

DESIRE, POWER & SKY NEWS

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The Global Media Cosmopolitanism, the (non-) Meaning of News, and the Death of Television:

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I, Oliver Moran, declare that the content of this project is original material and my own work. All material that is not original to this project is duly referenced according to conventions outlined by the Department of Government and Society, University of Limerick.

Signed: _____
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*Cover illustrations taken from The Future is Here, 2000, Middlesex: BskyB

“
*We choose to go to the
moon*
For My Parents,
not because its easy;
and three sisters.
*because its **hard.***
”
– J.F.K.

My appreciation is also owing to the friendships of Niall, Lainey, Will, Podz, Orla, Nelly, Dee, Paul, Kaz & Rina while not forgetting those who, despite the fact that I do not want to mention their names, and whether they believe me or not, have altered the course of my life and thinking.

The Global Media Cosmopolitanism, the (non-) Meaning of News, and the Death of Television:

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Abstract

Sky News is a rational, high-capitalist supplier of news as a post-modern commodity. Through a series of "emotional bonds" that it forms with the audience, it recreates an illusionary sense among them, a cosmopolitan ethic, that is detrimental to news, media and the audience themselves, rendering them worthless. Value is extracted from consumers of content through virtue of it being consumed by connecting them with marketers, both internal to BskyB and external as advertisers, seeking to win their commodities -upon the already enthralled audience. The relationship that exists between consumer and producer of Sky News content is one of exploitation.

DESIRE, POWER & SKY NEWS

Contents

Introduction	1
Concept One: The Global Media Cosmopolitan	4
Concept Two: The (non-) Meaning of News	10
Concept Three: The Death of Television	18
Section Two: Desire, Power and Sky News	23
Conclusion	39
Bibliography	43
Appendices:	
1: News Corporation (Various Companies and Interest)	
2: Hypertext in Sky News Media (Rhizomorphic Access)	
3: Regulated & Unregulated Commercial Broadcasting	
4: Content Overview of Sky News (Stories & Themes)	

Introduction

In the course of 24 hours News Corporation media is consumed by nearly half a billion people in more than 70 countries.¹ As a controlling house for TV stations, movie studios, magazines, publishing houses, newspapers on every continent, as well as record labels, new medias and on-line services its influence on those who read/view/listen to its product is immense, whether they are aware of that influence or not. In part, this is why the initial question that I set for myself when I undertook this project is very different from the question that I eventually found myself answering. That was to examine the concept of the 'rolling-story', BSkyB's main on-going news-story throughout a single day. But as I dug beneath the skin of the medium, with each layer I unearthed, I found it more and more difficult to interpret the messages I was viewing as 'news'. Immediately upon recognising this, and why, the content that I saw become meaningless.

BSkyB are the largest providers of pay-TV in the world. The company is a branch of News Corp., one of the largest, and most vertically integrated of global media shops. And Sky News is the 24-hour news branch of BskyB. As a station, Sky News is tremendously important to its viewers, to media observers and to competing broadcasters. They look to it not just as a market leader but as a market-maker. The ten years since broadcasting began in Middlesex, home to the BskyB cluster, have been ones of revolution in the world of media production and consumption. In Britain and Ireland, this is much due to the initiative of Sky.

Ten years have effectively seen television die as an isolated medium, a global media rise, fuelled by the consumption of a cosmopolitan audience, and the meaning of news itself fall into crisis under the weight of high-capitalism. But fundamentally, ten years have revolutionised the relationship played out

¹ News Corporation Annual Report 1999, 1999, Adelaide: News Corp., [online], last accessed on the 5th of March 2001 at URL: <http://www.newscorp.com/report99/>

between the media industry and its audience as unregulated commercial television broadcast across these islands for the first time.

This project sets-out to explore that relationship as it stands today at the crossroads of technological and human existence, where they seem to merge into one, and to engage the most significant sociological question that it heaves. In an open media environment, where the media appears to have less control, and the consumer more choice, how does Sky News express its power? What I want to ask is: in the relationship between audience and producer of Sky News, where is power located and how did it come to be there?

The route that I will take to explore a new concept of power is in two parts. In *Section One*, I want to outline three theoretical concepts that are important to my argument: the Cosmopolitan Ethic and Global Media, the Meaning of News in Late-Capitalism, and Theory of Hypertextular Design. What I want to illustrate using these concepts is role of relationships that are played out over three diverse (though interconnected) aspects of media, to which a great part takes much emphasis away from the producer. The essays that make this section deal with concepts that are important to understanding my analysis and conclusion of Sky News as a part of a global media corporation and as a news producer and of the audiences role which while apparently strong, I will argue is in fact very weak and open to exploitation. While initially they may appear disjuncted, it is intended that they will be held in mind until *Section Two* when my argument, directly, will get underway.

In that section I will make the case that despite the apparent loss of emphasis that the earlier theoretical essays considered, the owners of Sky News have located themselves as the dominant partner in a relationship of exploitation between consumer and producer. Through a brief content analysis exercise, I will demonstrate how a series of "emotional bonds" are constructed between the pair to BskyB's benefit. What I want to prove is that in the face of the excitement and optimism that

surrounds new media technologies the relationship that is created attempts to exploit the viewer and the locate power with the owners of media.

Furthermore, what I will show in doing this is that the content Sky News makes available is meaningless. It devalues news, media and audiences. As an artefact of high-capitalist rationale and coldness, it represents the worst the modern era can throw-up. As someone who approached the topic with an optimistic gait, I see that it cannot be analysed on the basis of 'news'. Its ideology is to produce according to formula. To exploit according to algebra. Its math and genius and influence is unnerving.

The Global Media Cosmopolitan

“The structural difference, for instance, between information and entertainment television (roughly, between fact and fiction), is a residue of modernity that contains the hierarchical evaluation that the former is superior to the latter.” – J. Fiske²

It is perverse to discuss contemporary media activity without acknowledging the global environment in which it takes place: an environment of international capitalism officiated by a small number of multi-billion dollar conglomerates producing poly-media services that affect not only, as we are exploring, the processes and experiences thrust upon their subsidiaries and associated partners but also national and regional media producers. As a layered web of hugely diversified and efficient, sometimes competing oftentimes mutually satisfying giants, the companies that make-up this environment have attracted numerous detractors and critics through the enormous political and social influence that they extol at every level of society, whether we part-take in their consumption or not, and though their ostensive manner and indiscriminately charged approach to business and media production may not have earned many admirers, their success and omnipotence is unquestionable.

So great is their influence, and so imbued in reality is it, that appreciating the enormity and reach of the global media is problematic and therefore to go some way to make a represent description of the environment that they inhabit and give a taste of the callus passions that formulate the business ethic they prescribe is equally difficult. McChesney observes that, “it is a system that works to advance the cause of the global market and promote commercial values, while denigrating journalism and culture not conducive to immediate bottom line or long-term corporate interests.”³ While this may in effect be true, the results that he writes about are not deliberate; they are not the primary objective, the symptoms rather than the disease. The intention is not to preserve a global superstructure of powerful conglomerates and corporations to germinate the seeds of false-consciousness internationally, as

² Fiske, J, 1994 Media Matters: Everyday Culture and Political Change, Minneapolis: Minnesota Press, quoted in Axford, B, et al, 1997, Politics: An Introduction, London: Routledge, pg. 402

³ McChesney, R. W., 1997, “The Global Media Giant – The nine firms that dominate the world”, Extra!, FAIR, November/December 1997, New York, [online], last accessed 5th March 2001 at URL: <http://www.fair.org/extra/9711/gmg.html>

Marxist/Frankfurt School sociologists may presume, but the return of balance between the revenue one course of action will generate against the costs it will incur and nurturing the means to develop optimum returns in the future. The action cannot be an ideology of its self: the system, in fact, is not altogether real. It is one that re-creates an illusionary structure of institutions and precepts that imitate a "superficial notion of democracy ... where ... those who own the world ought to govern it." That illusionary structure is not the ambition of its 'government', although it may be expedient to enthrall consumers and distract observers. The intention rather is nowhere near as sinister: it is to make money.

Reflecting on *Citizen Kane*, Orson Welles' cinematic masterpiece that criticised the excess of William Randolph Hearst as one of the worlds first iconic press magnates, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., remembers his father asking him why he preferred to concentrate on newspapers, with their limited, regional appeal, rather than spending more energy on motion pictures and their worldwide audience. Ironically, Fairbanks recalls Hearst's reply, "I though of it, but decided against it. Because you can crush a man with journalism, and you can't with motions picture!"⁴

Whether Hearst could foretell his demise or whether contemporary media giants disagree with the evaluations of his type, it is rare that today newspaper boardrooms do not share directors with film studios. When this change occurred for certain is anything but. It developed as a stream of serial acquisitions in some part driven by the threat of losing commercial ground as competitors merged and spread-out, and in some part by the anticipation of that threat. In another way it can be attributed to the technological and the ensuing social revolutions that have copper fastened a global cosmopolitanism demanding a global media and the structural requirements of delivering on those demands.

⁴ PBS Online / WGBH, 2000, [American Experience: the Battle Over Citizen Kane](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/kane2/), n.p., [online], last accessed on 5th March 2001 at URL: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/kane2/>

The Cosmopolitan Ethic

At a near universal level it is currently believed that we are living in extraordinary times, times of immense and exceptional changes that are transforming the very essence of economic, social and political life. New technologies are not only condensing time and space, as they have done in the past, but are redrawing the categories and distances between people and institutions. However, despite a shared sense of experience, the word we use to describe these changes is somewhat confusing and reflexive. 'Globalisation', appears at once to point to the verb, 'to globalise', referring to a process, a mechanical act instituted by the unknown while at the same time referring to 'the globe', a noun, an inert sense of commonality, a return to nature and a primordial sense of home. For the critics of the globalisation, especially Western detractors, a question must be put: what relationships do the processes of globalisation share with the body of thought that dreams to be the cosmopolitan?

