this debate and to our reflection. As my academic work and research interests, in the last two decades, have been directed to digital technologies of communication and their interplay with journalism, it is on some pecu-

liarities of media accountability in digital environments that I will focus my intervention.

Let me go back to my starting point in Professor McQuail's open class here in Braga. In my view, the main achievement of that conference was to demonstrate, through clear and convincing argumentation, that "accountability cannot be considered of its essence as inconsistent with freedom" (2004: 251). On the other hand, a fundamental qualification was introduced as one of the final remarks in the open class, when Professor McQuail emphasized that "in a free society it is desirable that multiple forms of accountability should exist, to avoid centralized power of control over media, to maximize space for freedom (even space for 'error' and 'irresponsibility'), and also to reflect the many and real differences of purpose lying behind the whole enterprise" (2004: 251).

Starting from these remarks by Professor McQuail, I would like to point out the appropriate use of a plural form for the title of this IAMCR session. Maybe the singular form (media culture) would be perfectly acceptable and accurate some decades ago, but not any longer. We now live in societies characterized by plural media cultures. This remark allows me to introduce a central idea in Professor McQuail s Open Class and a point of contact with my contribution to this session, when he stressed the possibility and necessity of "differentiating more clearly within the range of forms of publication that are now available, since different publications carry very different degrees and kinds of responsibility and accountability, just as they involve very different kinds of communicative power" (2004: 238).

And indeed, differentiating the range of forms of publication made possible by new media is an essential consideration and a necessary point of departure when media accountability is viewed in the context of new digital mediatic environments. Never before in human history had a technology of communication so multiplied forms of expression and facilitated their circulation. The press, radio, and television were all dependent on extrinsic forms of circulation of 'published' material; digital networks inaugurate a mode of publication with an intrinsic form of circulation. Opening access not only to consumption but also to production and publication of contents is the mark of this new form of technology, which has its main globalized expression and outlet in the Internet.

And here I formulate my first invitation to reflection and discussion: 'One should not take for granted that the understanding of the Internet as a heterogeneous and multiple environment of information, communication and action, is a generalized and well established notion in society at large'. It may sound obvious

and common place to an audience of academic minded people like us that digital telematic networks are containers of many different forms of expression and interaction, and thus a space that accommodates a wide range of forms of publication that "carry very different degrees and kinds of responsibility and accountability, just as they involve very different kinds of communicative power" (McQuail, 2004: 238).

I suggest that this clear sighted comprehension of the importance of this multiplicity of forms of publication brought about by digital technologies and more recently by its increasing universalization, through democratization of access to the Internet, is a 'professional bias' of the academic community. This kind of comprehension - and especially the perception of the full consequences of the peculiarities of the new modes of communication - extends to only a small fraction of the general public. I am convinced that for the majority of users, telematic communication networks and the Internet are still perceived "through a darkly glass", as just a 'new medium', with the difference that this 'new medium' allows 'everybody to publish and all publications are equivalent'. A clear indication of this simplistic view is easily detectable by any basic scrutiny of the ideas expressed on public media worldwide, when referring to the Internet and social communication in general.

The danger of an undifferentiated perception and therefore of a supposed equalization of publication in cyberespace, as well as the danger of the representation of the Internet as an homogeneous space, or even worse its reduction to a 'medium' (Palacios, 2003: 99), is of paramount importance when we aim to establish accountability mechanisms for this wide range of publications in our plural contemporary media culture.

The notions of medium and mediation are associated to processes of transmission and exchange of messages. Mediation processes indeed take place in the Internet, especially when that mediation is conceived in broader terms as 'the articulation between physical spaces and virtual spaces'. However, it is also evident that 'mediation', even in this wider sense, does not exhaust or describe appropriately the totality of processes that can be detected and observed, when one refers to the Internet and its modes of functioning.

In contemporary society, social organizations and institutions of all types (commercial, educational, juridical, financial, criminal, political etc) as well as each one of us as individuals, have virtual extensions into Cyberspace. My *avatar* in Twitter or Facebook is an extension of my self in cyberspace, to mention just two of

many such extensions of my persona. Publication, as one of the forms of expression of such organizations, institutions and individuals takes – necessarily – a wide range of formats. On the other hand, such extensions should be viewed as integral, symbiotic and – for the most part now – vital elements of contemporary social practices of organizations and individuals. In some cases the situation even becomes reversed, so that it is the 'physical' side of the organization that could be viewed as the 'extension', as it happens with big Internet services providers, such as Google or Amazon.

It should sound equally obvious that the mode of insertion of different institutions, organizations and even individuals in digital networks commands different degrees of power, and therefore should be subject to "different degrees and kinds of responsibility and accountability", to return once more to the safe harbour of Professor McQuail's statement. But once again I ask if this 'clear perception of power differentials' in speech is not just another 'academic professional bias'.

I suggest, furthermore, that an 'ideology of equality' tends to permeate non-academic and most of the political discourses about the Internet, pushing the idea that we are 'all equal in the Internet' and therefore should all be subject to the same demands of accountability, and – when it comes to that – to the same degree of surveillance and the same mechanisms of control.

Most of us certainly remember the famous cartoon of a dog using the Internet and saying "*In Internet, nobody knows you're a dog*", published back in July 1993, in the *New Yorker*. It may sound an exaggeration, but I believe most of the people using the Internet actually believe that nobody knows they **are** dogs, besides knowing their address, favourite foods, credit card information, consumption habits etc, etc. In Internet, as in the 'world of physicality', we are far from equal. In the realm of the virtual world, the fact remains that 'some are much more equal than others', as power – in its many manifestations and embodiments – is as unequally distributed as it always had been before the advent of digital technologies. 'Empowerment', a very fashionable notion nowadays, is a double-edged expression and it should always be taken with a pinch of suspicion.

So, as the pair 'accountability' and 'control' makes a first entrance in this intervention, it is appropriate to establish some approximations and differentiations between the two concepts. To start with, control implies a form of direct external constraint, which aims primarily at preventing certain courses of action and prescribing or enforcing others. Accountability has both external and internal components, as it refers to *a posteriori* measurements and assessment of performance

against established standard obligations and responsibilities. Control implies obedience and/or punishment – while accountability implies 'answering for something and to someone'. Control implies imposition; accountability implies negotiation.

I grant that borders are very fuzzy when dealing with notions like accountability, liability, control or answerability and I grant that systems of accountability – in practice – have to rely both on mechanisms of control and answerability. However, it seems reasonable to conclude that accountability would only be incompatible with freedom if established entirely or primarily through control mechanisms and liability.

To complicate matters even further, we could have two contrasting scenarios, when it comes to the role of governments in establishing mechanisms of accountability. On one hand, we can be faced with more totalitarian inclined governments, eager to establish total control over any form of publication; on the other and opposite hand, we could be faced with state authorities who would welcome a media system working on a scenario of little or no clear parameters of accountability and thus easily dismissible as unsound or disreputable and, as we know too well, dismissal of the media, may be a very powerful tool, when political needs arise (Higgins, 2004: 414).

Let me just bring another point into the debate, before I come to my conclusions. When we take a panoramic view of the range of forms of publication that are now available, thanks to digital technologies and to the peculiarities of network environments, it is important to point out that, as far as mechanisms of public accountability of mainstream media are concerned, we are witnessing a very considerable expansion of media watching spaces, via specialized sites, blogs and social networks all over the world . The materialization and operation of this type of space – as has been described in many academic studies - have concrete and observable effects in terms of media monitoring, thus contributing to media accuracy and credibility. It is important, therefore, to point out that part of this new range of publications made possible by digital technologies constitute – themselves – the basis for new mechanisms of public accountability, as far as traditional or mainstream media are concerned.

Confronted with a situation of multiple forms of publication, by multiple actors, with varying degrees of power commanded, it is imperative that the establishment of a Charter of Rights should take precedence over the establishment of forms of control and limitations.

Unfortunately the political practice, in the majority of nations, has been directed to the establishment of forms of control rather than Charters of Rights and - more worryingly of forms of control established in a top-down fashion, without any regard to consultation or negotiation.

Lastly, I would like to indicate another issue which in my view should be one of the guiding principles in any attempt to define rights and regulations in network environments. Besides their firm anchorage on negotiation, they should constitute opportunities for change and not simply for adaptation of existing forms of control. Existing regulations may have been fair and positive in the past, but they have to be radically revised in the light of the possibilities of production and circulation of contents and ideas created by new digital technologies and network environments. Of course I refer here especially to the norms, principles and legislation governing copyright and the protection of intellectual production and intellectual property. This is a very sensitive area, especially when we talk to a community of academics and intellectual producers, but it is my firm conviction that complementing the new modes of publication and knowledge production, brought about by digital technologies, we have to look forward and actively work to create a situation of open, free and unrestricted access to what is today a globalized form of knowledge and culture production. To provide universal circulation of ideas is also a matter of accountability and, as knowledge producers, we are called to answer positively to this political demand of our times.

And here I rest my case.

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Media Accountability as a Portal on the Limits of Conceptualization

By Barbie Zelizer

The notion that the media need to be accountable – responsive or responsible – to the public interest is an assumption riddled with multiple questions. This essay briefly queries some of the fundaments that drive that notion and points to the possibility that it might be less of a realizable development than is commonly assumed. Instead, the essay raises a series of questions presupposing that the very notion of media accountability draws from a widespread but erroneous collective sensibility. Working from understandings of the news, it argues that such a sensibility may be fundamentally unreflective about the actualities of public life around the globe.

The accountability of the media to some entity greater than themselves is an idea that draws from a slew of related and implicit assumptions about the media and the public, writ broadly. These assumptions query the fundaments of media cultures and how they work, the notion of accountability and who it privileges, and the implied connection that unites them in serving the public interest. Central here is a supposition, particularly prevalent when addressing the news, that the outcome of their convergence will positively affect both people living under a variety of political regimes and the public interest on which the efficacy and integrity of public life are supposed to rest.

What if, however, the presumption of such an outcome is wrong? What if notions about the news media themselves, about the shape of accountability and about the relevance of the public interest need to be rethought? Perhaps nowhere is this as evident as when addressing the workings of the news during times of crisis and change, when the recognizable and presumably dependable venues for building and articulating citizenship and the collective may not fare as well as we would like them to. How might a closer look at the grounded circumstances thought to require media accountability challenge how we think about it?

On Media Cultures

It is useful to begin with a delineation of media cultures, for though often referenced as if they have a uniform structure, media cultures come in multiple

shapes and sizes. Which media we attend to in today's multi platform environment, and which should be the targets of a conversation addressing accountability are questions with many answers. The possibilities are further diversified across the multiple activities of the news environment – information gathering, the business of journalism, news presentation and delivery, audience interactivity, to name a few. In other words, news environments are by nature more diverse than uniform, embodying a wide range of priorities, agendas and perspectives about what is workable for a given population in a given time and place.

If we define media cultures as environments in which beliefs, actions, behaviors, values, mindsets and notions of authority, power and community come together with people, organizations and resources involved in some capacity with mediated relays, we see that our corpus of analysis is more diverse than our scholarly experience has taught us (Zelizer, 2004). Though our academic understanding of media cultures, again as it relates to news, has long privileged the operation of an environment that uses varying tools to provide the reasoned, rational and systematic delivery of information (ie., Zaller, 1992), the resonance of that premise is driven by a particular understanding of how institutional environments work and which media cultures matter. Even the comparative work advanced by Hallin and Mancini (2004) rests on suppositions about news media systems which are organized around political variables that vary in their distance from pre-assumed notions about the intersection between the media and the political world. Largely western/northern/Eurocentric in nature, understandings like these neglect a colorful and contradictory range of environments on the ground (Zelizer, forthcoming 2011).

Examples abound of which news environments have thus far been minimized. For instance, when we reference the making of news, do we mean journalists, producers, web aggregators, governments, lobbyists, censors, users, and in which locale? Jacubowicz (2007) has shown how diverse journalistic populations are in Eastern and Central European environments, while Deuze (2007) has shown how the online environment varies who we reference as journalists along different pathways. When we reference the products of news, do we mean the satirical and irreverent engagement privileged by ironic platforms like France's *Le Canard enchaine* or Comedy Central in the United States, the personalized dramas of reality television, the anonymously produced you-tube videos of crisis – in Iran, Nepal, India or Thailand - or the pictures of wartime that seem more formulaic and similar than singularly representative of a particular conflict? Work by Jones (2005), Allan (2006),

and Gray et al. (2009) have all pushed considerations of the alternative mediated cultures of news in ways that insist on its diversity. When we reference the uses of news, do we mean its primary delivery as a journalistic record, its capture as the topic of conversations, its variations as it travels globally, or its recycling as theater, satire, fiction and commemoration? And how do we delineate where news begins and ends? Both Jones (2005) and Williams and Delli Carpini (forthcoming 2011) have shown the degree to which news and entertainment intertwine.

In other words, as today's news stretches across multiple personalized and portable platforms of production and delivery, it is increasingly associated with media cultures that challenge our default notions of how they are supposed to work. Multiple questions remain unanswered. Who produces the news? Who consumes the news? What separates production from consumption? To which end and across how much space and time? Given these variables, it is surprising that we have not yet figured out how to think differently when the longstanding support beams of news media cultures – nation states, recognizable ideologies, default assumptions about secularism, rationality, democracy, universalism or progress, old relations with authoritarianism, colonialism, trauma or corrupt pasts – no longer bear certain fruit on the ground.

This is critical, for today we face news media that are increasingly fragmented, internally torn, invisible, disparately located, and not necessarily connected to the agents that we've long assumed gave them shape. If we are erroneously identifying media cultures, to begin with, how are we to find the starting point for holding them accountable?

On accountability

The notion of accountability is unsurprisingly riddled with similarly problematic assumptions. The basic premise underlying notions of accountability — that certain individuals have the right to hold others to a set of standards, to assess whether they have complied with them, and to impose sanctions or withhold rewards if they have not (see, for instance, Grant and Koehane, 2005) — is easier to define than locate. Going beyond the obvious question of who has the right to determine which individuals, standards, judgments or sanctions ultimately matter, the complications of the public interest that draw from commercial, state, religious, social, cultural and legal interests are widespread.

And yet, the near-automatic regard for media accountability has tended to be driven by very little recognition of the wide-ranging conditions that complicate its implementation on the ground. Positioned as something of an intersecting force that is supposed to render complete a whole set of projects associated with citizenship, civil society and democracy, its failings mean that these projects don't work quite as well as we want them to for the simple reason that accountability does not address the world of media cultures, writ large. Rather, notions of media accountability draw from a set of assumptions – particular in ways that resonate with how we think about media cultures themselves – that are chiefly associated with reason, rational judgment and public engagement. Built into our expectations of how the political world is supposed to work and what the media are supposed to foster at their side, these assumptions uphold the ideal of accountability even when conditions on the ground render it untenable.

How, for instance, are the media to be held accountable when the political regime is itself untrustworthy? In locations as varied as Africa and the former Soviet bloc, a default response of skepticism regularly greets corrupt governments in ways that make media accountability unachievable (Kaiser & Okumu, 2004; Becker, 2004). Who in such circumstances is to be trusted to hold others to a standard of accountability?

The insistence on accountability becomes particularly questionable in an age of globalization. As we have become better linked across greater distances, we share more and more intricate knowledge about how things work in different configurations, even when they do not match our expectations. Complicated by intervening agents like multinational corporations, transgovernmental networks, NGOS, and multi-lateral organizations, accountability becomes increasingly difficult to assign.

In other words, the very insistence on forefronting accountability without understanding the varieties of media cultures that give it meaning is a fraught endeavor. What meaning could and should accountability have when such different circumstances prevail on the ground? And why does it remain a preferred code word for limiting the abuses of institutional environments and simplifying the complexity and contradictions of our expectations, even when those same environments do not support them?

On the public interest

When considering the implied glue that connects media cultures with accountability – the so called public interest – the situation is further exacerbated. Seen generally as a reference to the welfare or well-being of the general public, the fundamental premise for thinking about the public interest rests on a notion of healthy, robust and representative public reasoning in primarily free and democratic regimes. Journalism is expected to provide information that aligns itself with the public interest, in that knowing about relevant events, issues and topics that affect the public is central to the functioning of such regimes.

Notions of the public interest are therefore associated with a slew of related ideas, signaling active citizenship, the idea of a free and independent press, civil society, the notion of a fourth estate or the public's right to know, the embrace of neutrality, facticity and objectivity in journalism. Though questions remain about how to determine the public interest – for instance, is it comparable with what the public wants to know? — in places where democracy is robust and certain, few of these developments are under challenge.

But that degree of certainty has never been the case in much of the world. For instance, how can we talk about the public interest, writ large, when we have yet to recognize and come to terms with media cultures that are more internally contradictory than we've allowed for? How are we to account for long-repressed populations that remain equally suspicious of the media and the possibility of their being accountable? One example can be drawn from the Arab world, where the public interest is not located in obvious spaces and where western preferences for secularity and reason over religion or for separating public from private are not in force, particularly in online environments (Khamis and Sar, 2010). Similarly, it is unclear whose public interest is at stake in the transitional states of much of Africa, Latin America, Asia, and the post-Soviet bloc (ie., Krasnoboka, 2010).