Recent human experience has seen the materialisation of a steady acceptance of the 'other' and a growing sense of cosmopolitanism among the populations of the Western World that contrast considerably with the inherent divisions within traditional conceptions of the nation-state and the 'imagined communities' and culture that they declare to represent. The cosmopolitanism that emerges, rather than fearing the 'other', appears to delight in and search for the contrasts between societies, at least superficially rejecting notions of superiority and longing after heterogeneity among cultures and ethnicities. The cosmopolitan ethic is one of readiness to consume the multi-cultural panorama proffered by the sweeping technologies that make exploration into foreign cultures and societies accessible to all, abolishing the sense of farness or detachment between localities.⁵

Through extensive mobility, more often virtual than real through a network of global media that impart a rash of international and local stories at once, intertwined and inseparable, the cosmopolitan is able

⁵ Urry, J., 2000(a), *The Global Media and Cosmopolitanism*, Lancaster University: Department of Sociology, [online], last accessed on 5th January 2001 at URL: <http://tina.lancs.as.uk/sociology/soc056ju.html>

to fulfil his/her innate curiosity to consume many places, peoples and cultures at once, rudimentarily locating him/herself within a 'global neighbourhood', mapping his/her own society historically and geographically within it and enabling him/her the luxury to reflect on his/her own sphere and judge it aesthetically within the nature of places and people and against the 'other'. The sensation drawn from the pastiche of images ingratiates the global citizen with a sense of identity in which the everyday lifestyle choices that s/he makes allow him/her to experience the wider world as touching his/her local 'life world' and portraying that in some way that his/her 'life world' is in one way or another significant amid the larger streams of global consciousness.

Though Urry argues that a true cosmopolitan culture has yet to develop entirely there are significant signs that one is beginning to emerge, that through the global superstructure of information technology a sense of global citizenship can be fostered in the identities of individuals connected to it. He discusses the concept that through the technology already present a sort of 'enforced proximity' can cultivate the kinds of intellectual backcloth needed to allow the consumer of such media to locate themselves within the global millstream and draw a transnational identity from the cosmopolitan icons that are allowed/able to postulate international. As evidence, he offers the experience gained from hearing Nelson Mandela reaffirm and ingratiate the cosmopolitan ethic in his supporters by saying at once citing 'we', "the people of South Africa and the world who are watching". Likewise much of the ideological pointing drawn from the commentators at the funeral of the Princess of Wales' can be interpreted as being intended for a collective disparate 'we' to relish in the thrall of an ethereal international macabre consumption.

The situation resonates significantly with the theoretical disposition of the cosmopolitan and likewise contrasts proportionately with traditional forms of a collective 'we' – 'we' the people of the nation-state that formulate and constitute the founding of 'our' nation, antagonistic to the 'other', insular and self-focused. But, if a global sense of identity is developing, how does the cosmopolitan find citizenship in

the international? Aside Urry, new scholarly thinking⁶ locates global citizenship as developing from the 'right' to purchase goods on the global market, our identities as global citizens and our affiliations within that identity are expressed through the products we consume. Whether we drink Coke or an Australian white, listen to French electro-pop or watch American Pro-Basketball, wear 'ethnic' jewellery and 'ecologically aware' T-shirts or sport Nike, as cosmopolitans we not only claim our place as citizens of the world and enjoy its bountiful eclecticism but declare where we stand in the vanguard of that movement.

The concept that consumption as formative to citizenship is important because as products the objective is not to educate us on the circumstances but to enable us to take part in the events. Like the bonds among the 'imagined communities' of the nation-state, we can imagine that we are a part of the plight of Amazonian rainforests or today's famine in Africa but catastrophe is consumed as virtual, appearing to take place on celluloid, affording the dichotic pleasure of spectacle and identification through its consumption. Indeed, the images that we consume appear to be increasingly staged for our convenience. In a sense, the media loses significance for its cognitive effects or ideological bias, but takes on a new role. The best brands, the best news-stories, the most visual images are the most readily consumable. The global citizen/consumer must be alert and ready to meet his/her potential. The media that the global citizen demands must meet this potential equitably with a flow of fresh consumables if s/he is to be the best that s/he can as a citizen of the global cosmopolitan.

Summary

In writing this essay, I sought to demonstrate two arguments. First, that contrary to some analysis, global media corporations such as News Corp. or Sony do not seek to deliberately distort or lighten the information that they impart, nor do they attempt to maintain an Orwell-esque superstructure of the international Big Brothers. Rather, if their messages are distorted or their influence too great, it is not

⁶ Urry, 2000(a) cites Stephenson, 1997 and Meijer, 1998.

a part of their ideology but the result of the business environment that they inhabit. They are driven by capitalism and the market economy and as such are rested in keeping the demands of consumers regardless of the social or cultural consequences of their actions. The second argument I sought to make was that an increasing number of people, especially in the West are enthralled with a cosmopolitan ethic, as described by Urry. The cosmopolitan desires a heterogeneous pastiche of experiences, to see his/her own experience alongside the 'other' and yearns to belong to an international citizenship. In reality, the consumption of this pastiche is constrained by time and space, which while shrinking has yet to entirely disappear, and by the desire itself which greedily strives to consume incrementally newer and more 'others' each time it consumes the last in order to better his/her experience as a global citizen.

It is through reconciling these concepts that I reach my conclusion. If the global media feeds the demands of a global cosmopolitan then the demands of the cosmopolitan upon the media is to produce that which cannot be but distorted and brief, as it is still constrained by time and space and by their ravenous desire. It entertains their desire, virtually, to belong to a global international. Who I seek to interrogate, without prejudice with regards the content that they bring to bear, is not the producer of such media but the consumer as producer, who at many times criticises the very beast that they demand be brought to be. The 'scapes and flows' of information and cultural output that they have created through their demand is contradictory to their edict of integrating the 'other'. They "create new social inequalities, of access"⁷ that inherently benefit those who can afford to be connected to it, but intimately they demand that these 'scapes and flows' exist in the first place. The global media environment was not created by dark-suited men in anonymous boardrooms but by a cultural shift in Western society that demanded to feel global, but safely so.

⁷ Urry, J., 2000(b), Locating H.E. The Global Landscape, Lancaster University: Department of Sociology, [online], last accessed on 5th January 2001 at URL: <http://tina.lancs.as.uk/sociology/soc010ju.html>

The (non-) Meaning of News

“News: tidings; the report or account of recent events or occurrences, brought to or coming to one as new information; new occurrences as a subject of report or talk.” – Oxford English Dictionary⁸

It is clear from the dictionary definition that news, or that which we perceive to be news, is, rather than the events themselves, what we are presented with. For this definition we do not have to turn to the authorised texts of our language, although I have to qualify myself, instead we could just as easily turn to one of our colleagues or friends for as frank an answer, and generally speaking, it is true. News is what we are told is News by those whose job it is to communicate, or increasingly sell, it to us.

The significance of this definition, and our acceptance of it, should not be undermined. As we develop as infants to take our place within the child's, and then the adult's world, we do so by taking command of language as a tool not only to communicate our perception and experience but also to gain from the experience of others, entering into a contract with them. When an adult, or other similar authority figure, tells us “ahh ahh – do not touch” or “hot!” or “dirty!” we need not actually experience for ourselves the sensation they are referring to but can understand it, through them, as if we did ourselves.

So, too, as adults, many of us are willing to accept an experience of the (mainly political) world through the experience of news broadcasters and tellers, as if it were our own living experience. Fortunately, as adults, we possess a more critical, and less inquisitive mind, than a child and so are prepared, some of us even enjoying as child enjoys discovering, to question the motives and quality of the ‘experience’ extended to us by media-men.

⁸ Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd (unrevised) ed., 1989, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Media Influence

The degree to which we are influenced by the stories we are told through television and newsprint is questionable. As sociological analysis became popular at the start of the twentieth century, it had been perceived that the level to which we were was tremendous – a point picked-up upon by totalitarians – based on empirical studies of audience numbers. However, following the Second World War, laboratory-based tests, of equally questionable merit, convinced social-scientists that this was not, in fact, so, in fact, they argued, media debate and images had absolutely no effect on individual perception, at all!

Today, learned opinion occupies the middle ground and both viewpoints are challenged on the grounds that neither appreciated the strength of the subjects' prior disposition to whatever topic or attitudes was to be examined and that the focus was put merely on short-term, immediately recognisable, influences, neglecting longer-term, and more subtle, cultural shifts that now concern, social-annalists (in all but the most extreme of circumstances).

Media influence should be divided into two categories: 'effects' and 'effectiveness'

The 'effectiveness' of the message we receive through media groups refers to deliberate attempts to alter our opinion and/or attitudes. They generally refer to immediate and always certain goals of those who are dominant and possess a hegemonic influence on media producers and can range in example from persuading us to give to charity or to oppress ethnic migrants seeking work.

The 'effects' of media influence, on the other hand, relates to slow, almost undetectable changes to our society initiated, probable unconsciously, by the activities of broadcasters and journalists over a great period of time when similar themes, institutionalised within the mechanisms of media production, shape us and the landscape of 'reality'. Actual evidence of such an influence may be difficult to

uncover because of the obvious entrenchment of these changes into our mindscape but clues, such as the broadening of sexual frontiers or the closing of ethno-cultural forms of expression, while they can be directly attributed to many factors, have been seized upon and emphasised in the past by the editors and news-makers present in our homes when we turn on the telly or pick up a paper every day.

How we interpret such messages depends on our attitude towards each particular media, the amount of prestige we attach to the source, and the significance of the story to the listener – and so each interpretation is stratified by class and standpoint – but the ‘cultural norms theory’ accentuated by McQuail:

“... postulates that mass media, through selective presentations and the emphasis of certain themes, creates impressions among their audiences that common cultural norms concerning the emphasised topics are structured and defined in some specific ways. Since individual behaviour is usually guided by cultural norms or the actors’ impressions of what the norms are with respect to a given topic or situation, the media would then serve indirectly to influence conduct.”⁹

To the critical mind the questions drawn to bear form the ‘effects’ and ‘effectiveness’ of media influence are: What is the direction of these influences? Are they preventing something, facilitating something, or reinforcing and reaffirming something? Some believe that the question is not what power the media had but how does it work, and who had access to it. For those people, ‘agenda-setting’ and the choice of stories to formulate the agenda are crucial to understanding the meaning of news.