As with media cultures and notions of accountability, the academic picture of what matters as issues of public interest is again smaller than the circumstances it ought to describe. Primarily Eurocentric/northern/western expectations force the assumption, however fragile it might be, that a uniform public interest will prevail, offsetting and sometimes ignoring the situated nature of communication in primarily non-western environments.

Reversing directionality

What does this tell us about our aspirations regarding media accountability? The widespread insistence on – and understanding of - media accountability has had less to do with the real-life circumstances associated with media cultures, notions of accountability and the public interest than it does with the adjacent projects we want them to buttress. This is critical, because though we have media in every nation state, we do not have active citizenship, civil society or democracy.

This suggests that we may need to reverse the direction of our thinking. In positioning the relationship the other way around, we might forego asking how the media can be accountable in support of more equitable circumstances and focus instead on how a variety of conditions on the ground around the world can better support media cultures.

Changing the directionality of how we think about media cultures and accountability would broaden how we think about three connected landscapes – that of media production, media governance and media use, each of which needs to be recognized as more blended, porous and multi-directional than we have allowed for till now. Though we know that news work is complicated routinely by a long list of non-journalists – typically, users or those defined as the public – it is also less happily shaped by politicians, censors, lobbyists and activists who should be forcing us to address the increasingly porous boundaries of media cultures that willfully blend them into other institutional settings (Jacuobowicz, 2007; Deuze, 2007; Williams & Delli Carpini, forthcoming 2011). In much the same way, media governance should be broadened to include those at all levels of the landscape – low and high levels of central and peripheral personnel – so as to better grasp the multiple states of transition that allow for a range of operations — in defiance of governance, in tandem with governance and in mixed relations with governance (Kalyango and Eckler, 2010). And finally, we need to not only reinvent what we mean by media use but recognize what we expect of the public. Thinking more creatively about citizenship, about how publics form and which publics matter, for how long and among whom means that we need to track media cultures across space and time. Doing so would highlight not only what becomes of a news relay as it moves through different geographic spaces but its evolving shape as it moves into different cultures of mediation – into demonstration and protest, theater and film, collective memory and history.

On media accountability as a portal on the limits of conceptualization

This essay has briefly queried the scope and workability of the widely-accepted assumption that media accountability works for the public good. In so doing, it has raised fundamental questions about the viability and integrity of media accountability in an era of globalization, arguing that when seen in the context of news, media accountability has been less viable – and even less relevant — than we would like to assume. When seen in times of crisis and change, this viability has even less social currency.

What does this tell us about the usefulness of media accountability for thinking broadly about how the media and their public function across the globe? This essay has suggested that existing assumptions about media cultures, accountability and the public interest draw from a particular sensibility that does not reflect the range of circumstances to which it is regularly and too facilely applied. Exclusionary in nature and narrow in relevance, this sensibility weaves such notions together in ways that make it difficult to know where or how to exercise their rethinking and renders the very notion of media accountability an obstruction of the promise of responsive and responsible media cultures and how they might better engage the public interest. Instead, media accountability becomes a portal on the limits of our capacity to conceptualize what media cultures might look like with a different conceptual starting point.

This essay thus suggests that the answer is not more accountability but a different kind of accountability. We need to strive for accountability in a way that is sensitive to a variety of political regimes, public uses, media cultures and traditions of political engagement in various places, for accountability that can intelligently decode noise, messiness, contradiction, hesitation, brutality, multiplicity and unrequited expectation. To conjure the conference theme, we need a notion of accountability that sees crisis and change not as threats or odd moments out or as a destabilization of what we expected, but as a set of cues that we need to start anew, of reminders that our expectations need re-tweaking.

It is no surprise that considerations of media accountability involves asking different kinds of questions. We need to ask questions about the mechanisms that are not germane to democracy, civil society and active citizenship, to ponder the different problems related to accountability's realization in its global spread. This suggests that it might be useful to rethink not only what we mean by media accountability, for who we think it works and to which ends. We also need to

address why we repair to accountability repeatedly, even when on-the-ground conditions tell us we are far from our mark.

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2.

Communication, Citizenship
and Lusophony

Communication, Citizenship and Lusophony: An Introduction

By John D.H. Downing

My introduction to the perspectives put forward in this very invigorating plenary panel is designed for non-Lusophones (in whose ranks I count myself even though I can read Portuguese a little). If, readers, you lazily relax into thinking "later for you, Lusophony", you will miss out on a refreshing and challenging window on the contemporary world. At the same time, given that these presentations raise a host of problems and questions, they will be of uniquely compelling interest to those who debate the future and potential of Lusophony in the 21st century.

Due, largely, to corporate news values, we are habituated to thinking about Arabic or Mandarin as linguas francas, to musing about the future of French, to debating the hegemony of English, to forgetting that Hindi in northern and even southern India is lingua franca to more nationalities and language communities, demographically, than any other language than Mandarin. Yet as Moisés Martins and Rosental Alves point out, Portuguese – as of summer 2010 – was the fifth most globally used language on the Internet, the sixth most used overall, and indeed the second most used language on Twitter.

These contributions to debate vary from the conceptual and exploratory (Ledo, Martins), to the practical business of making sure Lusophone intellectual exchange is not sidelined but, rather, integrated with Hispanophone exchange (Marques de Melo), to the techno-visionary (Alves).

Martins is very clear that language alone cannot be the basis of intercultural dialogue, and also that the ethnic divisions inherited from the colonial past are still eroding the viability of the project of "multicultural cosmopolitanism". At the same time, he firmly asserts that imagined communities of one kind and another, including Lusophony, are much more the infrastructure of societies than market economies. And within the notion of imagined communities, he follows the Brazilian historian and ethnologist Gilberto Freyre in underscoring their essential 'popular' components: "memories, landscapes and local food, as well as local lifestyles and habits, in short, focusing on marks of daily life in the hearts and minds: how to be born, eat, live, sleep, love, cry, pray, sing, die and be buried". Freyre has been severely, and probably rightly, critiqued for romanticizing African slavery in Brazil, but this conceptualization of culture and the imaginary is splendid.

Ledo speaks from Galiza (in Spanish, Galicia, northwestern Spain - not to be confused with the Galicja region of Ukraine and Poland), which historically was the homeland of the language which fathered the sister-languages of Portuguese and Galego, and where Galego has been substantially revived since the monolingual Castilian policies of the brutal Franco regime. Its speakers, many of whom migrated to Latin America, found themselves exposed there to widespread prejudice and discrimination. And to this day, many Lusophones have no knowledge of the linguistic affinity between Portuguese and Galego.

Ledo and Martins are both concerned to discard the inheritance of Portugal's long-running dictator, António Salazar (1926-69), who sought to prop up Portugal's rump colonial empire by propagating a fantasy world where Lisbon still ruled. The Lusophony they envisage is still to be constructed and developed, but seeks to challenge and leave behind the divisions inherited from the past.

Marques de Melo's contribution is on a different plane. Founder of Brazil's now-enormous Communication research association Intercom, a veteran of developing Communication research in Brazil's universities, and a long-time advocate for the importance of Latin American research insights and concepts, he speaks of the urgency for Lusophone scholars to create their own Ibero-American conference spaces. From his long experience of Anglophone conferences' failures to treat Lusophone and Hispanophone scholars with reasonable interest or respect, he argues vigorously for ongoing Ibero-American research conference spaces. His vision is not founded on separation, not on a refusal to participate outside those spaces, but on the necessity for a self-determined space. These issues are energetically debated in Latin American research circles, and inevitably the particular standing of Communication research makes the issue a very hot topic.

Finally, Rosental Alves summons us to acknowledge that the crucial communication change is connectivity, a change which cannot and should not be assimilated to once-new and overly hyped media technologies. His argument is that this vast expansion in connectivity creates options and potentials for Lusophony which were never available before this time. Indeed he goes so far as to invent the term 'media-cide' for the current era of 'smart' mobile telephony, the Internet and other digital technologies.

There is much more in the pages that follow. I hope to have whetted your appetite for it.

Globalization and Lusophone world. Implications for Citizenship

By Moisés de Lemos Martins

1. The lusocentric misconception

Is the idea of Lusophony, at present, a way of expressing the concept of luso-tropicalism? In the representations of a lusophone supranational space of language and culture there is a lusocentric misconception[5]. Portugal has always morbidly placed itself within them, haunted as it is by how different it is, or thinks it is, within the context of other peoples, nations and cultures. Eduardo Lourenço, the great Portuguese essayist alive, says that the dream of lusophone community, "a Community of Portuguese Speaking Peoples, be it well or badly dreamed out, is by nature [...] a dream of lusiad root, structure, intent and scope" (Lourenço: 1999: 162-163).

I think, however, that Eduardo Lourenço's wise warning does not tell in any way, the full story of the dream of Lusophony, and doesn't even cover the whole dream that the Portuguese may have about Lusophony, as much as the Luso-phone dream may for the Portuguese, fill the space of an imaginary refuge, the space of an imperial nostalgia, that today helps them to feel less alone and more visible everywhere in the world, now that the cycle of their actual imperial epic is definitely closed (Lourenço: 1983).

The Lusophone landscape

[5] By 'lusophone world' I mean the Portuguese speaking countries. By 'Lusophony' I mean the Portuguese speaking culture.

In speaking of the dream of Lusophony, I do not think I am speaking of a small thing since that which is real, all that is real in fact, starts as a dream in culture and then becomes a cultural achievement. Indeed, in the era of the "world system" (Wallerstein, 1974, 1989, 1989), what has been increasingly gaining weight is the idea that alliances and human solidarities arise mainly due to power of the economy, to political commitments and to the technical-scientific cosmopolitism. However, it is my belief that markets are places far more suited for competition than for solidarity. In this era of globalization of the economy, I think it makes sense, more than ever, to reverse the aphorism of Marx and accentuate the idea that the real infrastructure of society is a 'cosa mentale', something dreamed, and not exactly economic structures, markets and technologies (Durand, 1986, 1997).

It is my understanding, in effect, that one cannot build a living community of dead things. For example, Europe is not built as a community as a result of having one day imagined itself as coal and steel, and, more recently, as Airbus and TGV, and many more technologies. Europe can only become established on the basis of it plural imaginary, i.e. in the multiplicity of its cultures.

Moreover, what is at stake in the lusophone idea is a symbolic struggle for the division of the international community into cultural areas, giving rise to what Samuel Huntington (2001) called culture wars (clashes of civilizations). However, the political-cultural war that Samuel Huntington refers to was identified and anticipated, in the thirties of last century by Gilberto Freyre, the first thinker "to formulate a general theory of the phenomenon of the meeting of ethnicities and cultures within the unifying framework of the European settlement's political model" (Moreira, 2000: 18). Lusotropicalism proposed a regional culturalism, when it ascertained that the world had become for the first time globalised and that by mastering the seas, Western History had also for the first time become Universal History (Lourenço, 1990: 16). What should be noted above all, is that Lusotropicalism did not propose a 'Portuguese way of being in the world', which was what the Salazar regime adopted in the fifties and sixties in Portugal (Castelo, 1988). It proposed, rather, multiculturalism with the common denominator of a language as a homeland.

It was in Casa-*Grande e Senzala* (1933) and *Sobrados e Mucambos* (1936) that Gilberto Freyre first started to advocate the rediscovery and revaluation of "basic, vital, popular Brazil", focusing on memories, landscapes and local food, as well as local lifestyles and habits, in short, focusing on marks of daily life in the hearts and minds: how to be born, eat, live, sleep, love, cry, pray, sing, die and be buried.

Lusophony borrows this regional and cultural bias from Lusotropicalism. Thus, in view of the unstoppable process of a cosmopolitan globalization, brought to us by the economy and technology, which relocates us, breaks boundaries, dilutes memories, virtualizes landscapes, it is the multiculturalist globalization what motivates Lusophony and is something that characterizes it particularly. Multiculturalist globalization respects the specific cultural areas. In this sense, we are dealing with a view of globalization which is paradoxically regionalist, feeding on an imaginary of living and concrete territories, landscapes and memories.

What is at stake in this symbolic struggle between cosmopolitan globalization and multiculturalist globalization is the power to define reality, as well as the power to impose internationally that definition, I mean, 'this di/vision' (Bourdieu, 1980: 65). In this perspective, the image of Lusophony is not something different from the social reality of the different national communities where this symbolic fight takes place.

In fact, the social representations of reality are not unfamiliar to the own social reality of countries that formulate them. And this is why, in my point of view, there should be a reevaluation of the representations that tend to consider the image of Lusophony as lacking not only any symbolic efficacy, but also all political effectiveness. The idea of Lusophony requires one to revisit Gilberto Freyre's lusotropicalist dream, which emerged in Brazil in the thirties of last century, and in Portugal in the fifties, however much the Salazar's *Estado Novo* enmeshed it in a colonial misconception.

This map expresses the colonial and imperialistic vision of the world between the 30s and the 60s of last century in Portugal. With all colonies covering whole Europe, Portugal is not a small country

In either case, in fact, there prevails an idea that progress and culture derive from the mixing of ethnic groups, and also from the mixture of memories, traditions and landscapes. In either case, too, there is a clear idea that it is possible to get a cultural federation with room for many States to flourish within a transnational or supranational entity.

This second map is the international version of the same idea: Portugal and its colonies covering the United States. Portugal is not a small country; and furthermore, the new combinations of races and cultures tend, in essence, to remain Portuguese

The image of Lusophony derives from this Lusotropicalist root, being essentially, in my view, its recomposition. In a post-colonial context, the image of Lusophony is equated today to a transnational community, with political and cultural purposes (Chacon, 2002). Lusotropicalism, however, still needs to be freed from a colonial meaning in which the Portuguese *Estado Novo* entangled it.

The "New World of the Tropics", "The World which was created by the Portuguese", to gloss Gilberto Freyre (1951), no longer envisages in Lusophony new combinations of races and cultures which tend, in essence, to "remain Lusitanian", as was formulated by Lusotropicalism in the fifties and sixties. The "New World of the Tropics" is called upon today to express itself in terms of multiculturalism, with the common denominator of the same language. In the imaginary territory of cultures, this is how I glimpse the lusophone dream.

2. Lusophone Culture and Identity

The debate about "communication, citizenship and Lusophony" takes place in a post-colonial context. Reflecting on Lusophony in this context cannot therefore mean that one has to level out the differences between very diverse and hetero-geneous countries, but rather that one actually has to consider the intricate rela-tionship that the non-western worlds have with their former colonizers. First and foremost, one has to bear in mind that each community within the lusophone space constitutes a multicultural and heterogeneous identity. Moreover, one also has to examine the media within the context of the transnational, national and local identitary strategies.

On the other hand, post-colonial circumstances reveal a world mobilised by a wide array of technologies, particularly technological devices for communica-tion, information and leisure (the Internet, mobile phones, iPods, etc.). Reflecting on Lusophony within the larger framework of reflection on communication and citizenship nowadays entails taking these technological circumstances into account that is, discussing their cultural implications on the lusophone space (Sousa, 2000). However, one also has to take into account the way social repre-sentations that accompany the processes of social discrimination, xenophobia or nationalisms are actually built and circulated. In other words, one has to discuss the idea of social representation and its articulation with the idea of social stereotypes. Reflecting on Lusophony within the larger framework of reflection on communi-cation and citizenship, further entails examining the social tensions both inside and outside the national communities as well as their levels of civic participation. The role of the media in the social process that leads to the creation of social stereotypes based on ethnic groups and skin colour also needs to be assessed. Within this perspective, I believe that special attention needs to be given to an analysis of the ethnic-featured urban and suburban youth sub-cultures since it is a question of analysing representations of the world and legitimating mechanisms of new cultural practices that various social groups lay claim to.

The contemporary world is essentially multicultural. In light of this, a discussion on Lusophony will have to consider communication phenomena in multicultural terms. It is however, the reality of a common language, the Portuguese language, regardless of its status – mother tongue, official language, working language, lan-guage that today unites about 230 million speakers – that gives rise to the dream of a lusophone imaginary and ultimately to the dream of a lusophone community.

In a post-colonial context, image of Lusophony therefore equates to a transnational community. Its common denominator is a shared language, but what holds it up are political-cultural purposes. It expresses itself through multiculturalism and its building blocks are interculturality. In these circumstances the debate on Lusophony cannot afford to ignore the processes of cultural 'translation'.

It does not seem to me, however, that the notion of Lusophony can be linked to a transnational community with economic purposes, since in this field both Portugal and Brazil have other frameworks to which they are attached: the European Union, in the case of Portugal and Mercosur in the case of Brazil. But I would like to highlight, on the one hand, the fact that the prevalent political-cultural purposes and strategies are expressed though multiculturalism, because there are multiple and heterogeneous realities, such as the Portuguese, the Brazilian, the Angolan, the Mozambican and other cultures (Baptista, 2000). On the other hand, these prevalent political-cultural purposes and strategies materialise through interculturality. This hybridity derives from miscegenation, that is, from the mixture, the coming together of that which is diverse and heterogeneous.

Lusophony is not therefore a reality that has already been built. The fact that 230 million individuals speak Portuguese is an excellent starting point to foster the dream of a lusophone community. But language, on its own, does not ensure such a community. The lusophone community is one that still requires building.

3. Globalization and the lusophone cultural area

Empowering itself as a dominant variable in the world Globalization has split transcontinental societies, whose projects have however preceded it: Brazil and Hispanic states converge in the Mercosur, and, in turn, the Francophony, the Commonwealth, the Lusophony and the panarabism having developed differentiated lines in the unity of the African continent (Moreira, 2004: 9). In addition, the Koran calls for the identity of a Muslim cord, which divides the world into north and south, from Gibraltar to Indonesia.

In these circumstances, it is certainly a challenging task to harmonize so many different and multiple affiliations, some based on experience and history, others induced by pressing readings of the future. Nowadays, all cultural areas speak for the first time with their own voice in the international scene and find themselves forced by globalization to the convergence derived from scientific, technical and

market development revolutions. In this context, each country will have to consider the connection to large differentiated spaces and, eventually, will also have to consider the connection to spaces with interests that may be contradictory.
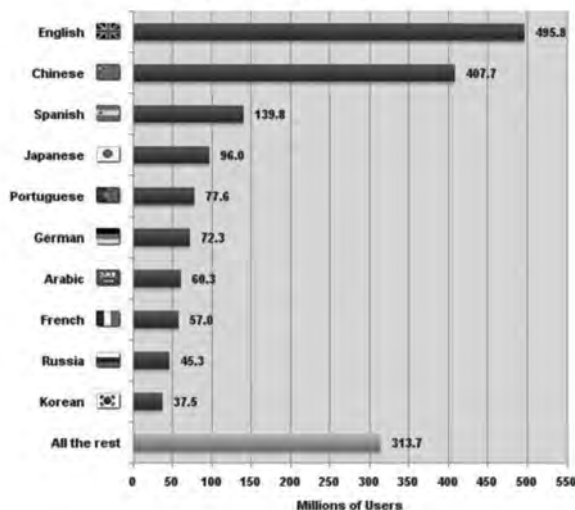
To reflect on Lusophony we must consider the multitude of people who have Portuguese as their first language. There are 190 million Portuguese speakers, almost as many French speakers (110 million) and German (100 million) altogether. After Mandarin with 1,000 million speakers, Hindustani with 460 million, Spanish with 300 million, English with 350 million and Arabic with 200 million, Portuguese occupies the sixth place. However, in the global information age, it is impressive to know that the number of English total of speakers is 1000 million, while Hindustani is 650 million, French 500 million, Arabic 425 million, Spanish 320 million, Russian 280 million and Portuguese 230 million (http://wapedia.mobi/pt/L%C3%ADngua _mundial). But, on the other hand, English-speaking Internet users are 28% of the total, Chinese-speaking 23%, Spanish-speaking 8%, Japanese 5,3%, ahead of Portuguese-speaking, with only 4,3% of total Internet users. It is curious to note that users of the French language and Arabic are both slightly above 3%, overtaken by the German with 4% (www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm). The top 10 of Internet users by Language does not point out the number of Hindustani users. They are integrated in the category 'All the rest', which stands at 17.2%.

Language	Native speakers	Total of speakers
English		
Mandarin	1,000 M	1,051 M
English	350 M	1,000 M
Hindustani	460 M	650 M
French	110 M	500M
Arab	200 M	425 M
Spanish	300 M	320 M
Russian	165 M	280 M
Portuguese	190 M	230 M
German	100 M	150 M

Source: http://wapedia.mobi/pt/L%C3%ADngua_mundial [data for December 2009]

However, globalization and the communication paradigm of the network society, based on the convergence of media and the widespread use of information technology, summon a new place for the Lusophony. Cyberspace allows, in effect, the establishment of virtual networks of communication amongst citizens

**Top 10 Languages in the Internet
in millions of users**

Language	Millions of Users
English	495.8
Chinese	407.7
Spanish	139.8
Japanese	96.0
Portuguese	77.6
German	72.3
Arabic	60.3
French	57.0
Russia	45.3
Korean	37.5
All the rest	313.7

Millions of Users

Source: Internet World Stats - www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.html [Estimated Internet users are 1,802,330,457 for December 31, 2009]

who think, feel and speak in Portuguese. But the scientific community has a question to respond. We need to know what adds to the experience of Lusophony this new space where people of diverse backgrounds find themselves to share information, experiences, ideas and memories.

When we speak of information by the press, on radio and television, and also the Internet, we should be aware that the information refers to Languages that means we always need a natural language to disclose it. However, the pressure towards one language is going increases as the world becomes more global, with the speed of transport shrinking geographical distances and telecommunications networks spreading with higher bandwidth. But those who are committed to the Portuguese language have to be in this fight. And preserving a language, which is the peak of a culture, is to strive to fortify it in daily and global communication.

In this sense, it is the duty of speakers of a language, and therefore a task of citizenship, to nurture it and promote it, because it is in this language that we feel, think, express and communicate; it is in this language that lays the identity of a people, a culture and a civilization. More than any other speakers, media professionals, and also teachers of Portuguese language and culture are the active instruments of this language fortification. It is undeniable that the editorial exchange

between Portugal and Brazil, and also the exchange between these countries and African Portuguese-speaking ones, is still incipient. But it is expected that language works here as an important vehicle of trade, cultural and political development, in a time characterized by globalization, multiculturalism and interculturalism. These circumstances don't contradict, however, the need to consider multicultural national realities in different regions of the globe, in which the Portuguese language has to relate to other local languages and has come to compete with them in many cases.

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Citizenship and Communication in the Millennium Crisis: Challenges in the academic community in Lusophone space

By José Marques de Melo

Abstract: The author locates the question of citizenship in the Lusophone space within Ibero-American world, and at the same time, reflects on the crisis and changes caused by the world order imposed in the wake of the Cold War. He also proposes strategies for strengthening national/regional identities and achieving sovereign participation in world community of communication sciences.

Millennium crisis

If the twentieth century, whose term runs from the First World War to the end of Cold War, or rather, from 1914 to 1991, symbolized the "age of extremes" (Hobsbawn, 1995: 13), the "multicivilizational age" (Huntington, 1997: 18) – immunized against the enigmatic twenty-first century – has been considered with skepticism and dismay.

The "lack of world institutions capable of managing the profound changes that are underway" has fueled relinquishment of cultural "values" of people, due to the loss of "confidence in the future" (Soares, 1998).

Its main consequence is the "depoliticization" of national societies. "At the end of the century, a large number of citizens withdrew from politics", weakening "collective identification with their country", except through "national sports, teams and non-political symbols" (Hobsbawn, 1995: 558).

Globalization

Despite the popularity of the phenomenon, the concept of globalization is still likely to provoke disputes in the intellectual environment. Ortiz (1994: 7) explains that the "emergence of a global society" has not yet found legitimacy in academic thinking because "the social sciences seem to be intimidated before an object of this magnitude."

We cannot lose sight of the role played, in this process, by communication, whose "techniques and practices implant themselves gradually over the entire planet or almost, accompanying the spread of capitalism." (...) It is worth insisting, as Miège does (1999: 13), that "communication, of course, corresponds to a movement largely transnational, and this is why we do not hesitate (…) in considering that it participates in the trend of globalization".

But communication does not operate in a vacuum and does not reason abstractly. It is a spatially localized phenomenon, whose dynamics depend on geo-economic or socio-cultural aspects, which are local, regional or national.

At this point, a question imposes itself: how such variables can configure themselves across the Lusophone space?

Lusophony

Lusophony is a polysemic concept that means "geo-linguistic space" or "memory of a common past", but also embraces ideas such as "feeling", "culture", "shared history", "symbolic heritage". Strictly speaking, it is a "complex construction" (Martins, Sousa & Cabecinhas, 2007: 309), outlining a peculiar sense, with the appropriate label: "cultural community without physical borders" (Marques de Melo, 1995: 22).

As an inheritance of post-colonialism, the idea of Lusophony refers to two distinct spheres: the *mythical* – setting up a "discursive phenomenon of social representation with a specific social logic" (Pim & Kristensen, 2007: 312) – or *pragmatic* – "subject to practical functions and oriented towards the production of social effects" (Martins, Sousa & Cabecinhas, 2007: 308).

One cannot deny that we are living once again that Lusitanian-tropical utopia cherished by Brazilian, Portuguese and African intellectuals, since the beginning of last century.

Such projects provided the basis for the establishment of the CPLP – the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (1989) –, which is mobilizing the political will of national states. The evaluation of the first decade of activities highlights its "incipience" and "dispersion" as a result of "different ways" and "political maturation processes" in force in each member state (Pim & Kristensen, 2007: 319).

Anyway, the movement triggered by CPLP motivated the creation of several institutions that are strengthening the Lusophone cultural (such as, for example, Camões Institute) and academic fronts (such as, for example, Lusophone Federation of Communication Sciences).

Besides the eight congresses that took place during the period from 1997 to 2009 – Lisbon (1987), Aracaju (1998), Braga (1999), St. Vincent (2000), Maputo (2002), Covilhã (2004), Santiago (2006) and Lisbon (2009) – our federation has been publishing regularly since 2004 the *Anuário Internacional de Comunicação Lusófona*, an impressive repository of the academic production in communication in the five most active countries of this cultural mega-region.

Citizenship

Favorite children of modernity, citizenship and utopia are concepts that sprang from the same historical juncture. They are the products of "urban freedoms" that Braudel (1989, p. 297-299) identifies as the responsible for the "first [European] developmentalist outbreak".

Those in power in emerging national states tried to curb the momentum of citizenship, just as the guardians of the doctrine in the precursor of multinational state (Catholic Church) did not hesitate to halt the revolutionary power of the press.

In this context, Paulo Freire (1966, p. 66) deplores the "Brazilian mutism", resulting from our democratic inexperience during the colonial regime, which applies also to the African Portuguese speaking peoples.

Deprived of media supports and devoid of symbolic references which would have allowed their entrance in the Gutenberg Galaxy, these peoples were creating their own media (artisanal, artful, creative). This is the embryo of citizen media, which would gain density, but not necessarily legitimacy, after national independencies. Luiz Beltrão (1967) called these popular manifestations a "system of folk-communication". In fact, they are still alive to this day, coexisting dialectically as the "system of mass communication".

This simultaneity of media systems – one, massive (hegemonic), and the other, popular (counter-hegemonic) – configures the paradox that challenges researchers in the field of communication in the Lusophone space.

Academy

Such references to the academic world raise the question of our insertion in world community of communication sciences as a block culturally identified.

The process of formation of a world academic community in our field of knowledge only emerges in the period after Second World War, resulting in the

founding of IAMCR (International Association for Media and Communication Research), in Paris, in 1957.

The Lusophone world was represented by the Brazilian Danton Jobim, who belonged to the circle of foreign researches acknowledged by Press French Institute, whose director, Fernand Terrou, became IAMCR first chairman.

However, the first international congresses reported a limited Lusophone participation, due to the escalation of dictatorships in Brazil and Portugal. This presence of researches would only be strengthened in the wake of the democratization of both countries.

Barcelona congress (1988) is an impressive mark of the Lusophone participation in IAMCR, just when Spanish became an official language, besides English and French. Little more than a dozen Brazilian investigators attended the event. The next congress – Bled (1990) – received 25 papers from Brazilian researchers (Marques de Melo, 1991), accrediting Brazil to host the next congress (Guarujá, 1992). Until that time, the Portuguese participation was residual or null, due to the recent nature of communication studies at Portuguese universities.

The world community in our field of knowledge has already gathered three times in the Lusophone space. After the congress in Guarujá, IAMCR returned to Brazil, in 2004, to carry out the congress in Porto Alegre. Today, Braga becomes the scene of the 2010 congress.

Thus were created, under the international sphere, conducive conditions to the exchange of Lusophone researchers with their foreign counterparts interested in comparative or cooperative studies. But soon we realize that it is a very narrow bridge, slightly favoring the two-way traffic.

Having experienced "within" the community dynamics and complexity of an international congress, it was not difficult to notice the wall represented by the Anglophone hegemony within this international academic community. It is not a premeditated or ostentatious behavior, but an attitude in a sense organic, almost dissimulated.

Despite the projection of Brazil in the international academic scene, in the rankings of Guarujá, Sydney and Glasgow, as the second country with the highest volume of selected papers, the dialogue with our peers from other geographies does not flow satisfactorily. Regardless of the fact that a large share of Brazilian and Portuguese papers are submitted in English, the *lingua franca* of the academic community.

We continue to encourage the presence of Brazilian delegations on the biennial congresses of IAMCR, but realize that the space is limited, increasingly, to the

researches who are also fluent in English. More than that: motivated by the issues of an agenda in tune with the dominant perspective of the world, an avant-garde that revolves around the Anglo-American orbit.

Symptomatic evidence may be found in the literature legitimized internationally, for example, in the acclaimed manual "Theory of Mass Communication", by Dennis McQuail. The authors mentioned are exclusively Anglophones and the authors consulted are restricted to five nations from the North hemisphere that established the Western paradigm of scientific knowledge – England, Germany, France, Italy and United States (Santos, 2007) –, blatantly ignoring the contributions from the South. Thinkers such as Paulo Freire, Antonio Pasquali, Martin Barbero, Verón, Beltrán or Kaplun are omitted or excluded.

Strong evidence is the creation of a "Hispanic ghetto" in the biennial IAMCR congresses. Those responsible for programming activities segment the papers submitted in each section or working group, isolating at the end of the round those written in Spanish language. After the interval, when the groups return to the rooms where they are assembling, we see that only Spanish speaking researchers remain in the room. The others leave quietly.

Strategies

It becomes clear, therefore, the need for more spaces where researchers who have cultural affinities can meet and talk about the progress of communication knowledge. The most interesting example is the Nordic countries. They formed NORDICOM, making use of English as a *lingua franca*.

In the Iberian case, we do not even need to use a "language-bridge", keeping in mind that Spanish and Portuguese languages are easily understood by reading and what we call "Portunhol" (a mix of Spanish and Portuguese) works naturally as a device to communicate orally.

Stronger than the argument of the operation of the communication is the symbolic contiguity, because we live in societies that have closer economic, political and cultural relationships. Why not leverage these convergent factors to form an Ibero-American community of communication sciences?

The winds are blowing favorably, showing a number of synergistic factors.

The bicentennial celebration of national independence in the countries in America dominated by Lusitanian and Spaniards before is a propitious time to

heal the wounds remaining from the colonial period. It is time to shake the dust of history, halting the sorrows of the past to cherish the joys of the future.

Latin America suffered the typical marginality of underdevelopment generated by colonial pact, while Iberian Peninsula embittered the ostracism to which the decadent empires are doomed, converted into satellites of the hegemonic powers. This condition of mutual subordination during the twentieth century, reconnected us in a certain way. We were able to overcome historical grievances and contemporary resentments, engendering new forms of partnership. And now that we face the imperative of economic globalization, nothing more plausible than the formation of strategic alliance to ensure our own space in the geography of the planet.

The multicultural face of the globalization process requires the union of "peoples related" to preserve "identities" to ensure the occupation of spaces in the geography of the New World. To overcome the hatreds and prejudices rooted in the past is the first step towards long-term cooperation.

Academically speaking, the correlation of forces is in favor of the formation of an Ibero-American academic community. Some evidence is glaring.

The overcoming of regional antagonisms that alienated communities in Hispanic and Lusitanian spaces allowed us, in the beginning of the new century, to establish national academic communities, as was occurring, since the middle of last century, in Venezuela, Mexico and Brazil.

Portugal is ahead, notably due to the lack of the linguistic component that persists in Spain. The fact that Portuguese language dominates the entire national territory facilitated the creation and consolidation of SOPCOM. Gathering researchers from the capital and the provinces, this new entity gained legitimacy in the process of exchange with Brazil and the African countries of Lusitanian expression. Then, it renewed the ties with neighboring Spain, promoting Iberian seminars.

The Spanish case is more complex, not only because it is a constellation of autonomous communities, where exists multi-lingualism, but because of political tension, a legacy of Civil War, that even the democratic regime was unable to bury. However, political realism prevailed in due course, leading to the pact in Seville, when the deans of the community of communication sciences have agreed to structure the Asociación Española para la Investigación de Comunicación / AE-IC. Therefore, the minimum conditions for the formation of an Ibero-American confederation of communication sciences are created, capitalizing on the legacy accumulated by our pioneers. The integration of European universities to the Bologna

Protocol requires international cooperation with the "related countries" and with "neighbors near and far."

As a strategy to occupy space in the world community it is essential that the academic avant-gardes master English to communicate fluently. Meanwhile, the entire community can gather to exchange knowledge in CONFIBERCOM without pretensions to hegemony of either party. From there, we can get to a safe harbor, providing a significant presence in global geography and widely communicating the richness of our cultural diversity.

An important step was taken in Madeira Island, from 16 to 19 April, 2006, where the integration of all national and regional associations in an Ibero-American federation of communication sciences was promoted, creating synergy to defend our common interests within the world community. Aiming to act consistently in the global arena, is being organized the First World Congress of the Ibero-American Communication, in Sao Paulo, from 3 to 6 August, 2011. This is the initiative of CONFIBERCOM, whose board recently held a meeting in Porto, in order to define strategies to academic strengthening and political action, occupying the institutional spaces that we legitimately aspire to.

All researchers from Ibero-American countries and Ibero-Americanists investigators around the world will be welcomed, particularly those interested in communicational and cultural phenomena.