Concepts of ‘News-worthiness’

News programmes and column inches are a finite resource for editors, journalists wishing to be published and ‘stories’ – events, politicians and pressure groups – jostling for inclusion. For the viewer, it is only those stories that are included that are ‘the News’ as, simply, what they do not see, they do not know is there. It is

⁹ Defleur, M. quoted in Curran, J., M. Gurevitch and J. Wollacott, 1977, Mass Communication and Society, London: Edward Arnold, pg. 76.

irrelevant to ask on behalf of the viewer: "What is news-worthy?" Because, they do not make that choice. Instead, what is important is to question how what has been included is affecting them.

News-providers today operate in a competitive, capitalist environment. Whether the media group actually be in private ownership, or is state financed, it must still justify itself in terms of audience and 'cost-effectiveness'. According to Hartley, strategies adopted to maximise profits in periods of declining markets and generally squeezed profit margins have had their effect in the boardrooms of news-sellers:

"But of course that does not prove that boardroom criteria necessarily appear on the page as 'the owners opinion'. However, it does suggest that certain choices facing editorial staff are constrained. They cannot overstep the commercial mark in the allocation of resources, in the appeal to the mass rather than the minority markets, and in the broad limits of 'acceptable' opinion."¹⁰

In other words, the capitalist news-making environment places conditions on the choice of story available to run to conform to market trends and general concepts of 'acceptability', forming the basis of "news values" which, like capitalism, are modern and rational criteria decided on to ensure a maximum return in revenue and attract the greatest number of readers/viewers through the choice of story included in a newspaper edition or TV broadcast. In doing so, however, news-worthiness is defined less in terms of 'quality' (a difficult term in itself, but one which I think most people can appreciate: one driven by a sense of desire to educate or influence ones' reader/viewer for good, whatever ones own conception of 'good' may be) but in terms of antipathy towards what message is contained, or at best infers a culture of consensus where I suspect news is designed to flatter the reader rather than inform or open his mind.

Gatlang and Ruge outline the main tenets of 'news values' accepted as the benchmark for inclusion:¹¹

¹⁰ Hartley, J., 1982, Understanding News, London: Routledge. pg. 50.

¹¹ Hartley, J., 1982, Understanding News. London: Routledge. pg.s 76 – 79.

1. Frequency: the time the event takes to unravel (eg. a murder take place immediately and so it is suited for inclusion in a daily-newspaper or the evening-news but economic trends take time to develop and so they must be 'marked' by the publication of a report and so on, if they are to be included).
2. Threshold: stories must reach a certain threshold of interest below which no story will be considered, varying in levels for national and local news. However, once one story has broken past the threshold, other ancillary stories may follow under a new threshold of drama in order to keep momentum rolling.
3. Unambiguity: events themselves need not actually be unambiguous in character but for the purposes of reporting ambiguities and alternative tellings are limited.
4. Meaningfulness: (a) "cultural proximity" to the news gatherer, first in an international sense then in a localised sense in the form of class and ethnicity; (b) relevance – if items which may not be of "cultural proximity" impinge on the news gathers' 'home' culture (eg. Islam).
5. Consonance: a desire for the predictability of an event, often developing into self-fulfilling prophecies (eg. if riots are expected at a demonstration then any violence, no matter how isolated it may actually be, becomes the focus of news reports rather than the overall level of non-violence).
6. Unexpectedness: the unpredictability or rarity of an event can make it news-worthy in terms of meaningfulness and consonance.
7. Continuity: if an event is covered once, the momentum of that initial coverage will carry it until eventually the momentum, too, falls out.
8. Composition: otherwise insignificant stories may be included if there is too much focus on one particular area of news in order to formulate a 'rounder mix' of stories.

In addition to these eight criteria, four more, specific to a Western European/North American media, are identified:

9. Reference to 'elite nations': diplomatic and civil relations with 'elite nations' will receive greater attention than others that are 'less elite' (eg. elections in USA against those in Mexico), similarly, deaths/wars require a higher body count outside these special nations (eg. an earthquake in Japan and floods in Bangladesh).
10. Reference to 'elite persons': the actions of pop-stars and sporting-personalities are assumed to be more consequential than those of 'ordinary' people. Their weddings, opinions, nights-out and domestic habits are taken to be of consequence to us all since we do these things, too.
11. Personalisation: events are reduced to the actions of individuals as they are more easily identified with than structures or organisations (eg. "Virgin Airlines" is interchangeable, when referred to, with "Richard Branson")
12. Negativity: bad news is good news. It fulfils a large portion of the first eight principles (ie. unexpectedness, frequency, it is consonant with general expectations about the state and the world at large and hence its threshold is lower than that of good news).

What this means for the viewer is that no longer do discussions of 'news-worthiness' lie solely outside his remit but also, more often than not, outside the remit of the editor, who is retired to play the role of referee between the jostling forces of various 'agenda setters', and is as much a slave of the rules of the modern, capitalist news environment as he is a master of them – having to at once obey and then to exercise them.

The ability to influence then falls into the pot of the 'agenda setters', the state, multi-nationals, NGO's and so on, who are large enough to create events that fulfil the rational criteria of 'news-worthiness' and so to make the headlines. The question of tackling media power through terms such as ownership has shifted direction, the new sociological question is one of control not of the means of production but of the news itself. Who writes the news?

Summary

The purpose of this essay has been to illustrate the manner in which in a high-capitalist society media control of news output and therefore a large section of media influence has swung largely out of the control of those who own the actual means of (news) production. I began by arguing that 'news', rather than being a definitive, but illusive, concept is in fact merely what we are presented as being News whenever we pick-up a news-paper or switch-on the television. The influence of News is however none the less powerful, depending on our attitude towards the source and our interest in the stories we are given. A critical opinion should be taken towards the messages passed to us as to their authenticity both as true statements of experience and with respect to the motives behind their transmission.

I questioned the freedom of editors to produce news-media of quality in light of the influences of rational, capitalist economics and asked where the control of news writing had gone. The conclusion I have come to is that when the emphasis of news-media shifts from the production of 'quality' news items to the productions of 'profitable' news, objective control of content by editorial staff is lost. The 'agenda setters' who try to influence editorial decision-making in order that they may gain successful media coverage for their own personal interests fill this gap. If they are successful in doing so they gain the style of influence traditionally associated with the media but they are too diverse and disparate to criticise and therefore the viewers ability to critically evaluate news will be damaged as well as the role of news-broadcasters and writers to criticise society.

The Death of Television

After almost thirty years of service, television was in danger of becoming a dead weight. It was a monolith to modern structure and formulation, unchanging and fixed in time and space, uninvolved and uninspiring, exemplified by the rap, "the drug of a nation", and the pathetic metaphor, "a television playing to an empty room." As sociologists grappled with its meaning and effects on children, on politicisation and socialisation it played on, an unending linear stream of chat-shows, sitcoms, and day-time dramas, punctuated by the occasional moon-landing-esque victory, but returning always to the unerring schedule of mono-vocal dialogue to a fragmented and alienated audience of passive smokers. A discourse of dichotomy, television and viewer, incapable of interaction.

If it had one ace left, it was the visual, the trump card in an otherwise obsolete deck. It could be the eye with which we could see distant events, pan across the globe and zoom in on alien vistas, coups, pop stars, the living, and dying, but merely watch these things unfold momentarily through the eyes of one witness before jerking uncontrollably and waking in mind of another as if caught in some strange nightmare we could not bridle.

Television, 'the box', the uncompromising information-arch, would have to learn to swim, to pull its own weight, or be dragged under the tide of manifest change.

For the social context in which television had taken place had changed ceaselessly since the first TV guides had rolled off their printing press. At its very basic, viewers could no longer wait for programmes to 'come-on.' At best, they would rather surf the 61 channels that there's nothing on, remote control in hand, consuming headline after sports report, advert after infomercial, interjecting random commentaries with abuse and "I knew that was going to happen." At worst, apathetically, they couldn't "find time to watch television, anymore."

The VCR came some way to prolonging the crisis of identity, breaking to some part the need to interrupt one schedule for another, allowing those whose 'prime-time' was 2am to call back shadows from the previous evening like memories from a war but as the world turned faster and faster than long-play video-tape, the amusement of living five hours behind gave way to the anxiety at living five hours in debt.

All this occurred as television played to the same empty room, unaware of the ubiquitous change that was taking place outside its walls.

Hypertext/Hypermedia

Ted Nelson coined the word 'hypertext' in the 1960's and later defined it as "non-sequential writing with reader controlled links."¹² Joyce expands on his interpretation, explaining that by controlling the links between items of text, the reader can not only decide in what order s/he reads a piece of text but by doing so his/her choices in fact become the text and s/he becomes the "reader-as-writer", an 'interlocutor', "one conversant with the polylogue", and multiple dimension of reality within a single text become possible.

In stepping away from the dichotomy of reader and writer, consumer and producer of media, hypermedia frees the audience from prescribed and peripheral roles to ever changing, central participation in the production and consumption of media. No longer are fixed schedules of events or structured presentations valid while the viewer can choose in what order they appear on screen or what s/he chooses to watch, or not, without breaking the over-all interpretation of the message. In

¹² Joyce, M., 1992, "Notes Toward an Unwritten non-Linear Electronic Text: the Ends of Print Culture" (a work in progress), Post-Modern Culture, 2(1), [online], last accessed 5th of March 2000 at URL: <http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/pmc/text-only/issue.991/joyce.991>

fact, rather than breaking the 'true' interpretation, each viewer creates his/her own, creating multiple interpretations, multiple discourses and narratives.