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Communication, citizenship and Lusophony: Rethinking difference*

By Margarita Ledo Andión

Abstract: After a frame defined by Policies of Diversity and cultural citizenship, this text expresses the pertinence of thinking about `lusophony' from a eurocentric content towards a plural and multicentric place as a new historical subject, as a space-project, where similar and diverse languages and cultures could build up a kind of `Transnational Imagined Community' by the way of sharing cultural goods and knowledge. Exploring differences throughout a intercultural process, Communication would be a key element in the rebuilding of a geo-linguistic area like an active pace within mundialization.

I'm very pleased for the opportunity the organisers gave me to take part in this session and share with the colleagues some arising concepts over a new scenario, the lusophone geo-linguistic area, defined by different countries and communities around the world – from Galicia to East-Timor – who are sharing languages belonging to the same linguistic system. A scenario where communication and citizenship are not a result but an agent to develop a real and virtual space for cultural interaction or, in Eduardo Lourenço's terms, for an *imaginary of plurality and difference.*

Our approach towards and beyond Lusophony lies, on the one hand, on a kind of «Imagined linkage» after Anderson's well-known analysis of *Imagined Communities* as a result of sharing messages and rituals. In this sense, one of the main features in the development of any identity sign, even theoretical, is the exchange of cultural goods and knowledge.

On the other hand, according to the last UNESCO's report (2009), effective diversity policies are interwoven with rights and warranties for linguistic diversity. Furthermore, we are attending to a great transformation within old established territories whose first manifestation is the importance of languages as identity markers to highlight new scenery, the so-called geo-linguistic areas, as the place where exchanges of goods, ideas, and social and cultural transformations can become a relevant aspect of an actual transnational public sphere.

* Translated from the Galician language by Amanda Paz Alencar. Except the notes in the English language, the other ones were adapted from the original languages.

Perhaps the first thing that needs to be done is to search for a workable defi-nition for this word-project, Lusophony, which matches the exchange of research practice - both basic and applied- among different realities, with the reflection and the development of certain modalities of thought in the midst of the con-temporaneous communication, a kind of thought which will be recognized around some tangible elements, the linguistic link, actually, but mainly, the ones which will be used to build up this space-project inside a scenery where its cause is not in the historical past but in the course of the globalization and in the place it will occupy in regard with Power.

We are speaking, we know this, about an uncertain and complex space and about many of the notations that at this moment were arising, and we will have to go back.

Besides, the complexity of the lusophone space implies that this is a place where the socio-political and symbolic aspects are not comparable from country to country. Neither we are up to go for a confusing common imaginary, nor we want to hinder this huge cartography to trigger new forms of relation, namely using technology for the development of a new historiacl subject. Having in mind the authors who put forward Castells' ideas of language(s) as tight rope to serve as border sign, we can find it in other areas, namely in the Ibero-american, but also in the recovery of communication role into a hypothetical and globalized public sphere, front of the world domination on the part of an elite without law and land that at the same time takes with themselves the catastrophic mark.

We shall get ahead, in the text, what might be an argued conclusion and we do it to compel ourselves to take a stand over a first idea, the equality one, which although is always formally accepted, does not often appear reflected in the exchange programs, not even in the philosophy about which it supports, for exam-ple, and in the scope which represents us, the communication for the develop-ment, one of the axis that organizes the map of relationships among different actors who embody this ideologeme which we subsume in the Lusophony.

Because, as far as I am concerned, and beyond the multiple interpretations that from the communication and according to the aims of whom puts him/her-self to read, may have Anderson's text, by making us take into account both the novels' and newspapers' structure as technical provided forms to `re-present the kind of imagined community which is the nation (Anderson, 1983: 25) and tak-ing us, in the present, towards the content production, with image and sound, for the network and other circuits of access, consumption, reception, and appropria-

tion, we must not forget that in the collective memory of the nation lives, at the same way, the idea of popular sovereignty – against the monarchy that emanated from God – and, mainly because we imagine it as a community «because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship» (Anderson, 1983: 7).

We shall backtrack, now, to the terminological and conceptual resources of a moving binomial that had been presenting and that in somewhere we present it as space-project to approach it to the debate which calls us. It deals with the contributions following Stuart Hall's and his concern over the identities in formation, but mainly, from Manuel Castells, that have been elaborated since 1990 by the Catalan researcher Rodrigo Alsina about the identity issue plus the so important and productive criticism which in 1999 is made about Castell's by Joan Manuel Tresserras. And it also deals with the reformulation that, from the Cultural Studies inner perspective as seminal school, has been accomplished in regard with the identities in formation previously mentioned (and as a reply to the exclusion strategies) and the role played by the contemporaneous migrations and diasporas not only in the construction of new paradigms but also in Kevin Robins's proposals or, as sheltered by the ultimate generation, in the communicologist Tristan Mattelart'work.

To distinguish from a culture's identity , which would refer to their own characteristics, to cultural identity as «characteristics which are assigned to a person or to a collective in order to make him/her feel part of a certain culture» is one of the quite useful conceptual clearcutnesses that Rodrigo Alsina (2000: 81) uses to anchor identity as a dialectic relation of this 'I do not exist without the other'. Herewith, by approaching Castells (1998: 394) and his hypothesis over our time as the dissolution of the societies since 'significative social system, professor Alsina allows himself to call upon the purpose which Berger and Luckmann (1997: 122) elaborate about the different levels of the production, transmission, and reception research (1997: 122), to wind up in the intermediate institutions as those ones that could establish ties between the `great institutions and the communities, and also the individuals.

Leading its course to Lusophony, or, nowadays, to Lusocom, the Federation of Communication Associations of Angola, Brasil, Galiza, Guiné Bissau, Mozambique, and Portugal would represent one of these 'intermediate institutions' requested to add up this dialectic – and even the possibility of resistance in the network society – where it comes the 'I' , (every association, every society, every his-

torical subject); the 'we' (the lusophone space as new subject) and the others. An idea that leads us towards this knot, the identity-project one, over the one which has developed, namely from Catalunya and also Galicia in the Spanish case, a very significant corpus of contemporaneous debate. It quotes, thus, Castells on the «new historical subjects» and on what this author has anticipated in perhaps one of the most influent aspects in the first volume of his work `The Information Era' which he has precisely entitled 'The identity power' (1998: 89-90): The new identities-project probably do not arise from the ancient identities of the civil society in the industrial era but from the development of the identities of current resistance.

It is not too much to remind that the lusophone space would represent the linked ancient and contemporaneous identities, mostly, of a space that is what it is for being an identity-project.

About the excluding identity, what Jean-Marie Benoist (1987: 15) calls disconnected singularity front the little respectful globalizing unit with the differences, Rodrigo (2000: 97) leaves us this auspicious definition: «If the personal identity arises, basically, from the culture in which we were socialized, the cultural identity is established through the belonging sense to a community of certain characteristics» to vassal with something that would fit like a glove to the lusophony, the proposal of the «right to resemblance» that takes from Hassanain, the resemblance not with the own belonging group but with the other cultural groups, reclaiming, in return, the differences in the own society.

With the support of this long decade of identity thought in the field of communication we will bring out the critical interpretation of the researcher's influential contribution, also Catalan, thrust in Berkley, punctuated by another author, in this case, by the current minister of culture of Generalitat, the professor Tresserras, whom in a memorable work «The restructured capitalism: the information era according to Manuel» collects his contributions about the national act, in this case Catalan presents it as an organized cultural community since the historical partition, in a territory and round about one language, to conclude «Catalunya is not an imagined entity but a historical product constantly renewed» (1999: 155). From the representation of network society not as post-industrial but as of industrial enhancement nucleated by the information processing and the preponderances of the industries of the knowledge and culture sector, the rearrangement issue of the historical subjects or the formation of new subjects comprises, according to the Catalan researcher, all its value and leads us towards the culture, the social construction of sense and the social actions.

On this trail, we place the construction of the lusophone space as part of a new way of belonging, focusing on the idea of cultural citizenship, which would allow us to establish a framework for the public sphere as a non-melancholic-space of equality, of the non-similar equality, as an hybrid space, that is, plural.

It is expected that cultures – with particular focus on the Latin-American ones – recognize themselves as hybrid cultures or, in other words, as inclusive ones. There is a process of self-recognition as well as of a set up by the indigenous cultures and the new technologies through different forms of production and consumption, nationally and abroad. In this context, one optimistic author, García Canclini expects «the globalization to be in charge of the imaginaries with which it works and of the interculturality which it mobilizes». It's Canclini of *La Globalización Imaginada* (*The Imagined Globalization)*, work in which already appear the items that will be developed in 'Different, unequal, and disconnected ones' where the reality will lead him towards positions such as the ones which he had transported only two years to the foundation congress of the Spanish Association in Communication Research, which took place in Santiago de Compostela. Néstor García Canclini then gave the opening lecture «Acknowledgement, knowledge, and information Society» where he claimed/stated:

> «The gap between central and outskirt societies has always been analysed. Notwithstanding, there might be a more complex comprehension over the social and cultural meaning of these processes, not as simple polarization to conceive politics in a different way».

Establishing the dominant paradigm of informational connectivity for the first definition, information society, and a certain relativism which leads to disguise the distinctiveness in verb differences of the second one, knowledge society, he places the knowledge society to be in tune with the proposal of which he titles «intercultural consensus», of which not only both the information and the knowledge but also the globalization and the digital convergence would take part as conditionings, to imagine a passage from the reductionist information society to a knowledge society which, considering the challenges of the interculturality, it also gets to be an acknowledgement society.

At this point, it seems relevant to remind Hector Díaz-Polanco's words in «Tesis sobre la diversidad, identidad y globalización». The author mentions a belonging desire to a complex context according to which the more it develops the more it

transforms the cultures and the identities that makes it exist, and adopts a critical position front the culturalist ideology which uses and makes the diversity visible to unpoliticise all the rest, including information and communities.

The destruction through the absolute denial or the other communities' violent attack is not aimed but its gradual dissolution through the attraction, the seduction, and the transformation (…) the ethnographic project is carried on while the power «shows respect or `indifference  against the diversity, or even while it `praises the indigenous values (….) it encourages the participation» (the «collaborative» politics are in vogue since the eighties) of the ethnic groups members, intending even a greater number of these ones to become promoters of the integration «by their own wish». The Indian directors are not prepared to be indigenous intellectuals but ideologists and agents of the new indigenous practices. This is a strategy which operates with the tactic of the fifth column.

Taking into account Kevin Robins's position on cultural citizenship, Lusophony seems to be very representative of certain practices of 'deterritorialization' that come with the disappearance of the nation-state, particularly in Europe, to put in value the processes of 'citizenship in act' as Jacques Rancière claims. So to speak, home and abroad, there is a new kind of movements, flux, and links that are defining new ways of thinking social and cultural policies. As a consequence, a discourse of plural belonging, as the Lusophony, is not contradictory at all with the notation of emerging and even conventional citizenship.

In the vanishing line of new maps, there are other acts and rules of the game for common aims. These aims share the common ground of communication, which has to consider the role to play in the necessary transformations towards what we can call `imagined citizenship'.

Maybe the first thing to do is to check the applicability of that early indication of Raymond Williams regarding the words that had changed their meaning over the last decades. In this vein, a word like Lusophony is changing its meaning from a Eurocentric content towards thinking it as a plural and multi-centric place.

A second aspect to bear in mind is that the Web Generation is more open to linguistic diversity than previous ones.

Thirdly, seeking for an active debate, we should avoid neither conflict nor analysis of some latent ideas. In this context, I'm thinking about the importance of the linguistic policies as policies of representation.

If, as we can see, one of the concerns of the contemporaneous research is the deconstruction of the traditional concepts of national identity and culture, in rela-

tion with the modern State and with its colonial expansion, and which it is stretched until the denominated First World War to return in the confrontation of 1939-1945, and afterwards, to be radically retorted by the critical thought from which emerges a school, the Cultural Studies', that will turn the eyes towards ourselves, towards the media and the reality they work out and towards the new cultural objects as invisible subjects (the labourer class), since the end of the eighties, when the postmodern fever is gone, another return to the Cultural Studies, the dilemma of the research public role is exposed and the "migrations" variable is systematically introduced in the makeup of the aforementioned national cultures to place as an element of rupture the Antillean Paul Gilroy's work «There Ain't No Blanck in the Union Jack» and his criticism upon the exclusion of the others in the British culture, borrowing the consign strength from the polysemy and Anderson's definition that cannot be bypassed, by saying: The niggers are represented in the British contemporaneous cultural and political life as outsiders and foreigners to the imagined community which is the nation (1987: 153) and that, in our case, would approach us, for instance, to the Galician people in Argentinean culture, also, for many times, considered foreigners.

In studying the cultures since the diaspora, Gilroy leads us from the territory as cultural belonging to the culture as a result of the transnational and intercultural encounter, and adjusts it with a new consign, the culture's that goes from `roots to `route , the culture's as a trip towards somewhere from which the «Milky way» is a fruitful and immaterial proof of existence in action, with an aggregation, right towards us, that «roots» and «route» are part of a same process, now intercultural and not of replacement and where the infinite legate and actuality of one Stuart Hall that rethinks the cultural relations in a time of globalization, and the questions of the hybridity stay on and pollinate in an endlessness of spaces, set of themes, and research objects and reasons.

We are entering this scope from the position of someone who makes it relative until the extreme role of the constants, Tristán Mattelart, according to whom the contemporaneous identities and cultures are submitted to a permanent redefinition and by deepening in the crossing between the Anthropology and Cultural Studies the circulation role of the populations is fixed on the images and the sounds, to prepare us for another part of the trip, the one which goes from the "static borders" to transnational belongings.

Taking a stroll in the core of this way of thinking towards a scenery still looking for its meaning as the lusophony's, and with eyes on the communication and

cultural role, it points out that this space-project could be a place both for a theo-retical debate and the proposal application which cross the research, the politics and the nets with citizen and group movements. But, once again, the exhibiting facility does not match the complexity of the real. Here is the field to till.

And one of the notations that could not be apart from the field in speaking of transnational belongings is the Diaspora. In its academic definition, the term is applied, mainly, «to people, with or without State, in which the century traditions, that is, millenary, of migration, have not affected the permanence of a collective conscience based on entails with history, land and religion» (Dufoix, 2003: 26-43). Picking as an example the analysis of the European case and, in particular, the doc-uments of the European Council «In front the Margins (1997)» and the «Declara-tion on cultural diversity» – a basic text to evaluate the cultural exchange as a condition for the development of new representative products of the creative industry –, beyond market reasons, it is Kevin Robins who points out the increas-ing conscience of the cultural dimension of the citizenship and the diversity even influencing, crucially, on a new discourse about the `cultural rights and the recog-nition of the culture in the politics life. Thus, this researcher clearly focus on pay-ing attention to the emergency of what he titles transnational diversity: «Cultures are giving way to transcultures, and cultural diversity is increasingly a transnational matter. For many people now, the national cultural space is too circumscribed, and they express the wish to participate in different cultural spaces within (and beyond) Europe» (2008: 251).

That's in these appraisals where we find the echoes that in claiming a transna-tional cultural politics – with scopes of procedures that go through the state – they will be building a new paradigm and at the same time a potential transnational public sphere in which is inserted a different way of thinking the lusophone project, also beyond strictly commercial reasons. Because there are too many indicators which motivate to think the lusophony as a new historical subject who is defined by interculturalism, inner diversity and by a key element: the communication of knowledge and symbolic production and its starting out as piece of learning for a multiple and different citizenship.

Our position is not too far, as you can see, from Kevin Robins' way of thinking about the cultural politics. Considering his observational geography, this author reaches the conclusion he plans about them – and about the social politics – which designates a new type of transnational movements, flows and connections towards Europe, and this fact leads him to rethink the cultural diversity and iden-

tity, to look for certain signs, which he titles innovative vital spaces, transnational operatively, and to speak about *transcultural diversity*, a reality where there's no use for a panoramic, unique discourse, a new place that claims a new way of thinking about cultural policies as an issue of multiple belongings.

Remarking the centrality of the intercultural dialogue, also Isabel Pires de Lima, professor of the University of Porto and former Minister of Culture in the Portuguese Govern (2005-2008), remarked the centrality of the intercultural dialogue at the end of the conference at the Galician Council of Culture on June 17, 2010, to see the Culture as a place beyond policies, where «ideas and movements that change the societies are developed»; social, «because that's in the Culture where the people find their identities» and more economic, regarding it with the creator resource of the innovation, insisted on the function of the Culture not only to know but to interpret and reveal the communication codes of the Other turning him/her into an interlocutor. «The diplomacy recognizes it – she added – and transforms the Culture today into one of the most active pillars in the foreign politics. This is another space of opportunities for the culture, which is already openly designated as cultural diplomacy».

This is a concern that flourished in another place of multiple belongings. We refer to UNESCO and the concerns evidenced by the recommendations of the last Report on Cultural Diversity. From that comes the creation of an Observatory which evaluates the repercussions of the globalization over the diversity, the support to both the webs and initiatives of intercultural dialogues and the creation of virtual and real spaces with means that ease both in the cultural interaction and in the furtherance of the «cultural sensibility» in the production and consumption of the communication contents, until the application of national linguistic policies to protect the linguistic diversity. In this sense, we want to do a small memory exercise:

The General Assembly this afternoon, recognizing that genuine multilingualism promotes unity in diversity and international understanding, proclaimed in 2008, the International Year of Languages.