In seeking to redeem itself, 20th century modes of communication are forced toward a synchronous combination of media in a manner Burnett describes as rhizomeorphic.¹³ The structure she defines for hypermedia is one that makes symbiotic connection between heterogeneous and multiple media types, where "any point of a rhizome can be connected to any other." Any other type of structure, she argues, would eventually give way to the "hegemony of language" that would serve as a link between mediums and so inhibit a non-sequential telling of events. The non-sequential rhizome, in contrast, encourages user interpretation by offering no 'centre' but in fact the structure of the rhizome is only relative to the momentary position of the individual within it as s/he interprets the media message. Hypertextual design is in this way able to sustain non-hierarchical and diverse modes of communication with multiple entryways, exits and means of navigation, its map is always detachable, modifiable and reversible.

A user of hypertext may therefore enter a message using one form of media, for example video, choose to leave that clip half-way through, move onto text and pick-it-up where s/he left-off without any sense of interruption or loss or, indeed, choose to navigate his/her way through the same message beginning with text, moving onto audio, then finishing with video, again without any sense of loss or interruption, both paths having given to the reader an equal sense of understanding.

This differs greatly from traditional media, which follows standard root formation (not the rhizome roots/bulbs of plants like potatoes or carrots), where any related media spreads out from one singular point and follow set paths downwards. Entry is fixed at one point only, or at best the reader must trace his/her way back to the start before s/he can understand the media message in its entirety.

¹³ Burnett, K, 1993, "Towards a Theory of Hypertextual Design", Post-Modern Culture, 3(2), [online], last accessed 5th of March 2000 at URL: <http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/pmc/text-only/issue.193/burnett.193>

Hypertextular Media Output

How this relates to actual real-life media output, I will try to explain. As a post-Fordist cluster, a global media producer (itself a part of a cluster, part of a cluster) produces rhizomeorphic media content for consumption by an interlocutor audience. As a cluster of heterogeneous media companies, it embraces television, radio and text to allow its viewers to access its product from any point in the rhizome of the cluster, enabling them to participate in and structure their consumption of media as hypertextual information. Each segment of the rhizome is self-contained and self-sustaining, linking equally to every other segment without bias or reticence. For a television-based model to do so is a new but, on reflection, rational response to the failure of television as a singular medium to successfully make the transition from modern to post-modern society.

So successfully has contemporary transnational media companies made the transition, that in fact it would be foolhardy to discuss these company purely in terms of being visual broadcasters. Rather they are news provider across multiple self-sustaining and mutually re-enforcing mediums, and it is through the tools of post-Fordism that they is able to make this possible.

Through virtue of being made-up of a post-Fordist cluster, a network of operations varying in size, form and function, the news provider can immediately meet to the demands of an interlocutor audience demanding a host of entry points and navigations, demanding to be let script their own methods to view and interpret content and information. By employing and sharing teams and implementing TQM methods of supervision, the same item of news can be collated across medium so that a radio broadcast, television transmission and internet transcript can all be at once given to the audience for immediate consumption and interpretation through whatever means they choose, or stored to be consumed and interpreted at a later date, without duplication of roles or loss of time.

The post-Fordist product that is being produced is created in this way so as to be as individually styled as possible. It is not inconceivable to imagine, in a short time, that multiple (production-side)

interpretations of the same story will be produced so that audiences cannot only choose what particular story they wish to consume, or in what order it will appear, or when, but in what style it is presented and how in-depth it runs. Already, Sky content can be tailored in a manner like this: a semi-‘Sky News – InDepth’ runs along-side the mainstream, ‘Sky News – Populist’ (my own titles), in terms of broader, more in-depth information available from time to time (listing service stations stranded by the ‘fuel crisis’ for example) on digital television services. How long before we see/hear/read ‘Sky News – Tabloid’ or ‘Sky News – Broadsheet’? Or can flick between presenters at the touch of a button?

Summary

To begin the essay, I suggested that traditional television, in its linear form and one-way narrative, is outdated, unsuited to the needs of a postmodern society demanding flexibility and individualised products and that this has caught many television media producers unaware. The dominance enjoyed by television in the past, by virtue of its relative immediacy and then acceptable levels of assumed interaction, may not be able to sustain it into the future. The hypertextual models of media organisation put forward by Joyce and Burnette more aptly fit the demands of audiences today and in a demand orientated economy such as the post-Fordist global market it would be reckless for broadcasters not to tailor to those desires.

At the heartland of post-Fordist/postmodernist hyper-consumption/hyper-reality not only has the traditional character of television been made less linear, it has been made more immediate, more real. Through strategic partnerships with telephone operators, here as well as in the UK, progressive broadcast television companies like BSkyB, possibly more correctly called ‘information service providers’, instantaneous updates of news items and sports results are available, not only on their finality but as they happen, as troops are put into battle, as casualties occur, as balls go into nets. At every second, the consumer is reminded of his/her relationship to the event as it transpires, and as they choose they can involve themselves to consume more, or less, reality. Viewers are urged in a

way of unforeseen urgency to participate in live polls, to actively express their interpretation, in a manner that suggests that if they do not they will be in some way less involved in the story. Television is no longer a passive dichotomy of singular narratives, it is no longer in danger of becoming a dead weight, rather now it cannot be switched-off without turning another one on.

Desire, Power and Sky News

McChesney¹⁴, in his overview of global media giants, declares that, "A spectre now haunts the world: a global commercial media system dominated by a small number of super-powerful ... media corporations." The system that he refers to is a recent occurrence. Not until the 1980's did media, which up until that point was more generally national in scope, become global as we would understand it today. Whereas books, film, shows and music have been internationally traded commodities for decades, in the first and last examples even centuries, the basic models for production and distribution were until then coherently domestically owned and regulated. At the beginning of that decade, however, the ascendancy of New Right political thought, epitomised by Regan-ism and Thatcher-ite 'rolling back the frontiers of the state', coinciding with astonishing developments in digital and satellite technologies, introduced trends towards privatisation and self-regulation of media and communication services, allowing, McChesney even going so far as to say, resulting in, the rise of transnational media giants.

At the close of the twentieth century, the number of transnational media conglomerate structures was nine¹⁵, with value and size varying between each actor from US\$5 billion annual sales revenue for the year ending December 1997 for NBC/General Electrics to US\$24 billion during the same period for Time-Warner. The scope of operations of these companies is immense, subtly shifting emphasis according to each corporation's various strengths and mix of synergies through the capital it controls, though to the greater extent overlapping in product capabilities, from theme parks to record labels, comics to newsrooms.

¹⁴ McChesney, R. W., 1997, "The Global Media Giant – The nine firms that dominate the world", Extra!, FAIR, November/December 1997, New York, [online], last accessed 5th March 2001 at URL: <http://www.fair.org/extra/9711/gmg.html>

¹⁵ McChesney, R. W., 1997, "The Global Media Giant – The nine firms that dominate the world", Extra!, FAIR, November/December 1997, New York, [online], last accessed 5th March 2001 at URL: <http://www.fair.org/extra/9711/gmg.html>

The nine make up a first tier of giants below which regional and variously supra-national – though not fully transnational – organisations meet the demand of localised or niche markets. These, very often, can match closely their more enormous cousins in both revenue and diversity of capital but in more ways, through their shrunken appearance, look like the disjointed ventures of the global conglomerates that have, in a reversed reality, become detached from the mother, somehow to eeking sustenance from the scrappy flesh discarded by the greater animals after finishing their kill. Bringing reality back into forward play suggests that, in time, many of this second-tier of global marketeers will attempt to break-through onto the first- by means of aggressive mergers and acquisitions, devouring many of their follow-sized companies in the process.

For the time being, however, the pecking order would appear stable and uninterrupted, the operations of the 50-odd companies that form together the two-tier landscape keeping, while outwardly opposing, competition and aggression stagnant. While producing the overwhelming majority, in revenue terms, of the worlds' film, TV, press and musical output and the corresponding distribution and infrastructural means, they share, in fact actively pursue, joint-ventures so as to reduce risk and instability that direct competition would cause to individual actors at random. Out of the nine lead firms, for example, each as had partook in ventures with an average of two thirds of the remaining eight "and the second tier is every bit as aggressive about making [alliances]" also.¹⁶

Despite such inert market principles however, one firm in particular stands-out though the manner and mind of its owner as being exceptional. By his peers, Rupert Murdoch has been likened variously to Hitler (Ted Turner, Time-Warner) and singled-out as the sole originator of the vertical integration of global media (John Malone, TCI). Viacom CEO, Sumner Redstone, said, apparently without a sense of self-consciousness, that "basically he wants to conquer the world." Unanimously, they agree that he is

¹⁶ McChesney, R. W., 1997, "The Global Media Giant – The nine firms that dominate the world", Extra!, FAIR, November/December 1997, New York, [online], last accessed 5th March 2001 at URL: <http://www.fair.org/extra/9711/gmg.html>

the one media executive they most respect and fear and the one whose moves they watch most intensely.¹⁷

News Corporation, the company he owns and runs (uniquely among contemporary media capitalists with the exception of TCI), last year drew annual revenue of US\$14 billion¹⁸ dollars relatively evenly distributed across filmed entertainment (27 per cent), newspapers (20 per cent), television (26 per cent), magazines (7 per cent) and books (7 percent).¹⁹ Today, thanks to a global string of satellites, the product that he produces can reach 75% of the world's population²⁰ across every continent. At the 30th of September 2000 News Corp. was worth US\$36 billion. What makes Murdoch, and his company, so special is his unique understanding that the media business has been re-defined considerable since he worked as a 12-year-old for his fathers' Adelaide newspaper and his courage to anticipate and leap into those redefinitions before they are cast. High-level insiders describe a danger of working too close to him, what they call Icarus Syndrome, they get burnt: "their marriage go to hell, and their families, and their health, because it is impossible to keep up with his schedule."²¹ It is under Murdoch's direction that News Corp. is capable of such fluid and inspirational movements that strike fear into the directorships of opposing boardrooms. Liberated from the logistical pains of a lumbering upper-layer of management, Murdoch is empowered to single-handedly marshal the potential of his empire while at the same time allowing each of its subsidiary clusters to operate as distinct and cohesive units, empowering them to adapt to individual market situation. By taking a dual role of both narrator and passenger to his executive team, Murdoch at once frees himself from much of the day-to-day running of his businesses and allows himself the overview to be able to consider the running and direction of the conglomerate into the future. For News Corp. as a company, this is essential. In the past, it has been Murdoch's daring and intuition that has led the concern to where it stands today.

¹⁷ McChesney, R. W., 1997, "The Global Media Giant – The nine firms that dominate the world", Extra!, FAIR, November/December 1997, New York, [online], last accessed 5th March 2001 at URL: <http://www.fair.org/extra/9711/gmg.html>

¹⁸ Investory and Finacial, 2001, [online], last accessed 5th March 2001 at URL: <http://www.newscorp.com/investor/>

¹⁹ News Corporation Annual Report 2000, 2000, Adelaide: News Corp., [online], last accessed on the 5th of March 2001 at URL: http://www.newscorp.com/report2000/worldwide_listing.html

²⁰ "News Corp Says its Close to 75% Global Reach", Indian Express, 15th of September 1998, [online], last accessed on 5th of March 2001 at URL: <http://www.financialexpress.com/fe/daily/19980915/25855024.html>

²¹ Goldman-Rohm, W., 1994, "Rupert Murdoch: Global Media Mogul", Upside, February 1995, San Francisco, [online], last accessed 5th March 2001 at URL: <http://www.cpsr.org/cpsr/nii/cyber-rights/Library/Re-Cyberspace-INC/Murdoch-Empire>

While Murdoch's daring and propensity to shake Wall Street may be epitomised by his 1985 acquisition of the 20th Century Fox Film Corporation and the following year's buy-out of Metromedia's chain of network television concerns that enabled him to birth the market-quaking FOX TV, near ruining the entire corporation in the act of doing so, his real vision is in his understanding of the shifting nature of the telecommunications medium. On the behest of John Evans, then senior-executive at News Corp. and oracle of media shifts, Murdoch, a major player in the tour publishing industry at the time, developed an on-line informational portal for travel agents they called Jaguar. It was Evans principle that travel company staff had become "disempowered" through the range of destinations available to contemporary holiday-makers and travellers, News Corp., he envisaged, was ideally situated to "empower" them again through having expert knowledge of the destinations travellers wanted to visit, and explained that, "It was [the] essence of what I had come to believe is at the core of publishing."²² While Evans left the corporation in 1992, key aspects of his principles, and of Murdoch's understanding, live on.

The experience gained from Jaguar in the business-to-business market was inspirational. Murdoch saw his advantage over other would-be new media stars as his arsenal of 'branded' content²³ and declared himself as "agnostic" about the medium his "content [orientated] company" would take in drawing into the consumer market for interactive/digital content.²⁴

At the close of last-year, mooted by criticism that the corporation lacked a clear and definitive strategy for dealing with digital (interactive) media into the future from investors and market-analysts²⁵, Murdoch showed his boldness again and in a six-hour, on-line presentation set-forward the key

²² Goldman-Rohm, W., 1994, "Rupert Murdoch: Global Media Mogul", Upside, February 1995, San Francisco, [online], last accessed 5th March 2001 at URL: <http://www.cpsr.org/cpsr/nii/cyber-rights/Library/Re-Cyberspace-INC/Murdoch-Empire>

²³ Goldman-Rohm, W., 1994, "Rupert Murdoch: Global Media Mogul", Upside, February 1995, San Francisco, [online], last accessed 5th March 2001 at URL: <http://www.cpsr.org/cpsr/nii/cyber-rights/Library/Re-Cyberspace-INC/Murdoch-Empire>

²⁴ Wolinsky, H., 1999, "Murdoch says Fox to Thrive as Web Brand", Chicago Sun-Times, 17th of June 1999, [online] last accessed 5th of March 2001 at URL: <http://www.suntimes.com/output/business/cable17.html>

²⁵ "Murdoch Moots Global News Corp. Resstructure", I.T., 15th of February 2000, [online], last accessed on the 5th of March 2001 at URL: <http://www.it.fairfax.com.au/breaking/20000215/A19455-2000Feb15.html>

principles, and acknowledged the risks, the corporation would take in pursuing business on a digital “landscape that may or may not have been defined with [the established media industry’s] well being in mind.”²⁶ In the keynote address, his youngest son, James, outlined News Corp.s, formula for success:²⁷

1. *Having the ability to reach consumers in an addressable fashion, with services and content no matter where they are – the living room, the kitchen or walking around the supermarket stocking-up on mustard. Distribution capability and the ability to define what the platform can support in terms of new services is a key asset*
2. *A media company needs the ability to form an emotional bond with the consumer, creating loyalty, trust and thus value. The deeper the resonance of the relationship the more willing the target wallet becomes, driving life-time value as well as individual share of spending.*
3. *A media also needs the ability to connect marketers and consumers efficiently and to extract the highest possible value out of that connection, which in a digital environment is much higher than ever before. Ultimately every one of our advertisers is an e-commerce aspirant, in a digital environment media play a more powerful role as a transaction facilitator and can therefore extract more value out of the consumer relationship that it builds for the marketer, for the shareholder and for the consumer.*

What must be observed from this formulation is that first, superficially, the technology generated contains enormous potential for good that can, use ethically, be hugely beneficial to society, however, the manner of the relationship described is one of extraction and exploitation. While speaking of forming “emotional bonds” and portraying itself as a self-styled “content company”, the real questions that need answering are what is the orientation of the “bonds” that News Corp. wish to form and what specifically is the “content” that they desire the consumer to be ‘empowered’ by?

BskyB/Sky News

It is amid Murdoch’s vision and direction that British Sky Broadcasting, and so Sky News, exist, having demonstrated the New Media Workshop keynote principles in practical terms long before they were so

²⁶ New Media Workshop, 2000, n.p.: News Corp., [online], last accessed 5th of March 2000 at URL: http://www.foxnews.com/newmedia_workshop/

²⁷ New Media Workshop, 2000, n.p.: News Corp., [online], last accessed 5th of March 2000 at URL: http://www.foxnews.com/newmedia_workshop/

lucidly set-out. BskyB enjoys a star position within the News Corp. family, not only as the worlds largest pay-TV network but also as a child of Murdoch's great gamble of the late-80's and early-90's when, at risk of bankrupting the entire conglomerate he made enormous re-directions of investments towards the hi-tech television and consumer broadcasting markets. The gamble paid-off, so successfully, in fact, that as early as four years into the nineties the company was back in black. The story of that success is through a devising a workable plan of identifying and supplying the most prosperous and attractive audiences with content best capable of extracting commercial and economic value from them using technologies and advantages otherwise unattainable without the monetary backing and intra-genre collusion between News Corp.'s disparate firms.

In November 1992, Murdoch hired a boat to circle the San Francisco bay-area and called a meeting between the heads of every News Corp. operation across the globe. There they agreed to work together on content and distribution to stave-off the possible threat posed by rising sources of new media. Chris Holden of HarperCollins Publishers would look back on the event as the beginning of an era, "It was not a very big boat, and we were all forced to confront each other and collaborate," he remembers, "I'd call that the beginning of everything. We realised we'd have to work together and share as much info as we can if we're going to succeed in this new world."²⁸

The allied network of News Corp. companies offered a relatively fresh broadcaster with new ideas access to publishers, film producers, actors and an army of technical expertise as well as the muscle of being part of a globally recognised fleet that in some ways distorted the actual broadcasting size of a growing operation.

²⁸ Goldman-Rohm, W., 1994, "Rupert Murdoch: Global Media Mogul", Upside, February 1995, San Francisco, [online], last accessed 5th March 2001 at URL: <http://www.cpsr.org/cpsr/nii/cyber-rights/Library/Re-Cyberspace-INC/Murdoch-Empire>

Building on this, Sky was successful in capturing an affluent male audience and the highest percentage of A and B category viewers of British television,²⁹ using this advertising base the company has effectively integrated sponsorship into its programming and cornered important and lucrative niche markets such as sports and movies on pay-per-view subscription. More recently Sky has aggressively colonised the UK and Irish digital broadcasting market, integrating interactivity and 'choice' into its existing linear services. In doing so, the company has coined a new word, 't-commerce', in its results of the third quarter of 2000,³⁰ as to simply describe what they do as e-commerce is not to fully understand what is going on.

Sky has actively and aggressively promoted the digitalisation of the television medium upon its subscribers and potential customers through a carrot and stick approach of variously suspending popular services from analogue broadcasts, such as their movie channels, and no longer publishing TV guides for analogue customers and by offering free connection and the ancillary equipment required to receive digital television then intensely promoting the switch-to and use-of interactive programming among viewers who take up this means of consuming their product. Eighty per-cent of direct-to-home (DTH) customers are now digital subscribers, with this figure expect to be 100% by 2002.³¹ In the first quarter of this year, Sky also intend to launch an integrated decoder and Personal Television Recorder (PTR) that in many ways will genuinely revolutionise much of the experience of viewing television through allowing live programming to be paused, rewound then fast-forwarded as being received.³² Sky content is clearly also an important contributor to Internet media consumption. The company's flagship site, sky.com, is among the top-five UK websites and providers of e-mail through OpenTV, receiving in excess of 70 million page impression per month when set alongside skysports.com,³³ and,

²⁹ Viewer Profiles, 2000, BARB Universes, October 2000, [online], last accessed on 5th of March 2001 at URL: <http://www.sky-skymedia.com/audience/viewerprofiles> (see also appendix 3)

³⁰ "British Sky Broadcasting Group PLC - Results for the quarter ended 30 September 2000", 2000, Press Release, BskyB, 3rd of November 2000, [online], last accessed 5th of March 2001 at URL: <http://www.sky.com/corporate/press/>

³¹ BskyB Annual Report, 2000, Middlesex: BskyB, [online], last accessed on the 5th of January 2001 at URL: <http://www.sky.com/corporate/financial/>

³² "Sky heralds revolutionary integrated digibox and personal television recorder", 2000, Press Release, BskyB, 7th of September 2000, [online], last accessed 5th of March 2001 at URL: <http://www.sky.com/corporate/press/>

³³ BskyB Annual Report, 2000, Middlesex: BskyB, [online], last accessed on the 5th of January 2001 at URL: <http://www.sky.com/corporate/financial/>

through agreement with UK and Irish mobile and telecom operators Cellnet, Vodafone and Eircell, makes WAP content available to customers on-the-go.³⁴

How significant this broad range of distribution, access and reach is, is that it allows the company to connect its content with consumers no matter where they are, or how the consumer wishes to go about it. By apparently breaking down the boundaries of what media can do, making the experience of television seem two-way, through manoeuvres to free-up how and where and when text can be read, the media company gives-up much of its power in being able to define the terms of media consumption. However, as the means of being able to define the location diminishes, the question of power as manifesting 'content' and 'emotional bonds' becomes more intense.