As a preceding occurrence to this change in the language, in the way of thinking and in the style through which United Nations recognize it in languages and their function not only as a result of the cultural and social bond but as operators of the diversity, a builder role of the international comprehension, we have to focus on the preamble of Declaration of Linguistic Rights of UNESCO (Barcelona, 1996) and its insistence on the fact that the increasing globalization of the economy

directly affects the world of communication and culture and influences the forms of interaction that guarantee the cohesion of the different linguistic communities at the same time that warns against the threatening that are fixed in the centre of these same communities which, with limited or disperse demography, without self-government, submitted to the economical precariousness, will see their capacity reduced to carry out the right to communication in a globalized society.

Ten years later, the diagnosis is confirmed and leads to declare 2008 as the «International Year of the Languages» to alert us from what implies the lost of diversity. Among this situation it was throbbed certain confidence about achieving another change, the one related to the social use of the technologies, to develop webs which contribute to the strengthening of new communicative flows and wind up threading the cultural, the identity and the economical into the same organization which, by its turn, takes part of such knowledge and acknowledgement society.

The net, as a link to scattered societies; the net as a new formulation to relate some societies to others; the technological net as means for certain purposes, which must be defined, as the construction of space-projects.

To build up the diversity… What are we talking about? About something conceived? Perhaps only in a certain monumental-patrimonial perspective which is not the dominant entrance that we will be interested in elaborating. Otherwise, we are entering the diversity as the core which organizes the relation among cultures, as the scenery for the exchange relations – of people, of goods, of news, of knowledge proposals, of projects –, and we are considering identity as an operator in the history, avoiding the relativization that still remains in some of the positions previously mentioned. We understand (the difference) as a constituent factor of the collective subject previously said which is the *comunitas*, which are the societies, which are the geo-linguistic areas as a space – readable and recognizable –; as an ensign of the contemporaneous world.

From here and on, the identity/diversity will be a political category that has to do with the democracy, with the collective rights, with the government, with the otherness, with the struggle against the exclusion, in sum, with citizenship. Economical category, the identity will have to do with diversity production, with cultural industry – with this or another denomination –, with the access to information/formation, creation, diffusion, and reception media and supports.

As an aim, not as something conceived, the construction of a new imaginary over the idea of lusophony would need to take off part of this reductionist histo - rical background – that one which only identifies it with Portugal – to be placed, says professor Eni Orlandi (2009: 222), as standing up for the differences:

> We speak differently. The relationships among our languages arise an intricate frame of distinctions and changes. And this is our current linguistic reality. There's no homogeneous unit which can be called lusophony. This can be the excuse for us to understand ourselves in our singularities. Instead of working an imaginary of linguistic unit which is the colonization inheritance, we'd better make up our concrete differences in the sense of enriching our relationships.

We take this suggesting quote of the genealogical course elaborated by Professor Faraco in the text presented in the First International Symposium ECOLINGUA, in the city of Vigo (Galiza), December 2009, in which he analyses the reasons for the lacking international projection of the lusophony concerning the dilemmas and contradictions that its update represents, and in which Professor of Portuguese Language at the Federal University of Paraná stands up for breaking the limits that were formerly imposed by the political frontiers, «in a happy denomination of the lusophony as multicentric and heterogeneous that, as we have quoted, must include all the cultural-linguistic communities departed from the ancient Galician-Portuguese Romanic nucleus». And here they include Galiza in the eight countries which have the portuguese language as official language, the Special Administrative Region of Macau (integrating part of the Popular Republic of China since 1999), as remaining communities of the Portuguese colonialism in the route of Asia, as in Goa (India) and Malaca (in Malasia) which maintain the lusophone populations, the communities of the ancient portuguese occupation as in the North of Uruguay, the communities of galician, portuguese, brazilian, african, and asian immigrants (the so-called «lusophone diaspora») that is expressive in various places in the world.

Other authors think similarly when speaking about the concept os Lusophony. The philosopher Eduardo Lourenço (1999: 124) appears as background who, after arguing that nothing can be designated as culture or lusophone community, sees as a possibility

> what comes from the imagining that this wide mantle of a common language, referent of similar or diverse cultures, is, in spite or because of its variety, that ideal space where they communicate and recognize themselves in their particularity shared all who the history had approached by chance.

It seems, then, necessary, to check out the positions of different linguists, beginning with professor Faraco's exact position:

«The Galician can fulfil an important role in the lusophony , as far as it contributes to build up a new conception over this word, more democratic, decisively polycentric, horizontal, and centrifugal» (Faraco, 2009: 4).

This consideration - quoted by Xoán Lagares, Professor of the Fluminense Federal University -, arises from a long reflection over a historical course tagged by the lost of the Galician visibility. It is the idea of being «the oldest peninsular romance» or, as points out F. Venâncio, Professor of the University of Amsterdam, before adressing a pratical proposal, as something having «a great contact of the Galician people with the idiom of Brazil and Portugal (in books, audiovisual, music, films and, obviously, the inter-personal companionship» (2010: 104). Due to the lost of the political power of Galiza, the establishment of frontiers – and their role in the normative centres – besides what the previously said implies in the symbolic representation of the languages, in the distortion of the exact linguistic studies and the determination about the imaginary -in as we see ourselves, in as we make the other see- the result was the reduction of the language in Galiza «and the virtual inexistence of the galician to the most portuguese speakers are not different phenomena but two dimensions of the same phenomenon», explained Professor Lagares, to afterwards evaluate the critical stream and the new visions which in Brazil changed the entrances in the wide scope of the linguistic and that has brought to the academic world a rediscovery process of the galician.

Now, taking into account the great authority of the professor of the University of Lisbon, Ivo Castro whom explains in regard to the origins of the Portuguese: It was not born, as Alexandro Herculano and Leite de Vasconcelos thought, in the centre of Portugal; it is not a language which comes from the lusitan latin but from the galician. Thus, it is fair to conceive it as the symbolic origin of Santiago de Compostela, he makes a critical trip through the lusophony as a concept, concluding, also with Eduardo Lourenço, that the real is «uma comunidade que tem como único elo incontornável a língua» (1999: 171).

The Galician academic and director of the ILGA, Professor Rosario Alvarez Blanco, in dialogue with the previously said, placing herself «in the only acceptable lusophony so that Galicia and the Galician can be partners: the one which integrates and respects identities, the one which evaluates in a positive way the capital of difference…». She finishes by asking: Does it exist? We suppose so or that it can be built, but even this way, the problems which are shown to us are not few.

Beyond a certain cordial pessimism that is vanished from professor Alvarez Blanco's analysis, it might be the moment for the communication studies to the witness, with the language(s) as the link as well as the culture constituent through the book, the newspaper, the products for the net, the songs, the movies…- for a general rehearsal of this multicentric space-project.

Now, I will do a symptomatic approach to the Galician case, departing from this quotation taken from Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (1997: 33-51):

> [But] if we question a pre-given world of separate and discrete "peoples and cultures," and see instead a difference-producing set of relations. We turn from a project of juxtaposing preexisting differences to one of exploring the construction of differences in historical process.

The Galician culture, the concrete frame in which I will embody these reflections is the culture as constituent of the public space, this political place where we show ourselves as collective and citizen subjects, there where the equality is an ontologic principle. As any social construction in the history, it is a palimpsest, since it is composed by symptoms, by ruptures, by denials (the enactment of `tame and castration in the Galician Kingdom which is applied by the Catholic Kings) and since the middle of the Nineteenth century, following the popular sovereignty principles, of what is known as Renascence. In this sense, and since its origins, one of the elements which distinguishes and represents it, from the celebration to resistance and until the normalization programs, is the Galician language.

If we write, sing, film... If we consider intercultural communication as the exchange of goods that portray us as diverse societies, the visible aim will be therefore to make ourselves visible through communication products in the Lusophony. At the time, the development of this common market makes sense of the Lusophony itself, bearing into mind that, for good or evil, we are immersed in a significant aspect of the globalization process. Following the Colombian Professor and expert in cultural policy German Rey, «Communication is both a stimulus and a global society's construction place».

Taking for granted the basic communicative function of language, I consider here its identity value together with the hypothetical increase of circulation and consumption of cultural products that a near common language can promote, even considering the paradox that there aren't nowadays indicators to measure these values.

Because this is the state of play, it seems interesting to talk about a research in progress right now in the USC that aims to discover the barriers that operate in the circulation of cultural goods, especially for the quite unknown Galician audiovisual production, within the arena of new ways of consumption in the network society.

The project, `Lusofonía: interactividade e interculturalidade , into the frame of a I+D+I programme, will complete the study on barriers -not just linguistic but anthropological or related to communication policies- that slow down the accessibility and the exchange of cultural production into the Lusophony geo-linguistic area.

In the operational level, this research is articulated around an online platform and a programme thought up for this specific aim, a tool that allows interaction of users with samples classified following categories of analysis.

The project attempts to bring new data about comprehension and understanding of Galician as a language and as a culture in a reception study. The `others' who look at us are groups of 15 students, of different gender, age and educational level, from four Portuguese-speaking universities: Universidade da Beira Interior (Portugal), Pontificia Universidade Católica de Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil), Universidade Federal da Bahia (Brazil), and a control group from Guinea-Bissau. Taken for granted the historical and institutional reality of the Galiza-Norte de Portugal Euroregion, it is also important to stress that 65% of the Spanish emigration to Brazil is constituted of Galician people.

In short, the reception groups of each university had to watch and analyse extracts from eight audiovisual productions through a specifically created online platform. These productions were a selection taken from Galician cinema fiction and documentaries, animation films and television drama.

Although research is not closed, we count with some rough data that could be of interest for different disciplines. I focus here in four questions of the questionnaire answered by the students:

1. Considering the concept of Lusophony: did you know or use this concept? Did your perception of the term changed while participating in this research? We went further on the relation of Galiza with Lusophony in the case of students who had more knowledge about the topic.
2. Problems in language comprehension: we asked students which films were easier or more difficult to understand in terms of language.

3. Preferences as audience: which were the preferred samples? Which were the most disliked?
4. Need for subtitling or dubbing to show these products to audiences in their countries.

Considering the different ways the term was used and understood, the aim was to elaborate a workable defenition. As a provisional conclusion, I highlight here the relation of the participants of the research with the term Lusophony: Brazilian students showed a general ignorance of its meaning, while in Guinea-Bissau its knowledge was mediated by a certain distrust ruled by the colonial experience. Portuguese participants knew the term but didn't consider Galiza part of Lusophony. Venturing a conclusion, this lack of connection between Lusophony and Galiza could be traced in the so called `myth of origin' of Portuguese language

As the philologist of Universidade Fluminense Xoan Lagares sustain in coincidence for example, with Rosa Virginia Mattos e Silva, `in historical linguistics and philology , disciplines that become hegemonic precisely on nineteenth century, there is an ideological compromise with the processes for the national construction of bourgeois liberalism. By means of this compromise, research about the origin of the language serve for the delimitation of what is understood as national language. In the case of Portuguese, we can perceive that there is a resistance in recognising the role of Galician in the history of the language. Maybe that is the reason why medieval language is known in Brazil as `Archaic Portuguese'.

This research could also provide wider conclusions. It brought the discovery of a close-far `other', Galicia and Galician language in this case, the non problematic share of linguistic varieties, and the interest for everything inside this long and diverse space that we call Lusophony.

Other conclusion of the research, this time positive, is the interest that Galician productions arose in the Brazilian groups, although some students were unable `to place Galicia in the map . It's also valuable the high degree of cultural familiarity for all the reception groups of these products and some difficulties for linguistic comprehension particularly clear in vocabulary, speed of speech and, in a lower level, phonetic differences, which recommend the use of subtitles or dubbing.

In the process of this intercultural research we could also happily recognise something as the character of a Guimarães Rosa's tale, *Primeiras Estórias*, said: what wasn't, happened (*Aquilo que não havia, acontecia*).

And what is going on, in our point of view, is the setup of a possible model from this new historical subject, the lusophone space, where language, cultural codes and production of goods connect us and take with themselves an operator, an identity vector and the result of different historical experiences, which puts in doub the non-existence of a transnational public sphere.

The «public sphere" is therefore hardly "public" – argue Gupta and Fergunson (1997: 15) – with respect to control over the representations that are circulated in it», and warn off the danger to use the irruption in scene of cultural flows from the outskirts to disguise «the powerful political issues associated with Western global hegemony».

While I was writing this text and while I was getting to know about its unfinished side, about its function as Brecht's `piece of apprenticeship , a thought always hung around my mind, what Freud calls this unsettling uncanny which speaks about yourself-as-other. Getting closer to the end, in reviewing the seminal text «Beyond 'Culture'», with which I want to finish, that's where I found the invitation to explore the cultural difference, specially in the most familiar one, an invitation that Homi Bhabha had made to us in *Emergences* in warning that is in this borderline where «the problem of cultural difference is ourselves-as-others, others-as-ourselves» (Gupta and Fergunson: 1997: 15). It is in this borderline that the Galician researchers place lusophony.

Long life to this new space-project.

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The Portuguese language in the emerging media ecosystem

By Rosental Calmon Alves

Bom dia! Since this is a panel on the *Lusofonia* – the linguistic and cultural space of Portuguese speakers dispersed around the world – I want to start by testing this IAMCR audience of scholars from around the globe with a few questions: How many people in the world say *bom dia* every morning? In other words, how many people do you think speak Portuguese? Remember that just in Brazil, my native country, we are almost 200 million. In the world, we must be close to 250 million Portuguese speakers. In which continents are we? Almost all of them have at least one country that adopts Portuguese as official language: Europe, Africa, America, Asia and Oceania. How many languages are spoken by more people than Portuguese? Only five! Here they are: Mandarin, Hindi, Spanish, English and Arabic. So, Portuguese is the sixth. On the web, as Professor Moisés de Lemos Martins showed in this panel, Portuguese is the fifth.

Now that you have a better idea of how big the size, the importance and the vitality of the *lusophone* world, I would like to share with you my thoughts about the consequences of the Digital Revolution for the *Lusofonia*. Professor José Marques de Melo has just mentioned in this panel that Brazil is divided into cultural islands. I want to keep that island analogy and extend it even more to explain my hopes that the digital technology will help to bring together, as never before, the currently dispersed islands of Portuguese speakers. The Digital Revolution may create the bond to make possible the transformation of those islands, geographically distant from each other, into a virtual lusophone continent.

I want to follow the imagination of the writers who created the island in the recent pop culture phenomenon, the TV miniseries *Lost*. That fictional island disappeared from one part of the planet and reappeared somewhere else. Let me pretend that I have access to that magic, so I can illustrate my speculative theory of the virtual lusophone continent. But first, let's talk about less speculative and more scientific aspects of what I am calling Digital Revolution and its extraordinary impact on communications. I am talking about a Revolution, with capital "r" and not about another technological revolution, as many we have had throughout the centuries.

When the Web popularized the Internet, in the mid-1990s, it was seen just as another revolution, another medium. People tended to see it as a new medium

that would find its own space in the *mediascape* along with the newspaper, the radio and the television. There was even a *déjà vu*, as there was a resemblance to previous moments when new media was created, such as the radio and the TV.

In the United States, Roger Fidler published in 1997 the book *Mediamorphosis,* with an interesting analysis of what happened when new media arrived during the 21st Century. He describes a process that he named *Mediamorphosis*, in which the arrival of the new medium causes a sort of media earthquake; it seems that the older media will disappear, but eventually they suffer a metamorphosis, adapt and all media, old and new alike, co-exist. Following this process, if the Web was just a new medium, the old media should continue in their comfort zone, suffer some changes to adapt to the arrival of the new medium, and all would continue to be the same. As the newspaper has already survived the impact of the radio and of the television, it would just adapt and survive the Web.

I like Fidler's book and believe that he gave a great contribution to the understanding of the processes that occurred during the 20th Century, as new media arrived in revolutions that were smaller than the one that brought the Web to us. So, by 1999 I started talking about an alternative to the idea of a *Mediamorphosis,* arguing that we were in midst of a Communication Revolution, with capital "R" and of a kind that has been rare in the history of the human kind. In 2001, I published an article in a British journal, proposing that instead of another *Mediamorphosis*, we were approaching a process that, as a counterpoint to Fidler's term, I decided to call M*ediacide*, as in homicide, pesticide or suicide. I argue that the Web has been just a point of the iceberg of the Digital Revolution, which, in terms of communication and knowledge management, can only be compared with the consolidation of the written word, the invention of the movable type by Gutenberg and with the Industrial Revolution. Such a gigantic force is behind what I call *Mediacide*, the killing of the old media system and the emergence of a different one, with a different logic, with different dimensions.

For the last 11 years I have been spreading the gospel of my *Mediacide* idea to newsrooms, especially of newspapers, and in media conferences and seminars around the world. I have been telling a variety of audiences of journalists and scholars who wanted to listen that they must think bigger. Let's not see what is going on as just the emergence of other media. For years, however, I had this debate with my colleagues who considered that my ideas are exaggerated. They were saying: "No, you are wrong. This is just a technological evolution. A revolution it's another thing. It is an abrupt and usually violent disruption." I usually

respond that as a Latin American who covered so many coups d'etat, I know the difference between a coup and a revolution. A revolution, I argue, is a long and is made of evolutionary processes, as what we are seeing now in the *mediascape*.