Content and Emotional Bonds

Sky is very capable at what it seeks to do. Its viewers represent a 35% greater likelihood of being aged 16- to 34-years-old than its competitors, key demographics to all kinds of advertisers, and are 7% more likely to be classified as belonging to the affluent ABC1 social category.³⁵ Among its yearly boastings in its 2000 Annual Report, under the title, *Affluent Male Audiences*, the company proudly declares that it is "tailor-made for any product with a young, male or upmarket bias." Below this is discussed the first UK trial of interactive advertising, where viewers could find recipes, order free samples or cookbooks for Unilever Chicken Tonight cooking-sauce during a ninety-second spot. "[I]nteractive advertising," it is enthused, "will become a powerful tool, akin to direct advertising in

³⁴ "Free digital TV deal comes to Ireland ", 2000, [Press Release](#), BskyB, 7th of September 2000, [online], last accessed 5th of March 2001 at URL: <http://www.sky.com/corporate/press/>; "Sky offers enhanced mobile package ", 2000, [Press Release](#), BskyB, 22nd of September 2000, [online], last accessed 5th of March 2001 at URL: <http://www.sky.com/corporate/press/>; "BSkyB and BT Cellnet's Genie Internet driving new generation of mobile information", 2000, [Press Release](#), BskyB, 9th of February 2000, [online], last accessed 5th of March 2001 at URL: <http://www.sky.com/corporate/press/>

³⁵ [BskyB Annual Report](#), 2000, Middlesex: BskyB, [online], last accessed on the 5th of January 2001 at URL: <http://www.sky.com/corporate/financial/>

that leads are generated and responses quantifiable.” The advertising and sale potential of any Sky broadcasting channel, and the deliberacy and success of the company in attaining such, is extraordinary. However, clearly the viewer does not approach television with the intention of consuming just advertising. An analysis of the content of Sky programming is essential to understanding the forces at work within the media-audience relationship. In the case of Sky, the consumer is not accidentally thrust into a relationship with marketers, rather the connection is worked upon and maintained by the media as “transaction facilitator” as expressed during the New Media Workshop.

To understand the forces at play, it is first necessary to accept that the content intended for consumption by audiences is not traditional programming but the advertising that appears around, along-side and in it and the entire concept of pay-TV since only these items alone are what generate revenue for the company. A more lucid statement of this effect can be got from Sky themselves:³⁶

The vision for new media is simply and compelling – to have Sky content available wherever and when ever the consumer wants it. Current initiatives are aimed at capturing value from consumers through e-commerce, subscriptions, advertising and sponsorship opportunities in order to maximise return to share holder.

Clearly, in reconciling the two sentences above “Sky content” cannot be associated as having value to the consumer, instead the ‘value’ it expresses is represented in terms of the commercial and monetary gains it makes to the owners of media when an audience consumes it. The programme content ceases to have meaning of its own in such a case, what is important is the nature of the relationship between producer and consumer and how, through the process of digestion, the formers’ product is turned into gain for the owners of capital.

³⁶ BskyB Annual Report, 2000, Middlesex: BskyB, [online], last accessed on the 5th of January 2001 at URL: <http://www.sky.com/corporate/financial/>

The answer is that the relationship is made-up of an "emotion bond" with the producer on the part of the consumer, otherwise, if aware that s/he was being duped, the representative gain to the capitalist would simple walk away.

Over a five-day period from October 16th to 20th, 2000, I examined the ties that were extolled upon the viewer of Sky content from Sky News Nine O'Clock News. The programme had only aired for one week previous to my beginning recording "as a portal to allow disillusioned former BBC Nine O'Clock News viewers ... to make the transition to Sky News."³⁷ As such I considered it to represent a microcosm of Sky News as a whole being devised, in the first instance, as an introduction to the channel and with consideration to the use that the programme made of live-feeds and an emphasis on the immediacy of stories. What emerged from my analysis was a clear and, with only very few exceptions, obviously quantifiable into categorisations, collection of themes that serve to create and emphasise bonds of relationships between Sky News and its audience through a series of gratifications and re-affirmations of the right of the consumer to consume Sky News. The themes I uncovered were taken from five broad story types of politics, public or consumer interest, disasters and international conflict or diplomacy. The themes, themselves, which are of many-times greater importance than these from the viewpoint of the model of analysis being used here, were six in number:

1. Reassurance (Finality): An ill occurrence, or no ill occurrence, through it may have happened long ago or have been happening for some time, has been uncovered by a force(s) for good. A judgment has been passed or new course of action taken to ensure that the ill occurrence, if there was one, has been remedied or a sense of closure gained.

³⁷ "Sky News announces launch of a new nine o'clock bulletin", 2000, [Press Release](http://www.sky.com/corporate/press/), BskyB, 11th of October 2000, [online], last accessed 5th of March 2001 at URL: <http://www.sky.com/corporate/press/>

2. Reassurance (Progress): An ill occurrence, through it may have happened long ago or have been happening for some time, has been uncovered by a force(s) for good. A judgment has been passed or new course of action taken or proposed to ensure that in time the ill occurrence will be remedied or a sense of closure gained. Typically, scientific investigation or new-technology represent the means through which the judgment was reached or route that a course of action will take since science and technology, in themselves, are the artefacts of progress.

3. Consonance (the Archaic): An ill occurrence has happened. No satisfactory remedy can be immediately arrived at or obvious course of action taken to ensure that in time it will be remedied. The reason why no remedy or courses of action exist is because archaic traditions or institutions protect the source of the ill occurrence. The only satisfaction a consumer of a story of this nature can achieve is that, through a sense of consonance, they already knew that this would be the case since old-ways are at conflict with new ways of living and social life.

4. Consonance (Divisions): An ill occurrence has happened. No satisfactory remedy can be immediately arrived at or course of action taken to ensure that in time it will be remedied. The reason why no remedy or courses of action exist is because deep long-lasting emotional divisions exist between the actors par-taking in the ill occurrence that do not make immediate sense to the rational observer. The only satisfaction a consumer of a story of this nature can achieve is that, through a sense of consonance, they already knew that deep long-lasting emotional divisions existed among some peoples of the world and that these cannot immediately be resolved. Learning and understanding represent routes through which resolution can take-place, it is implied that the audience is learned and understanding.

5. Celebrities: The life-styles of the famous as a role model to us all, the products that they consume, the life-styles that they pursue. General occurrences in their lives that may be of interest to the viewer since they, in themselves, are important.

6. Elite Nations: The happenings, occurrences and lessons to be learned from great and important nations or their representatives abroad. The Elite Nations are Western Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand and Japan. From time-to-time some other miscellaneous, non-white nations (with the exception of Japan) that exhibit signs of progress and development, Russia for example, often not differentiated from assimilations to Western principles of social, scientific and economic living, may be treated as Elite Nations for the purpose of a story. The consumer gains satisfaction through the sharing of experiences between the citizens and peoples of one such nations and another, their own.

From these themes, all of which ingratiate the consumer to one degree or another, the *Reassurance* type, whether made through reaching finality or by means of progress, composed 51.9% of all stories reviewed. Next to this were those stories that re-enforced the audiences' proximity and relationship to an elite nation, at 23.1%, comprising of a neat 75% of the weeks programming, but what is more important is that of the stories that remained where a theme might offend, such the apparent failure of political institutions without any sense of recovery, by means of a sense of consonance, bad news is turned around. In this way, stories that might endanger the delicate nature of the relationship existing between Sky News and its viewer, as emotional as it is, can be handled in a rather cynical manner. Even so, stories of this kind made-up less than 20% of viewing as a whole during the week under review.

Other themes were reinforced also: themes of immediacy through live reporting, daylong "rolling-stories", and the constant reminder of the clock, up-to-the minute, on schedule. Themes of being part of a world-view brought about through images of the globe, either behind the presenter, as on the Nine

O'Clock News, or used in animated sequences at the start and end of a programme, at the commercial break, or in the subtle horizon effect of the clock, identifying places first by city name, then country seems to break-down borders, diminish the value nation-state, or simply through the understanding that there exists a world-wide chain of satellites interconnect the watchers of Sky News into a consistent whole. And themes of nationhood, of locating oneself within the world-scape of the image. (The Theme of nation-hood, especially, has been picked-up upon as being sometimes patronising to the provincial nations of the British isles, namely Ireland, Scotland and Wales, while reinforcing English national sentiment. Regardless of the intent, it must be acknowledged that upon hearing the uilleann pipes and tin-whistles playing behind scenes of old Ireland or the Scottish highland, as cringe inducing as it may be, storylines do inspire a sense of location and place within a world of 'others', reinforcing the cosmopolitan sentiment.)

Emotional responses, reassurances and a sense of familiarity are put to the audience also, as part of the part-casual style of presentation, occasional informality and banter between presenters that sets Sky apart from other news services and has been mimicked by competitors, presumably to reach a similar end.

The bonds created between audience and producer through a process themes as subtle as this sort serve as the structural glue that holds the viewer to Sky News content while they wait to preview the intended aspect of programming, either direct commercial advertising, or the promotion of another News Corporation media product – either directly on-screen as part of a storyline, or during the commercial break – as little commercial value, other than advertising, can be extracted from the consumer directly through their consumption of Sky News content, in the first instance, by its nature (it can be imagined that the 'emotional bonds' would break if merchandise was to be sold during news spots: press the red-button to bid for a piece of track-railing from the Hatfield disaster, auctioned on-line as Bob Friend introduced the story, for example) but also as it is either available for free, if the viewer is capable of receiving broadcasts from the ASTRA satellite ring, or an the lowest, introductory,

level of a cable operators services list. However, it is this aspect of introduction that is important as, to a degree, through the consumption of Sky News a percentage of economic value is extracted from the consumer as they are exposed to larger paid-services available through Sky – either Sky Sports headlines every 15 minutes or reminders of what’s playing on one of several movie channels available that night during commercial breaks.

The audience figures for Sky News are the highest percentage of ABC1 viewers for any mainstream Sky channel, at 58% (.tv and Sky Travel are the exception)³⁸. By attracting such lucrative market goers Sky News can serve as a base for operations to buy- consumers into more lucrative gardens, for the producer, just as Sky News branding on the internet is vital if value is not to be lost in the interpretation of content.³⁹ News and a news channel is useful, if it cannot justified commercially, to attach a ribbon of legitimacy to the BskyB as a whole and to act as a platform whereby a pitch can be made to the right set of credit-card holders on behalf of greater cash-churning operations.

Ideology and Power

In uniting the three concepts discussed in the previous section of this project (viz. of the cosmopolitan ethic in creating and maintaining the global media environment, of the shift of emphasis of news production away from the objective control of news professionals to the competing voices of those who want to influence news-production as a soapbox and the need for ‘profitable’ news services, and of the theory of hypertextular design), it can be seen that a single common thread runs through these ideas: that the producer is producing nothing. In a sense, high-capitalist media houses, such as Sky News, have lost the power to control production. The audience, through their desire to consume generate a

³⁸ Multi-Channel Viewer Profiles, 2000, BARB Universes, October 2000, [online], last accessed on 5th of March 2001 at URL: <http://www.sky-skymedia.com/audience/viewerprofiles/>

³⁹ “AOL and BskyB announce strategic marketing alliance” 1999, Press Release, BskyB, 10th of February 1999, [online], last accessed 5th of March 2001 at URL: <http://www.sky.com/corporate/press/> and Goldman-Rohm, W., 1994, “Rupert Murdoch: Global Media Mogul”, Upside, February 1995, [online], last accessed 5th March 2001 at URL: <http://www.cpsr.org/cpsr/nii/cyber-rights/Library/Re-Cyberspace-INC/Murdoch-Empire>

fantasy of sanitised cosmopolitan pastiche whereby they can sustain the consumption needed to hold-onto their global citizenship. The stories that the professional screens are collated in a montage of images that best please the correct mix to satisfy a consumption frenzied audience-demand outside of the control of news-editors. Even the means and methods of accessing the media product is decided no longer by the producer who must follow suit through creating a rhizome choice of access that technology has allowed thereby diluting the potential of their story to influence even more, sense such a style of story-play creates infinite realities for the reader.

In such a scenario, news ceases to exist for any reason of its own – the television dies, the story has no meaning, the producer produces nothing! To every effect, the babble that lingers is a screen-card, not knowing if it marks the end of one advert or the start of another, procrastinating, gratifying and intoxicating. All that remains is the masthead of a newspaper, the station-check of a radio-lab, the animated .gif of an internet site. The vacuous space is filled by the brand, a hoarding displaying its owners' name, devoid of content, an advertisement to and advertisement. Traditionally commercial television produced programming subsidised by advertising, now, it would appear, programming exists to subsidise the advertising, gathering for it a cash-crop of consumers enraptured by its capabilities.

This, however, in many ways, is exactly what Sky News want. Through a sense of exploitation, they extract value from the vanity of their viewers, relinquishing their assumed right to define the roles. Their customers come to them, drawn by the attraction of the kind, and by means of the only privilege they have remaining, the power to set the theme of their product, to give it a brand, they hold them there, hypnotised by the content. As Murdoch says, he is "agnostic" to the ways his product is consumed, he may long-after Raldolph's strength to "crush a man with journalism", but by a strange twist of fate he discovered strength through a mix new media-mix: the masthead, the name-check, the animated .gif, and the salesmanship to whet the cosmopolitan appetite.

This is where the power lies: the power to be able to sell a sell. If we go back to the three tenets of the New Media Workshop – essentially, (1) to make content as available as possible, interconnected

through a “seamless, multi-service communications company”,⁴⁰ for the consumer to stock-up upon wherever and whenever they desire to; (2) to form “emotional bonds” with that consumer so as to make them feel safe and a gratified each time they stock-up upon that content; and (3) to match consumer with commercial generating products through the content that they consume to “extract” value from them through the process of consumption – we see the three key concepts recurring, that the means of access does not matter, that the content does not matter, it is a play on the vanity of the cosmopolitan ethic.

The power that Rupert Murdoch has, the power that Sky News lives-out, is not a conventional construct of the power of news. His power is in his sternness and single-mindedness to put aside the traditional sense of media and to so callously see the new value that holding a news-house can bring to be. I re-emphasise, the content is meaningless. The consumer is valueless. What power represents is the ability to extract value using such valueless tools. News, media (in its strict sense as a means of communications, although also, in some sense too, the media-industry), audiences are worthless.

⁴⁰ BskyB Annual Report, 2000, Middlesex: BskyB, [online], last accessed on the 5th of January 2001 at URL: <http://www.sky.com/corporate/financial/>

Conclusion

In reading the children's book, *the Emperors New Cloths*, we are introduced to a vain and self-absorbed leader, overly pre-occupied with his appearance and eager to locate himself and his relationship to others. He is self-consumed by desire for the new: new styles and new cloth, having already devoured all that he can, and so offers his weight in gold to anyone who can make for him a new set in a cloth he has never worn. In reply, two rogues, knowing the emperors' reputation, agree to dress the monarch in a fabric of the highest quality and shade, the type of which, they guarantee, he has never been seen wearing before, and will tailor him in a style to compliment his natural grace. True to their word, they weave a cloth of the quality and feel such a man deserves, but as it is a magic cloth, they inform their regal customer, it is invisible to stupid people. Now, our Emperor is not stupid, and neither is his Chancellor nor his Vice-Chancellor, and so he can appreciate the value of the material the two have made for him and so, through their quickness and intelligence in exploiting the Emperors desire, the rogues receive their profit for manufacturing a fabric that does not exist.

The sociological question that I set forward in writing the *Introduction* to this project was to examine the location of power in the relationship that exists between consumer and producer (audience and media) of Sky News. What I have done is to explore the nature of that relationship and explain the exploitative base that it is rested on, that despite the apparent loss of power that technological and social shifts have affected, under the context, content and concept of a global capitalist media, Sky News is meaningless but the fantasies on which it is build, the post-modern commodity, are in every effect to the consumer very much real.

Webster's Dictionary defines power in the first place as: "ability to act or produce an effect."⁴¹ The effect that the producers of Sky News bring about through the very act of consumption is to draw out of their consumers value through a valueless transaction. They reinforce the churn of consumption, connecting commodities with consumers, and restating the illusion of power within their audience. They ask them for their view, invite them to pass remark, price-up an invitation to treat on air and at every submission, through the very act of consumption, secretly reverse roles. What is remarkable is that they do so with so little conventional power at their disposal.

Under the direction of News Corp., Sky News, like its owner, is "agnostic" to the context or location of its consumption but intensely concerns itself with the thematic, the brand, the commodity, concept, construct, it uses to match audiences to other commodities, and more commodities in turn. The means for doing so is based on a play on a vanity: the global cosmopolitans' desire to consume and find location in a shrinking world outside of the nation-state. What it does is diminish the value of news, the audience and more broadly the media.

Sky News' popularity, strength and influence as a broadcaster is renowned. Its competitiveness as a company lends itself to be competed with in turn, and eventually, it can be foretold competition will lead to familiarity. Every news-broadcaster will someday look like this, nothing will matter, everything will be worthless, value existing only in the context of the transaction it makes within the act of consumption. What hope there is, is that the very act of recognising that an illusion exists dispels the chimera.

Just as the Emperor's illusion would have been dispelled were he to claim weakness in the face of the rogues, the power relationship existed on a premise of acceptance. Accepting the rogues, accepting that the rogues knew what he wanted, accepting that the cloth existed even when there was no real

⁴¹ Collegiate Dictionary, 2001, n.p.: Merriam-Webster OnLive, [online], last accessed on 5th of March at URL: <http://www.webster.com/cgi-bin/dictionary>

satisfaction to be got from it, only the idea of one. The power relationship in the story is in the ability of the rogues to construct an illusion from nothing and around it build a culture of agreement whereby the very act of consuming the illusion would lead to profit.

So too is it for Sky News.