So, I think we should think bigger, but also in longer terms. Nothing is changing from one day to the other. We learned that during the speculative bubble of the late 1990s that people will not change their habits instantly. The old media system will not disappear out of sudden and be immediately replaced. Therefore, think longer and deepest. But also think chaos. Revolutionary processes are chaotic, as they destroy things much faster than they build new ones. We are now seeing everywhere symptoms of chaos in the media scenario, where business models, consumption habits, media formats are being affected and there is a lot of confusion about new ones.

We must think different. Old paradigms of mass communications that seemed so stable and permanent are being destroyed. Instead, a new logic of communication is emerging, as we move from the industrial era to the post-industrial era, the digital era.

Think connectivity. The computational revolution has already passed. Now the "big thing" is the connectivity revolution led by these little devices that we have in our pockets that is less and less a telephone and is more and more a computer. This is the time of the mobile revolution. What we have in our pockets is literally the first personal computer (a term that now we realized we used improperly when the desktop was named PC). The mobile device is the real PC, almost attached to our bodies, usually at our reach 24 hours per day.

Think network. Manuel Castells has been teaching us about the Network Society for more than a decade, as he perceived better than anyone the profound implications of the Digital Revolution. The core, he says, is on maximizing the human beings ability to develop networks in ways never imagined. It is imperative that when we look at the Digital revolution we think network, think the infinite flows information between hubs and nodes. Thanks to this *networkability,* we are creating a totally new communication infrastructure that spreads itself exponentially. Regardless of policies, it goes like water, like liquid.

Think future. I believe that some futurology has never been so important in our field, since we must imagine scenarios, as we study the impact of the Digital Revolution on communication. When I do my exercises and look at my imaginary crystal ball, I discover that the future is green. I see the future media ecosystem as similar to the rainforest, rich in biodiversity, verdant and full of life. I always remem-

ber to have read in the "The New York Times" that one river in the Amazon, any river there, has more species than all the rivers of the North America combined. This is what I am talking about, when I use this analogy to refer to the ongoing transformation of the media ecosystem. I am thinking about symbiotic relations, organisms proliferating everywhere and one depending on the other, connected with others in a complex network, as new media in the digital era. The traditional media loses power and control that they developed in the industrial era, when information was still relatively scarce. We move from scarcity to superabundance, thanks to the digital deluge of the last decades. The industrial era media system had the biodiversity of a desert, compared with the richness of the rainforest like the ecosystem of the digital era.

This new ecosystem created by the Digital Revolution has impact across the board, affecting virtually all activities, not only mass communication. It's unstoppable. The new media ecosystem empowers citizens across geography, across languages and cultures. And it is here that I want to return to our initial topic of language and culture.

Many people have been concerned that digital technologies may boost even more the English language as the world's lingua franca, which would become a threat to the existence of the other languages and cultures attached to them. I remember being at the United Nations' World on Information Society, in Tunisia, when Nicholas Negroponte (author of *Being Digital*) said that other languages should not be taught anymore, that the world should adopt English only. That exaggerated, maybe even insolent, suggestion provoked a strong reaction from the then Director General of UNESCO, the host of that particular session. Koïchiro Matsuura explained patiently the importance of language, as an essential part of the cultural diversity in our world. I am not afraid that English will kill the other languages in consequence of the Digital revolution. A 'lingua franca' doesn't kill the other languages. Actually, what has happened so far is that we, who speak other languages, feel more encouraged to fight for our languages, and we are using the new, digital communication ecosystem, consciously or unconsciously, to strengthen our own languages.

In this new media ecosystem that doesn't respect national boundaries, where information spreads as liquid, more and more individuals are empowered by this permanent connectivity and new ways of communicating. Social media, for example, has had in the last few years a huge growth that illustrates very well what I am talking about. There are already more messages exchanged inside "Facebook"

than via e-mails. E-mail became the hottest thing for old people like me. The great conversation is going on nowadays in social media, in virtual environments that did not exist a few years ago and that become multinational, multilingual. In the new media ecosystem, organisms are born and proliferate fast. On their expansion, they create symbiotic relationships among them. Networks of networks are formed and expand, ignoring national borders. They find new ways to bond and language is a bonding opportunity within this ecosystem. It is meaningful to see that most of the audience of a few British newspapers is in the United States, and not in the United Kingdom. Or to see a Spanish news organization that has more audience in Latin America than in Spain.

I believe that those are just the first signs of opportunities to create more powerful linguistic and cultural bonds between people to speak the same languages but live in different latitudes, as it is the case of the Lusophone community around the world. The information and communication technologies created by the Digital revolution will eventually help us, Portuguese speakers everywhere, to develop a sense of community and cultural identity that has never existed before. I predict that this is going to happen anyway, independently from public policies, governments' agreements or diplomatic negotiations. We will be entering uncharged waters, which, by the way, have never scared the creators of Portuguese language, navigators who discovered new worlds in this planet.

The expansion of the Portuguese language in the new, digital communication ecosystem will naturally be led by the mass of Brazilians. We have there hordes of very active internauts, more than 72 million. But there are more than double that number just waiting to cross the digital divide line, since the Internet penetration in Brazil is still around 36%. The force of the Brazilian Internet is huge and not only by quantitative factors. There is also a qualitative aspect, when it comes, for example, to the social media engagement of the Brazilian internauts. Nielsen research shows Brazil as the number one country in use of social media tools. An impressive 95 per cent of Brazilian internauts have social media accounts, which is much more than in the United States and the United Kingdom, for example, with 74% each respectively.

Two anecdotes illustrate the strong participation of Brazilians in social media. The first one is the way Brazilians took over Orkut, a social network launched by Google in 2004. Even before the boom of Facebook, Orkut was a huge success in Brazil, and Portuguese became the number one language in the network, despite the efforts of Google to make it popular also in the Anglophone world. It came to

a point that in the presidential election of 2006 the two main candidates had to bring their campaign to the social network. It came to a point that Google seems to have given up of Orkut in English, as it moved the administration of the social network to Belo Horizonte, in Brazil.

The second anecdote relates to the huge presence of the Portuguese language in Twitter, the fast growing social network. This summer, during the South Africa World Cup, Twitter users around the world were intrigued by the fact the for a few days the most tweeted term was "Cala a boca Galvão." It became such a phenomenon that it gained the pages of The New York Times and publications around the world that wanted to explain it. Galvão is a sports announcer in the largest Brazilian TV network and "cala a boca" means "shut up." But this was not an exception. Portuguese words have been constantly among the most tweeted. Portuguese has been the number two language after English in Twitter, despite what I see as an effort of the company to promote more the network in Japan, trying to push Portuguese to the third place. There are more Twitter subscribers in Brazil than in the rest of Latin American countries all together.

Of course the other Portuguese countries don't have the same dimensions as Brazil on the Internet. The penetration of Internet in Portugal is already above 50 percent. In African countries that speak Portuguese, Internet penetration is very small, but it is growing. It is important to notice that many people there will jump the desktop or laptop and enter the digital world through mobile devices. There is a study that predicts that in 5 years there will be more access to the Internet around the world from mobile phones than from computers.

So far it is difficult to see any effort that comes in an organized way to take advantage of the Internet and the digital technologies to unite the different countries and communities that speak Portuguese around the world. One interesting example is Global Voices, a multilingual global community of bloggers that has strong lusophone movement. Seventy-five volunteers see what is going on in the blogosphere of all countries that speak Portuguese, they curate that content and connect them among countries and communities. They translate from Portuguese to other languages and vice-versa, but what is really important for the argument I am trying to develop here is that what they do within the lusophone world. They extend bridges, interconnecting the citizen media from all the countries, which may be an indication for the future impact of the digital technologies in a bigger scale.

In conclusion, what I am proposing is that the new media ecosystem, based on empowered citizens, will help to turn that archipelago of distant islands where Portuguese is spoken, into a new digital continent, built on pillars of the lusophony's linguistic and cultural identity. And if you want to have an idea of how this continent will look like, imagine that magic created by the authors of the miniseries "Lost" used to put together, starting with Portugal, Brazil, Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, São Tomé e Príncipe and East Timor. We could still add many places where Portuguese is spoken by tiny minorities and also the population of Galicia, in Spain, since the Galician and Portuguese are almost the same language, with the same origins from Latin brought by the Roman Empire to the Iberian Peninsula.

The great Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa says in a beautiful poem that old navigators had the saying "Navegar é preciso, viver não é preciso" ("To navigate is needed, To live is not needed"). In this new century, the verb to navigate gained a new meaning on the Internet. The Portuguese navigator vocation will certainly inspire the strengthening of its beautiful language, through an increasing integration of the geographically separated, but linguistically close, lusophone communities. "Viva o futuro continente digital lusófono!" Navegar é preciso. Muito obrigado.

Tribute to Denis McQuail

An initiative of the Communication and Society Research Centre during the 2010 IAMCR Conference

Denis McQuail: A Tribute and a Thank You

By Peter Golding

It is an enormous honour and pleasure to be invited to contribute to this collection, as it was to provide an introductory speech at the occasion of the presentation to Denis McQuail at the IAMCR conference in Braga. Most especially I was then, as I am now, grateful for the opportunity to pay tribute to a scholar, mentor, and colleague who we all now recognise as someone who has not merely contributed to the development of his field, but substantially has formed it.

Denis has received tributes and thanks on the many occasions on which he has retired – from Southampton, from Amsterdam, from his position at universities in general. In the end we all realised, with considerable relief, that none of these was ever really retirement. Frustrating as it must be for his wife and family, Denis is not the retiring kind, in any sense, and continues to provide leadership and creative guidance for all of us.

Nonetheless in receiving this tribute from the University of Minho and the Communication and Society Research Centre, it gives us an opportunity, as do the many articles in this anthology, to note some of his most signal achievements. In doing so we come to realise Denis McQuail's standing, as an originator, as a definer of a field of study, as a codifier of that field, and not least as an original contributor to important debates about values and standards.

Denis McQuail as originator

Media and communication studies have matured as areas of research and scholarship, and many of their more distinctive sub-fields have become familiar, going through cycles of popularity, fashion, revision, rejection and occasionally rediscovery. Along the way various approaches, concepts and theories leave indelible imprints on the development of the field. It is important we never forget just how many of these find Denis McQuail in at their foundation or critical in their development.

One signal example is 'uses and gratifications'. It is now a cliché that we should examine what people do with media not what media do to them. This tru-

ism became the demarcating mantra of uses and gratifications research, but refin-ing and operationalisng the idea took a lot of work. Denis was perhaps not one of the originators of the concept, but his work was central in its refinement, cons -tructive critique, and development.

We now see political communication, and the role of television especially, in politics, as a familiar concern at the heart of our field. Denis McQuail's work with Jay Blumler and with Joseph Trenaman was seminal in this field. *Television and the Political Image* (Trenaman and McQuail, 1961) which studied the 1959 general election in the UK, established many of the key tenets and insights for political communication research in the succeeding decades. When his study with Jay Blumler, *Television in Politics,* appeared in 1968 (Blumler and McQuail, 1968), the *Journal of Communication* said that "the researcher interested in television and politics could hardly ask for more". We have of course asked for a great deal more since those pioneering days, and understanding the changing role of the media in politics remains one of our most enduring and challenging concerns. The arrival of the internet and the ever more intimate relationship of broadcasting and poli-tics, and of public relations with the electioneering process, have brought new questions and research tasks for communication scholars. But this work builds on the early and foundational work in political communication to which Denis McQuail made such a seminal contribution.

Denis McQuail as a Definer of the Field

I can remember struggling for years, as a new recruit to the media studies fra-ternity, with the many models we used to construct to try and understand the relationship between the media and society. We spent hours drawing circles and arrows around complicated looking diagrams intended to represent the com-plexities of cultural structure. I almost gave up when I could not work out what was meant by Kaarle Nordenstreng's model in an early essay called a 'Prole-gomenon to a theory of mass communications' – I didn't really have a clue what a prolegomenon was – but it sounded impressive. I was aware that the media were crucial to social process and as a sociologist finding a place for the media in my map of how the world worked was crucial, but how to do it eluded me.

So, thank goodness for Denis McQuail's clear and invaluable guide in *Com-munication Models*, first produced with Sven Windahl in 1982 (McQuail and Win-

dahl, 1982). Page after page of lucid exegesis and explanation of the many competing models somehow dissolved the fog. It certainly produced a graduate essay or two for me. As an example of how to generate a lot of insight in a short space it was, and is, invaluable.

As a founding editor, with Karl-Erik Rosengren and Jay Blumler, of the *European Journal of Communication*, Denis launched what was to become, and still is, a key shop window for so much that is best in scholarship and research in our field. Of course, as a current EJC editor myself, I am bound to say that, but I also know just how much we have benefited, and still do, from Denis's seminal creation and editorial custodianship of the Journal for a quarter of a century. The EJC, however, is not Denis' only vehicle for contributing to the development of European media research. As a key and founding member of the Euromedia Research Group he has written extensively and helped form debates about media policy in Europe and comparative analyses within Europe of questions of media concentration, commerce and politics.

Denis has also argued cogently and consistently for the growth of communications as a discipline. Though I have myself always resisted the notion that it is more than a field of interest drawing on primary disciplines such as sociology, psychology, economics and political science, in books like *Communication*, first published 35 years ago, Denis has not merely argued for and with the key tenets of communications, but has been pivotal in its creation as a field, or indeed, just possibly, discipline (McQuail, 1975). He has consistently developed the intellectual case for considering communications as so much more than a field of research interest – he hasn't convinced me, but it is a powerful and persuasive case of the profound importance of communication across the human, especially sociological sciences.

Denis McQuail as Codifier

Denis is perhaps best known, though in my judgment this undervalues his sheer originality and importance as an innovator, as a codifier of our field, providing generations of students and scholars alike with authoritative and phenomenally widely read overviews of writing and research in the field. This, as anyone who has written, rather than simply avoided writing, a text book will know, is an extraordinarily difficult task, and we are fortunate in being in a field where the best known text is the work of someone who is a master of the genre.

Mass Communication Theory (McQuail, 2010) is now in its 6th edition, and is rightly now titled *'McQuail's Mass Communication Theory'* – implying, I, and, I imagine, the publishers hope, that it has the standing and authority of an immortal legal tome, rather than suggesting it is an eccentric work alongside which there are several other *Mass Communication Theory's* bearing other writers' names! It was first published in 1983, subtitled "an introduction", and ran to a modest 245 pages, compared to the daunting 621 pages of the current edition. The book has now sold over 108,000 copies. Apparently Sage even sold 29 copies of the 5th edition in the 'Holy See' (more than in France!).   The book reigns supreme, and is almost certainly never to be paralleled, not just in our field but as a guiding and insightful text for any field in the social and human sciences.

It is important to recall that even before *Mass Communication Theory* became the central and unique text that it is, Denis had provided a number of original and defining texts which reviewed, codified, and summarised in a characteristically elegant and helpful way, the range of work in our field. I well remember as a graduate student in sociology, being mesmerised by his overview volume *Towards a Sociology of Mass Communications,* published in 1969 and the collection he put together in *Sociology of Mass Communications* which came out in 1972 (McQuail, 1969; 1972). At some distance now we can see not only how original these books were, but how what in retrospect looks easy to accomplish was achieved when no clear oversight of the field existed, and in that sense their originality and influence are immense.

Denis McQuail as Analyst and Guide

It would be wrong to complete this overview of Denis McQuail's contribution to our field, however, with the text book. Denis has always readily put his scholarship and analytical skills to work in assessing media performance and conduct, and his involvement in normative analysis should not be overlooked.

His analysis of press content conducted for the 1977 Royal Commission on the Press in the UK remains one of the most thorough and indicative of its kind. As a thorough, comprehensive and comprehensible, socially and politically relevant, empirically sound analysis of what the British press provides it remains impressive (McQuail, 1977).

But over the years and in a number of publications he has further explored the many complexities of assessing media performance. Whether writing on

media policy generally or the more profound questions of how we should assess the role of the media, he has made insistently clear the need for analytical rigour in addressing questions of media power and influence.

These are massively important contributions. In reviewing *Media Performance,* Everett Dennis wrote that "When a short list of the most important books on communication media in the last half of the twentieth century is drawn up at some future date, I would not be surprised to see Denis McQuail's *Media Performance* at the top".

His analysis of the core dimensions of media performance remains unsurpassed. As he wrote, "Without accountability communication is simply one-way transmission, limited in purpose, lacking response, guidance, or even known effect" (McQuail, 1992) The thorny problematic of balancing freedom of expression with social responsibility has troubled both policy makers and theorists (and doubtless keeps Rupert Murdoch awake at night too) for generations. We have not solved the problem, but we are much more able to understand it through the work that Denis has undertaken.

A Man and His Critics

In preparing my notes for the presentation on which this chapter is based I spent time wandering among the early reviews of Denis's work, revealing a fascinating mix of instant condemnation with respect and acclaim. Many are damning with faint praise: the first edition of *Mass Communication Theory* was greeted in *Media Culture and Society* in 1983 as "potentially fruitful" though as rather inadequate for the research field. His anthology on the *Sociology of Mass Communications* was felt by the *British Journal of Sociology* in 1972 to be "rather expensive for its size and weight".

Denis is of course a great traveler. Most of the emails I get from him are to tell me when he won't be available as he is off here, there and everywhere – always in demand, his advice and contributions to students, departments and researchers everywhere always welcomed, from Moscow, to Amsterdam to Braga. Even locally there is nothing so frustrating as to meet Denis in a conference hotel and think you've got one over on him by saying you've discovered a wonderful and unexpected local beauty spot – only for Denis to say, as he always does, "yes I walked up there yesterday, it's really good". Denis' importance in our field cannot be over-

stated. His own modesty and unassuming approach sometimes makes us forget, this is, after all, a man with his own entry in Wikipedia. It was my enormous plea - sure to play a part in this tribute, on behalf of the University of Minho and the Communication and Society Research Centre, and in so doing publicly to recog- nise the quite unparalleled contribution of my colleague, friend, and mentor, **Denis McQuail.**

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Publication in a free society: the problem of accountability[6]

By Denis McQuail

Is there a crisis of accountability?

Whether or not we are truly experiencing a communications revolution or entering a new 'information age', there are certainly major changes under way that are disturbing settled institutions of the press and media. We have also entered a period in which the mass media of press, television and radio and other means of communication are becoming more central and more important to the political, economic and cultural life of societies. In some respects, they can be thought of as actually more powerful. These 'older' media are also being joined by a range of newer media, especially the internet, that share the same functions and offer new ones, without yet finding a place within the systems of formal and informal regulation of media in society.

There has been increasing criticism in many countries about the failings of contemporary mass media, even if the evidence for any general and new state of true *crisis* is not fully convincing. The changes referred to do at least raise urgent issues of accountability as between modern mass media and society. They are related to four main media trends that have become familiar, especially: *globalization*; *commercialisation*; the *increased scale and abundance of media*; and *increasing concentration or conglomeration*. The potential problems encountered can be expressed in terms of the following propositions, stemming from these trends.

- An ever more narrowly defined 'core' of the media industry is increasing its power to control the gates of publication, which is governed by essentially commercial assessments of gains and risks. There is a growing absence of responsibility for wider matters of social and cultural concern.
- Global media concentration has increased the impersonality of publication decisions and the 'remoteness' of media at their sources from actual societies and communities at the receiving end. Truly global media have no obligation to serve any wider public good.

[6] Open lecture at University of Minho, May 5, 2004.

- Media culture is increasingly dominated by adulation of popular success in quantitative and market terms, threatening the integrity of minority media cultural forms. Increasingly conscienceless media have become willing to victimize individuals for profit, in respect of their privacy, reputation or innocence.
- Private accountability of media to shareholders replaces public accountability, whether to audiences, government or 'society' at large. For the most part only rare cases of individual and demonstrable harm provide any basis for actionable claims against media. Larger issues of long term and moral responsibility cannot be handled by the available means of accountability.
- The journalistic core of major media is in relative decline, thus limiting the development of the 'press' as a self-regulating and professional institution, voluntarily accountable to the audience and the wider society.
- The conditions of the media market environment in which the 'new media', especially the Internet, are being introduced largely eliminate their potential in terms of access, alternative voices and participatory communication. Self-regulation cannot develop beyond crude forms in situations where 'authorship' is obscure and or where media are complex multiple carriers rather than publishers in the traditional sense with a face and clear presence.

This list of grievances is discouragingly long and holds out little hope that the media will become more responsible or accountable by their own volition or through outside pressure. The signalled failings and deficits stem from enduring circumstances that are largely and literally 'beyond control', although not necessarily 'out of control'. Although there are also positive features of media developments, there is a prima facie case for believing that they reflect a general breakdown of the relations of accountability between media and society.

Presented like this, the problem posed has many dimensions and many possible causes. It can be interpreted in different ways, each leading in a different analytic direction. One formulation of the problem is to question the feasibility of any effective regulation of mass media in a free society. Media systems that are so extensive, so complex and operate with such speed that their very architecture defies control, especially when they no longer operate exclusively within national frontiers. Secondly, we can interpret the situation as one of increasing *normlessness* in which media organisations pursue profits in expanding markets and have little time for standards of professional conduct or standards of morality, especially

when their normlessness may be increasingly shard by the audience. A third way of defining the problem is to focus on the absence or persistent failure of accountability mechanisms, arising not from practical difficulties but because of the apparent impossibility of reconciling freedom of expression with measures that could legitimately call the media to account for a range of public responsibilities. The media typically resist external accountability both on the ground of its conflict with their right of freedom of expression and also because it might interfere with economic freedom and commercial decisions. Viewed from this perspective, all potential means for restoring accountability seem likely to be either ineffective or delegitimised in a free society.

Although each of these lines of argument is relevant, I will be especially concerned with the third view and will challenge the assumption that freedom is necessarily inconsistent with accountability. I also have to acknowledge at the outset that until now the body of normative theory of the media (or social theory of the press) has failed to make much progress in providing any adequate framework for reconciling the two goals of freedom and accountability. This is a failure of traditional political and social science as well as of the new 'communication science'. Theories of democracy seem unable to provide any coherent account of the necessary role of press in the political process and theory of journalism seems also incapable of providing what is missing. Social theory more generally does not seem able to make sense of the fact that freedom for publication in contemporary society is inevitably very restricted because of inequalities of access and other pressures to conform. The failures of theory stem partly from the fact the issues at stake to fall on the boundaries of several disciplines and are consequently neglected. But they also stem from the highly contested nature of the issue of freedom of publication in a free society and the unwillingness of the interested parties (especially politicians and the press) to concede any ground to any other party, even theoretically. We are not dealing with a purely academic or theoretical issue, but one where power and interest are at stake. Nevertheless, there is much that can and needs to be done to develop a more adequate body of theory and my lecture is intended as a contribution to this task.

Normative media theory has allowed the debate to be narrowed down to a choice between freedom of the media market on the one hand and control or censorship by the state in one form or another on the other, as if greater accountability can only be achieved by sacrificing more freedom. This ignores the complexities of what freedom means in media publication, the inevitability of

constraint in public communication and the diversity of means by which the interests of 'society', as variously manifested, can be identified, expressed and achieved, without violating the essence of freedom of expression. It also ignores the many responsibilities that are actually and properly entailed in the exercise of freedom by public media. In my talk I can do little more than point out the pathways that might be followed in search of solutions.

On being published

P*ublication* has to be differentiated from 'non-public' processes of personal communication, although the line between the two is not always clear. It certainly involves crossing a border that cannot be re-crossed (publication cannot be undone). It usually implies a degree of completion and decisiveness that makes it different from private reflections, provisional ideas, drafts, etc. It produces a new kind of 'text', one that will circulate independently of the author and have a life of its own. It often involves making a statement or declaration, which can be expected to provoke a reaction. If it receives attention, it can also be expected to have some short or long term effects, some of which may be unintended and or unpredictable.

An essential aspect of being published is that it involves the identification of the author, or an equivalent agent. Without this, a communication is neither fully public (because an important aspect is concealed) nor is accountability possible, except by holding a 'gatekeeper' (publisher) liable, which is only variably justifiable. Although there are some shared features of all kinds of media publication, there are also significant differences between types of authors, types of texts, types of media (in socio-technical terms) that lead to quite large differences of meaning of 'publication'. The title of my talk implies that 'acts of publication' are more or less of the same kind, but in fact there is an enormous range of variation in scale, type and potential impact of media publication. The massive, industrialised production and distribution processes of modern media firms have also little in common, historically, with the early days of printing, when ideas of freedom or expression and the press were formulated.

The point of these remarks is to underline the possibility and necessity of differentiating more clearly within the range of forms of publication that are now available, since different types of publication carry very different degrees and kinds

of responsibility and accountability, just as they involve very different kinds of communicative power.

The contested idea of media responsibility

The view that mass media, broadly defined, have some obligation to serve the society in which they operate is certainly contestable, since there are always different and opposed versions of the public good. It may be true that the media make a necessary contribution to the working of a modern social system, including many basic and sensitive social and political processes. Necessity, if nothing else, brings with it an obligation. Moreover, the operation of media brings with it consequences for individuals and society for which the media cannot evade responsibility. But the alternative view that true freedom of expression and publication (of the press in all its forms) implies a ultimate lack of *obligation* to meet any outside claim can also be strongly argued, especially where a claim is made in the name of the society or state and therefore backed by force as well as authority. However well-intentioned, all attempts to impose responsibilities and require accountability can become instruments that lead to suppression of free speech and ultimately oppression. Such attempts also distort the working of the 'free market place of ideas' that has been widely seen as the best guarantee of both truth and freedom (Lichtenberg, 1990).

We need not be paralysed by this irreconcilable opposition and there are, of course, possibilities for steering between the conflicting positions.

In the light of the remarks made above, we can say that all forms of publication by way of mass media have a public character and a public role, whether chosen or not. The media do not operate in a normative vacuum, but are buffeted by strong and often conflicting currents of obligation, whether internally and autonomously chosen or stemming from their external environment. There are numerous sources of normative impulses and valid grounds for public expectations of service. Most generally, ideas of what contemporary mass media owe to society are rooted in the history of democratic instituions, especially in the western liberal tradition that has freedom of expression as its foundation stone. Democratic political theory posits that the self-government of states by its people will require the free circulation of information and ideas relevant to the issues on which collective decisions have to be made (see Keane, 1991; Schultz, 1998). The positive

duties of the press in this respect can be supported by reference to a positive rather than a negative version of freedom. In practice this represents a basic choice between a libertarian view (the free marketplace of ideas) and some form of social control designed to secure fairness and diversity in the face of market tendencies to concentration and exclusion (a 'democratic' view). There are also differences within the libertarian camp according to whether freedom is an absolute value (the deontological view), or a means to certain ends (Schauer, 1982). Equally, within the 'democratic' camp there is also a wide range of views about the degree and kind of restrictions that can be tolerated and about the means for implementing the 'will of the people'. Intervention can be 'statist' and backed by law, or it can take the form of social pressure and small-scale and grass root initiatives.

What responsibilities do media have?

This question is intended to uncover the *content* of possible obligations in general terms. The *issues* on which the media might be called to account can be considered as having a more private or more public character, as shown below. But there is another dimension, which relates to their positive or negative character. The media are expected both to provide certain benefits for society, and also to avoid various kinds of harm, that are not always the reverse of the benefits. It is these public and collective issues according to which media may be called to account that are most relevant here. These can be summarised as follows.

- To maintain order and security
- To respect public mores
- To advance cultural quality
- To serve needs of government and the justice system
- To provide "Public Sphere" benefits
- To uphold human rights and international obligations

On the whole, the issue here is one of responsible use of the power of publicity held by the media. The main issues of a more private nature where accountability is likely to arise mainly concern meeting the needs of audiences and clients as well as compliance with the law in respect of individual rights and interests in matters of property or reputation. Harm to individuals can be caused in a number of ways, for instance by reports that lead to their being vilified or targeted, or where

individuals are provoked to attack others under some media influence. Invasion of privacy and lack of respect are also matters of potential accountability. Finally there are a number of specific issues of media conduct and performance where media may be called to account, without their being any victim, for instance concerning the protection of sources, the means used to obtain and to secure confidential information, breaches of confidence, etc.

Relations of accountability

The media are often impelled to meet a number of the obligations mentioned for reasons that are often simply expedient and circumstantial. They are typically beholden to a range of potential *claimants* that can call them to account for acts and omissions, according to diverse expectations and on a more or less continuous basis. The operating environment of all media is occupied by a set of actors and agencies with some power of constraint or potential for influence on the media. Although the 'power of the media' is often stressed, they are themselves also at the receiving end of power and influence. In general they owe responsibility, with some entailed accountability, to the following: their owners; those sources to whom they have contractual ties or other obligations (including as advertisers, but also authors, performers, etc.); relevant regulators and legal authorities (in the end governments); society (as expressed in public opinion, but also as embodied in social institutions); all those whose rights and interests are affected by the media; those to whom promises of service have been made (which often includes their audiences). The situation described is sketched in Figure 1.

<div align="center">

Owners

Artists/PerformersAudience member(s)

Voices/advocates   **Social institutions**

Clients   **MEDIA**   **Referents**

Sources   **Pressure/interest groups**

Public   **Public**
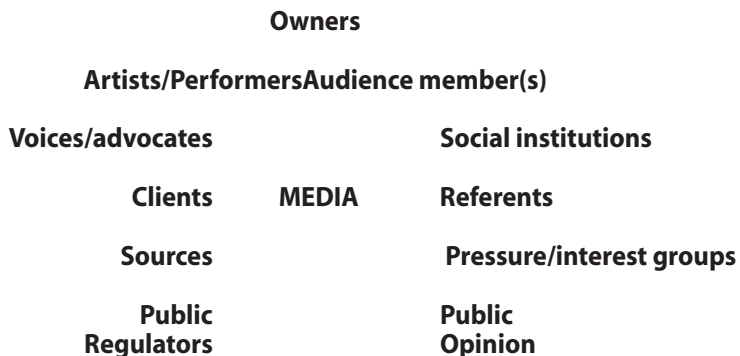**Regulators**   **Opinion**

</div>

Figure 1: External lines of media accountability

The linkages represented are often interactive, reflecting a mutual state of dependence. In fact, there are many pulls and pushes involved that do not all work in the same direction and may cancel each other out. These are relationships that entail some forms of accountability. The 'lines' of accountability can have different strength and direction in different cases. Most direct influence, and therefore the strongest claims to accountability, is likely to come from those on whom the media depend on most directly for their continued operation. This varies according to the medium but all media may depend on their audiences, sooner or later and private media have to respond to their owners, shareholders and major clients. All must also obey the law.

More accountability, less freedom?

At this point I need to clarify the meaning of terms that have already been freely used, especially the terms 'responsibility' and 'accountability'. The two key words are often used interchangeably and defined in terms of each other, with common core idea of 'answering' for something and to someone. But there is an important difference. The key to this difference has been succinctly put by Hodges (1986: 14) as follows: 'The issue of responsibility is as follows: how might society call on journalists to account for their performance of the responsibility given to them. Responsibility has to do with defining proper conduct, accountability with compelling it'. This statement makes it clear that responsibilities principally refer to prior or established obligations (of various kinds, origins and strength) and accountability to a subsequent process of measuring performance against the standard stated or implied in the 'obligation'. Although clear enough, the statement also opens up several other issues, most centrally the extent to which journalists have any binding obligation, which the quotation implies. The notion of 'compulsion' also sits uneasily with the notions of press freedom and journalistic professionalism.

This takes us to the core of the problem of accountability, which is the apparent inverse correlation between freedom and accountability. The contradiction seems especially marked in the context of publication, where the principle of freedom of speech rules out censorship or punishment for speech, except under a limited number of circumstances. This is not just a theoretical issue, since virtually all modern efforts to make the press more accountable for alleged breaches

of responsibilities on many of the issues listed above have been countered by an appeal to a more or less absolute protection of freedom of the press or media. The motives for such resistance may often be questionable but this does not reduce the strength of the argument.

Nevertheless, given the extensive network of formal and informal obligations that all media are enmeshed in, as outlined above, I believe we can answer the question in posed above in the negative. Increased accountability need not materially decrease the freedom of media. In the real world, there is no freedom totally devoid of accountability and there have to be ways of reconciling one with the other if we want the principle of freedom of expression and the press to retain its legitimacy. But the problem remains of finding effective *means* of accountability that would be consistent with the notion of responsibility (especially to society or the 'public interest') and also with essential principles of free expression. In conducting this search, it becomes apparent that the problems encountered are not unique to public communication. There are numerous contexts where legitimately free actions affecting the interests of others are subject to claims and limitations and efforts to keep them within the boundaries of what is acceptable or normal. This applies in business relations, where freedom of the market has become surrounded by various constraints and in government where legitimate actions of the state can be questioned and countered by formal and informal means of accountability. In many contexts of professional practice, obligations are accepted, typically accompanied by defined forms of accountability for performance. Even in personal relationships our 'free' dealings with others are subject to many informal constraints and requirements in order to maintain relationships. Negotiation and exchange cannot be avoided (see Giddens, 1984; Semin and Mansfield., 1983; Buttry, 1993).

Meanings of responsibility

Given the variety of sources of potential obligation it is not surprising that there is also a variety of types of responsibility. One basic distinction is between obligations that are either legal, or moral, or ethical or social in character, referring the main source and also the type of pressure to conform. In addition to this differentation we can also consider whether the responsibilities at issue are voluntarily adopted, assigned (as in the case of regulated public broadcasting) or

contracted in some way, especially in a market relationship with content supplier, client, distributor or the audience. For present purposes, the most relevant types of responsibility of media are described as follows:

Contractual obligations and promise-keeping. This relates mainly to responsibilities to audiences made in the form of promises of kinds and standards of informational and cultural services. Media may also 'promise' certain benefits to society and contributions to the public good. Many of the expectations that media give rise to amongst the public and other social institutions are informal and matters of good faith. Even so, in some respects of service to the 'public interest' there may be an 'unwritten social contract' that accompanies press freedom and in some cases, privilege and protection.

Fulfilling the tasks of an occupational role. It is obvious and not trivial that the work of the media is largely carried out by persons with varied professional, craft and creative skills and their activities can be treated as responsibilities, subject to accounting for performance.

Meeting formal external obligations. Responsibilities under this heading include all legal and regulatory requirements that apply either to media in particular or to all citizens.

Having causal responsibility. The media are potentially powerful agents that can affect behaviour and attitudes, whether intentionally or not, giving rise to claims of harm. The failure to achieve certain effects, for instance in the sphere of public information, leading to public ignorance, apathy or cynicism may be treated under this heading.

Having moral responsibility. While moral responsibility has been mentioned above as a matter of the conscience of the many individuals in media, there may also be a collective responsibility, not for direct harm but for general and long term consequences, usually unintended, of publication practices. The responsibility for consequences of this kind is unlikely to be accepted by the media, but it may ne - vertheless be attributed.

Meanings and types of accountability

Despite the overlap with responsibility it is possible to offer a distinct definition of accountability, although several different paths for realising it in practice are available. Pritchard (2000: 2) defines it as follows: 'Media accountability is the process by which media organizations may be expected or obliged to render an account of their activities to their constituents'. He describes an account as 'an explanation or justification of a media worker's or a media organization's conduct'. In this view it is a process which *follows on from* but it is distinct from the normative prescriptions that comprise possible responsibilities. Rendering an account has to be made to someone, for something, on the basis of certain criteria and with varying degrees of enforceability. The partners in an accountability relationship are those to whom a promise is made, those to whom a legal duty is owed, those who are affected by one's actions and those who have the power to affect oneself in return. The media may employ or be required to undergo any of the following different means of accountability:

- Providing information, reporting about performance and publishing audience research;
- Making a voluntary response to claims and complaints, in the form of apologies or explanations;
- Formal processes of self-regulation, involving some independent adjudication;
- Legal action in the courts;
- Submission to the judgement of the market, at the hands of audience or advertisers;
- Public review, criticism and debate.

Accountability forms and procedures vary according to three main dimensions. One is that of internal versus external procedures, although both are interconnected. Secondly, there is a difference between voluntary and obligatory accountability although the line is not a sharp one, since a threat of compulsion may lead to voluntary action. Thirdly, there is a difference according to the type of penalty that might be involved (especially as between material and verbal penalties) and the severity of application.

Liability versus answerability

Christians (1989: 36) distinguishes between three main 'levels of accounta-bility', identified as those of liability, moral sanctions and answerability. Liability relates to circumstances where formal and defined obligations exist, along with penalties for non-compliance. The second relates mainly to issues of moral or ethi-cal concern. Answerability relates to many issues and circumstances where claims or complaints are made against media, calling for some explanation and debate although no liability to respond exists. Leaving aside the case of personal moral responsibility, there is a marked contrast between a model of accountability based on the idea of answerability and one based on liability. The former implies respon-siveness to the views of all with a legitimate interest in what the media do, whether as individuals affected or on behalf of society. Answerability may not achieve redress or improvement, but it does reaffirm the norms appropriate to publica-tion and is consistent with principles of freedom.

The liability model mainly arises where harm is alleged and the media are blamed, rather than in relation to quality of content and service. It involves a rela-tion of conflict with partners to the communication relationship. Its intended out-come is not explanation or reconciliation, but compensation or punishment and its application involves compulsion, which media are free to contest, but must ulti-mately submit to. The main differences between the two types of accountability, each with its own typical accounting procedures is summed up in the contrasts presented in Table 3.

ANSWERABILITY		LIABILITY
Social or moral basis	vs.	Legal basis
Legal basis	vs.	Legal basis
Dialogue and debate	vs.	Formal adjudication
Cooperative relations	vs.	Adversarial relations
Non-material penalties	vs.	Material penalties
Reference to quality	vs.	Reference to harm

Table 1. Two accountability models compared

These are two opposed ideal types, with a range of intermediate possibilities. In any given case, there may be no freedom of choice, since a given type of accountability may not be available at all (for instance there is no formal liability for failing to follow certain ethical rules) or may be the only one available (as where legal regulations have to be enforced). However, in many cases where the liability path is pursued, there is an option of proceeding by another route. The position taken here is that the answerability model is generally the most suitable for dealing with the main issues of accountability that public communication gives rise to, even if it may be less effective.

The main reason for stating this preference is that answerability is most consistent with freedom to publish, since it involves no threats or punishments (and thus indirect censorship). It is also most consistent with a reasoned and principled defence of any given act of publication and is more likely to lead to voluntary acceptance of responsibility and also to improvement of performance. It is certainly much more appropriate to the search for the adoption of positive goals of serving the public good and likely to be more effective in this respect. It avoids some of the dilemmas of free publication, which can cause offence and harm to some, even when pursuing some public good, such as holding governments and powerful institutions to account. It is the best way of dealing with conflicted communication relations in the public life of society. The liability model depends at root on a model of media power and causal influence that has limited demonstrability and application.

It has to be admitted that contemporary conditions of media systems are not very conducive to the applicability of the answerability model. Media are increasingly owned by large and remote corporations that are not inclined, even if they were able, to enter into meaningful dialogue with their audiences or those affected by their activities. They are often not at all connected with the national society or any local community. They obey such laws as apply, but are primarily governed by the conditions and rules of the market place. This theoretical analysis can be and concluded by reference to Figure 2, which summarizes much of the preceding argument in a single statement.
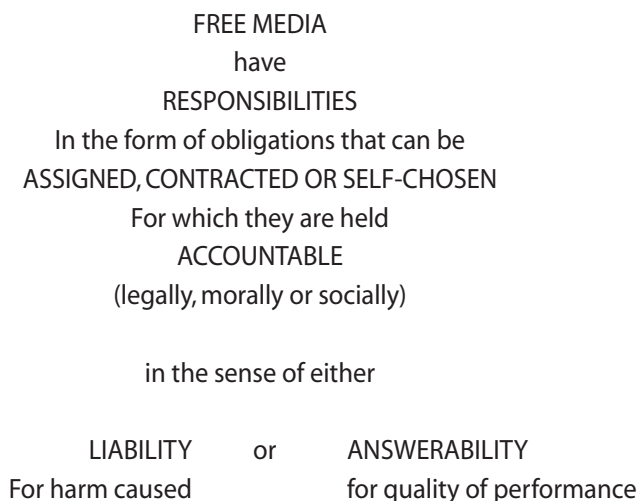
FREE MEDIA
have
RESPONSIBILITIES
In the form of obligations that can be
ASSIGNED, CONTRACTED OR SELF-CHOSEN
For which they are held
ACCOUNTABLE
(legally, morally or socially)

in the sense of either

LIABILITY   or   ANSWERABILITY
For harm caused   for quality of performance

Figure 2: A summary of the argument

Frames of accountability

It is useful to think in terms of a small number of basic 'frames of accounta-bility', each representing an alternative, although not mutually exclusive, approach to accountability, each having its own typical discourse, logic, forms and proce-dures. We can define a frame of accountability as ' frame of reference within which expectations concerning conduct and responsibility arise and claims are expressed. A frame also indicates or governs the ways in which such claims should be handled'.

The four most generally prevalent accountability frames can be derived from the points already made. The alternatives available differ according to the typical instruments and procedures involved, the issues they are most suited to dealing with and the degree of compulsion involved. There are varying possibilities for drawing on these frames and each has its typical advantages and disadvantages.

The frame of law and regulation

The main *mechanisms and procedures* comprise regulatory documents con-cerning what media may and may not do, together with formal rules and proce-dures for implementing the provisions of any regulation. The main issues dealt with under this heading relate either to alleged harm to individuals or to other

matters on which media (especially electronic media) can be regulated and called to account.

The market frame

The *market* is an important mean for balancing the interests of media organizations and producers and those of their clients and audiences (consumers). The *mechanisms* are the normal processes of demand and supply in a free (and therefore competitive) market that should in theory encourage 'good' and discourage 'bad' performance. For the most part, the market is self-regulating and self-correcting.

The frame of public responsibility

This refers to the fact the media organizations are also social institutions that fulfill, with varying degrees of voluntariness and explicit commitment, certain important public tasks, that go beyond their immediate goals of making profits and giving employment. This has sometimes been called a 'trustee model' of media, especially with reference to public broadcasting (Hoffmann-Riem, 1966; Feintuck, 1999). The media are a trustee of the public interest in key areas. Where media are seen to be failing they may be called to account by public opinion or other guardians of the public interest, including politicians.

The frame of professional responsibility

This refers to accountability that arises out of the self-respect and ethical development of professionals working in the media (e.g. journalists, advertisers, public relations), who set their own standards of good performance. It can also apply to associations of owners, editors, producers, etc. that aim to protect the interests of the industry by self-regulation.

Brief assessment

It is clear that in an open society there are likely to be many overlapping processes of accountability, but no complete system, and no single one of the 'frames' described is sufficient for the task on its own or uniquely superior to the others. There are many gaps (performance issues not dealt with adequately), and some media accept no responsibility except what is imposed by market forces.

The diversity of forms and means of accountability can be considered a positive feature in itself even if the overall result is not satisfactory. In general, according to the principle of openness, we should prefer forms of accountability that are transparent, voluntary and based on active relationships and dialogue and debate – following the answerability model I have described. The alternatives of external control, legal compulsion and threats of punishment may be more effective in the short term and sometimes the only way to achieve some goal, but in the long term they run counter to the spirit of the open society.

The available forms of accountability include informal and unavoidable pressures to conform as well as to those that are freely chosen. We may speak of them as having a range of different purposes or effects, in keeping with the complexity of the notion of accountability. Six main purposes or effects can be proposed:

- Prevention of harm
- Control of media by public authorities or media industry
- Improvement of quality
- Getting performance of public duties
- Promotion of trust amongst the public or audience
- Protecting the interests of the communicator, as organisation or professional.

These different aims are likely to be achieved by different means of accountability. Law and regulation, for instance, may be required to limit certain kinds of harm, but will not contribute to the creation of trust and loyalty in relations between media and audience. For this, either professional self-regulation or an established fiduciary framework may be required. The market is probably good at promoting certain kinds of product quality (especially if popularity is the measure) but not an incentive to performing various public duties. A number of other such connections and disconnections can be instanced and are indicated in a provisional way in Table 2.

In general terms, the purposes of accountability range from control and prevention to those of improving communicative relations and quality of content and service. This dimension approximately matches that separating the liability from the answerability mode described above.

PURPOSE	MEANS		
	Market	*Law*	*Public Professional & Opinion Self-regulation*
Quality	X		X
Trust			X
Public duty		X	X
Prevent harm To society	X	X	
Prevent harm To individuals	X	X	
Control	X	X	X
Protect Communicator			X

Table 2. The relationship between purpose and means of accountability

Almost any of the means of accountability can have a controlling effect, although accountability is clearly not the *same* as control. It does not necessarily diminish the freedom of a communicator and can enlarge it. At issue are two conceptually distinct phenomena. Control involves the use of power to achieve some desired outcome or behaviour on the part of another (or place limits on action). Accountability has to do with securing from an actor an explanation or justification of actions. Unlike control, it takes place after the event. Clearly the anticipation of accountability does potentially inhibit action and can be designed as a method of control, but the anticipation of consequences is intrinsic to rational, let alone responsible, action.

Is there an ideal of communication?

There are several possible versions of what counts as ideal communication and impossible to find one that covers the entire range of private and public expression, purposeful or utilitarian as well as emotional or artistic expression. Even so, there are some widely accepted desirable characteristics. These include

integrity, good faith, sincerity, honesty, respect for others (including the audience). Accountability is supportive of these and similar communication virtues.

The 'good communicator' of the ideal model of public communication accepts accountability not in order to 'be good' for its own sake but to achieve certain purposes. Most mass media publication cannot be considered as 'ideal' in intention or execution in this full sense, although none of the characteristics mentioned are impossible or unknown in mass communication, especially where individual authorship is involved.

The principle of freedom of communication does not *require* either ideal conduct or accountability. It permits a person to choose their own ideal, or none at all. Even so, freedom of expression, when it is idealised usually includes a number of qualities that are consistent with being accountable, especially: an awareness of consequences, a lack of manipulative intent, an interest in challenge, response and debate. It is clear that most publication activities of the media are not carried out in order to 'serve society', but to satisfy many communicative and expressive purposes and to meet the needs of their audiences and clients, who view them in a similar light, with little or no thought to 'society' in the abstract. Nevertheless, the media are not outside, but part of society and cannot escape its claims or ignore its framework of values for public communication. In practice disputes turn not on the idea of having responsibilities or not but on the degree and kind of obligation that might be involved and how it should be promoted.

Despite many complexities and necessary qualifications, we can summarize the essence in terms of several *principles of right and responsibility* that both sa - tisfy essential requirements of society and also command wide acceptance by the 'mainstream' media institution. My own formulation of these is as follows:

As much freedom to communicate as possible should be available to as many as possible, including a public right to receive communication. The media enjoy the benefit of this freedom and should help to extend it to others.

The use of this freedom brings with it a responsibility to adhere to truth, in the widest sense, including informativeness, openness, integrity, honesty, reliability.

Media have solidaristic obligations as collective participants in social life. This includes expressing and supporting the needs and interests of component groups in the society as well as meeting essential informational, social and cultural needs of society.

Media can be held to account for the use they make of their power of publication.

Public communication by media are subject to the ethical and normative requirements of society as appropriate to place, time, context and content. The general public and groups within it have rights to be listened to on these matters.

Human rights, especially as codified, of all affected by communication should be respected. This has an international range of application.

A range of 'private' rights, ranging from privacy to property should be recognised and respected in public communication.

The position outlined implies that media are not as free as individual citizens and do not enjoy freedom of expression or communication in the same manner or degree, despite having some privileges and more opportunity in practice to 'publish'. The relative unfreedom of the media has four main sources. One is the power to have effects, for which they may be held to account. Secondly, not all types of content have an equal claim to protection, Some content is socially disapproved or simply not regarded as significant. Thirdly, the media are not only in the business of communication and can be restricted for non-communication reasons. Fourthly, it seems to be the case that the general public does not support freedom for media when it conflicts with some other values. This is not to say that the public must be right or the majority obeyed but, there is a rough and ready calculus according to which the more impact a medium can have and the greater its reach the more it is likely to have its freedom limited, with public approval. There is an inverse correlation between potential for communication effects and permitted degree of freedom.

On publication and freedom again

It has seemed that on close examination all the main terms employed in discussing these matters decompose into a variety of different meanings. This is true of responsibility, accountability and publication. It applies equally to the concepts of publication and of freedom when used in relation to publication. In respect of publication, the simple meaning of 'making public' does not adequately capture the diversity of roles that communicating by way of media involves. The media are engaged in different types of publication activity: acting as a channel or conduit for information originating elsewhere in society; providing a platform for diverse 'voices' to express themselves; facilitating individual authorship in various media forms; acting as an advocate, author or source in their own right. There are many

different kinds of and roles publication and these are still changing as new media develop. Issues of freedom and constraint have to be thought out in relation to changing conditions.

This variety of communication roles and purposes reinforces the need for some fundamental distinctions to be made in respect of responsibility and accountability of the media.

Freedom of expression also means different things. One meaning is the *liber-tarian* one of there being no limits, no prohibitions or taboos, nor obligations either. Another meaning is being able to use media actively and with impunity to question and oppose dominant groups and ideologies for a shared social purpose. A third meaning is the real possibility of access to the means of communication in public. A fourth, more individual, meaning is the freedom to express a personal belief or view of the truth openly and honestly without constraint or impediment. A fifth meaning is the commercial one of freedom to trade in media goods in the open market without restrictions on competition or other conditions. These different meanings have often been confused or just lumped together in the arguments for and against freedom for the media although they have varying implications for accountability.

Final remarks

My argument, arrived at by a rather tortuous route, can be summarized in fairly simple terms. Firstly, the media as public institution of communication cannot and do not escape a range of responsibilities to society arising from their history and the position they occupy in society. But they are also and essential part of the whole process of communication and not to be regarded simply as impediments to freedom.

Secondly, and following from this the media are called to account in various ways and with varying degrees of possible constraint, depending on the issue and other circumstances of the case. The fact of being called to account does not in itself violate the various freedoms of communication that can be claimed. Accountability cannot be considered of its essence as inconsistent with freedom. One important aspect of freedom of communication is the freedom to choose to whom one is accountable.

Thirdly, in a free society it is desirable that multiple forms and *for a* of accountability should exist, to avoid centralised power of control over media, to maximise

space for freedom, even freedom for 'error' and 'irresponsibility' and also to reflect the many and real differences of purpose lying behind the whole enterprise.

Fourthly, mass media cannot claim the same kind and degree of freedom for all their publication decisions as can individuals. In some cases they may even have more freedom where the public good requires it. There is also a role for public policy that has as its goal both the protection of media freedom and also conformity to the expectations of society, to be secured by legitimate and non-punitive means.

Finally, I would like to use the occasion to recommend more attention within the field of communication to the matters discussed and other issues of a similar kind. There is a need to develop a branch of theorising in which philosophical ethical, social political and legal matters surrounding public communication can be explored. This need arises from the relative paucity and fragmentary nature of current theorising, which is often too closely tied to practical and immediate concerns of policy and the current realities of a single country or media system. It also stems from the rapidly changing circumstances of public communication that have been referred to. The task is not, of course, for Communication Science alone, but the field does have something distinctive to contribute and stands at a central point in identifying particular issues of the kind that I have been discussing today.

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'Communication and Citizenship: Rethinking Crisis and Change' was the general theme of the 2010 IAMCR Conference that was hosted by the Communication and Society Research Centre, University of Minho, Portugal, 18-22 July. This book comprehends Plenary Addresses on the general theme hoping that their publication will keep the debate alive. In a time of profound economic and social crisis, the scientific community is expected to shed light on contemporary deadlocks and uncertainties. These texts are part of the indispensable continuous critique.