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Appendix 1

News Corporation: (Various Companies and Interest)

Television	Books	Film
<p>Fox Broadcasting Star TV BSkyB (Britain) Foxtel (Australia) Fox News Star TV (Asia) Channel [V] Asia (50%) Sky Latin America The Health Network Stream Fox Sports Net Fiz Sports Australia FIT TV FX Sky PerfectTV! Fox Sports Latin America Fox/Liberty Media, joint venture (50%) Rainbow Sports (50%) Outdoor Life (34%) fXM üSpeedvision (34%) The Golf Channel (33%) Fox Family Worldwide (50%) Fox Family Channel Fox Kids Network Fox Kids Europe Fox Kids Latin America MTM Entertainment Prevue Networks (44% via TV Guide) Sky Multi-channels German Vox channel (49.9%) German TM3 (majority interest) Canal Fox Fox Sports Americas (50%) Telecine (12.5%) Cinecanal (21.5%) Genstar – TV Guide International News Broadcasting Japan (80%) National Geographic Channel</p>	<p>HarperCollins Publisgers ReaganBooks HarperCollins UK HarperCollins Australis HarperCollins Canada HarperCollins Children’s Books HarperCollins General Books Zondervan HarperCollins Australia</p> <p>Newspapers</p> <p>The Times The Sun The Sunday Times Post-Courier News of the World New York Post The Australian The Daily Telegraph Sunday Herald Sun Independent Newspapers LTD, New Zealand – 90 papers (50%) News International The Sunday Times TSL Education Gold Coast Bulletin Newsphotos Newspix Newstext Sunday Mail Sunday Tasmanian The Advertiser The Courier-Mail The MercuryThe Sunday Telegraph</p>	<p>20th Century Fox 20th Century Fox Espanol 20 th Century Fox Home Entertainment 20th Century Fox International Blue Sky Studios Fox 2000 Fox Studios Australia Fox Studios Baja Fox Studios LA Fox Searchlight Pictures Fox Animation Studios Fox Music</p> <p>Magazines and Inserts</p> <p>TV Guide SmartSource Times Literary Supplement The Weekly Standard Times Educational Supplement News America Marketing Times Higher Educational Supplement InsideOut Maximum Golf planetU Pure Health</p> <p>Other</p> <p>LA Dodgers Mushroom Records NDS (UK digital broadcasting) Kesmai (computer and video games) Ansett Australia (airline) Festival Records ChinaByte PLD Telekom National Rugby League Fox Interactive</p>
<p><u>14 US television stations:</u></p> <p>WAGA Atlanta, GA WBCR, Birmingham, AL WFXT, Boston, MA WFLD, Chicago, IL WJW, Cleveland, OH KDVR, Denver, CO WJBK, Detroit, MI WGHP, Greensboro, NC</p>	<p>WDAF, Kansas City, MI WHBQ, Memphis, TN WITI, Milwaukee, WI KSAZ, Phoenix, AZ KSTU, Salt Lake City, UT WTVT, Tampa/St. Petersburg, FL</p>	

Sources:

News Watch, News Corp. In-Depth,
<http://www.asc.upenn.edu/usr/jsexton/NewsWatch/newscorp.html>, 1998
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Appendix 2

Hypertext in Sky News Media: (Rhizomorphic Access)

Regular TV Broadcast

live broadcast
telephone in

Sky News Active (Digital TV)

Transcripts on demand
main reports on demand
occasional special feature
weather on demand
online voting
e-mail in

Integrated PTR (Q1 2001)

pause/rewind live-TV
fastforward/play potential

Sky News Radio

live radio broadcast
telephone in

Internet (sky.com/news)

transcripts on demand
live webcast
live radio broadcast
radio headline on demand
main reports on demand
weather on demand
online voting
e-mail in

WAP (sky.com/mobile)

brief transcripts on demand
weather on demand
online voting

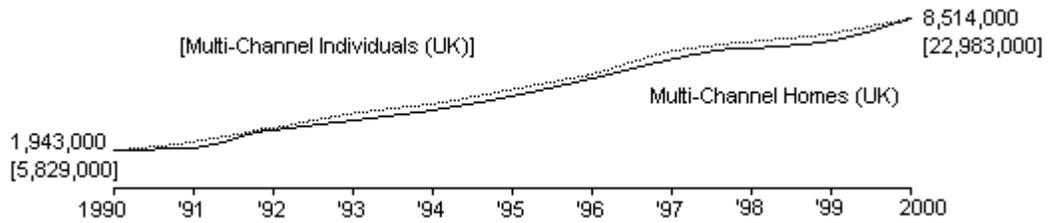


The Sky News content can be consumption without prejudice at any point of the rhizome of media-clusters that make-up the company. Viewers of one media-type in fact are encouraged to experiment and move between nodes with, arguably, no singular point being a true centre, but only relative to the position of the reader within the rhizome as s/he consumes the media message.

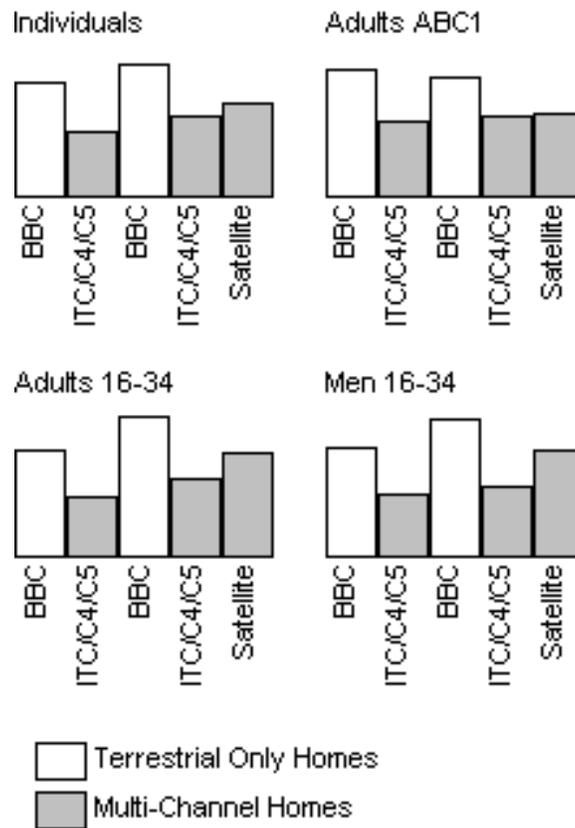
Appendix 3

Regulated & Unregulated Commercial Broadcasting:
(Effects and Demographics, UK)

Audience Growth (Dec. 1990 – Nov. 2000):

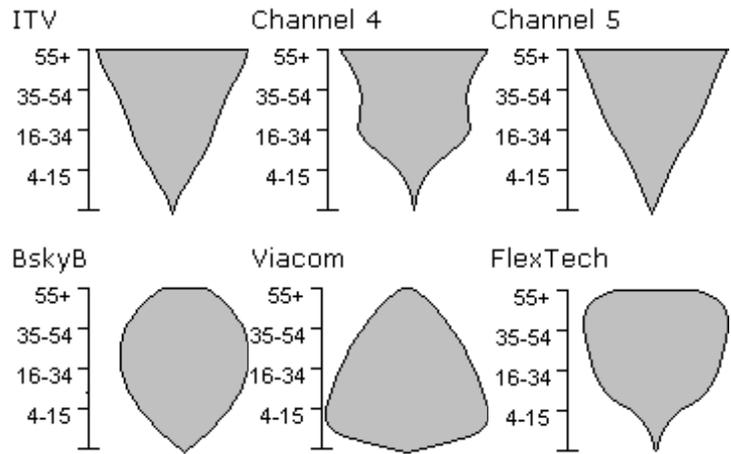


Audience Share:

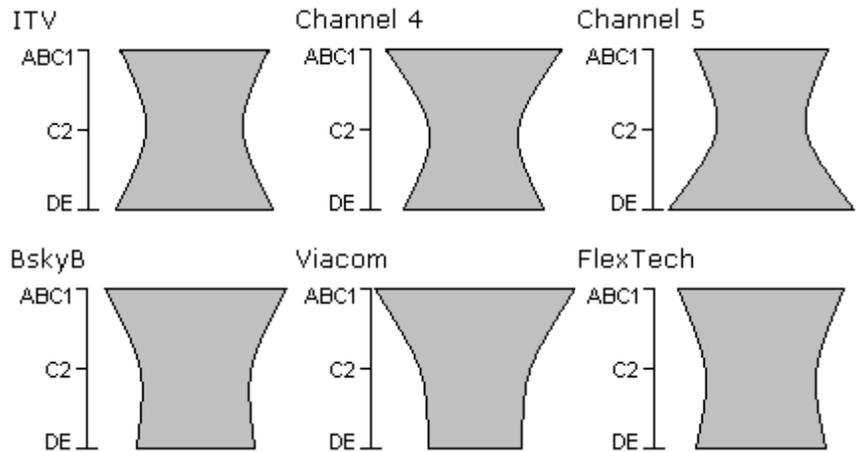


Viewer Profile:

Age:



Class:



Sources:

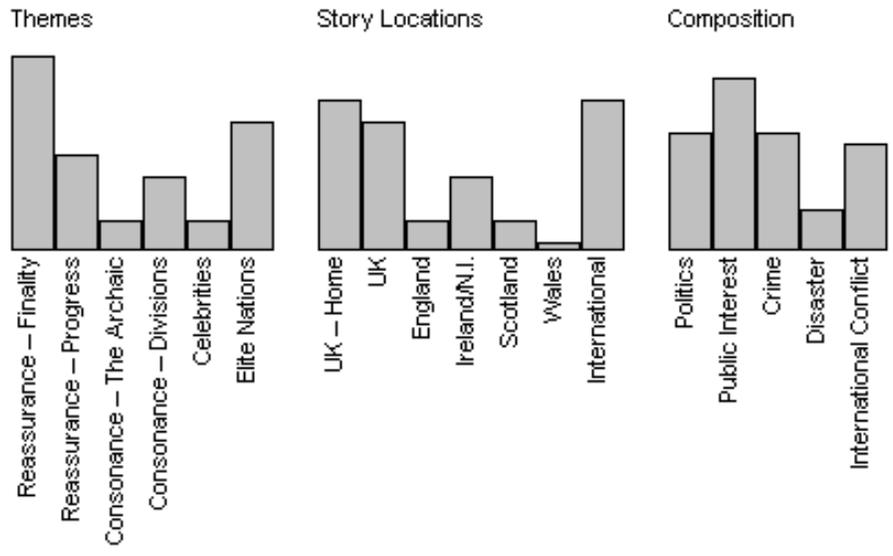
Audience Growth: BskyB (1990), BARB Universes (1991 – 2000)
 Audience Share: SPC 8 (w/e 12 November 2000)
 Viewer Profiles: BARB Universes (October 2000)

All were previously available at BskyB's Media Information web-site: <http://www.sky-skymedia.com/>, December 2000.

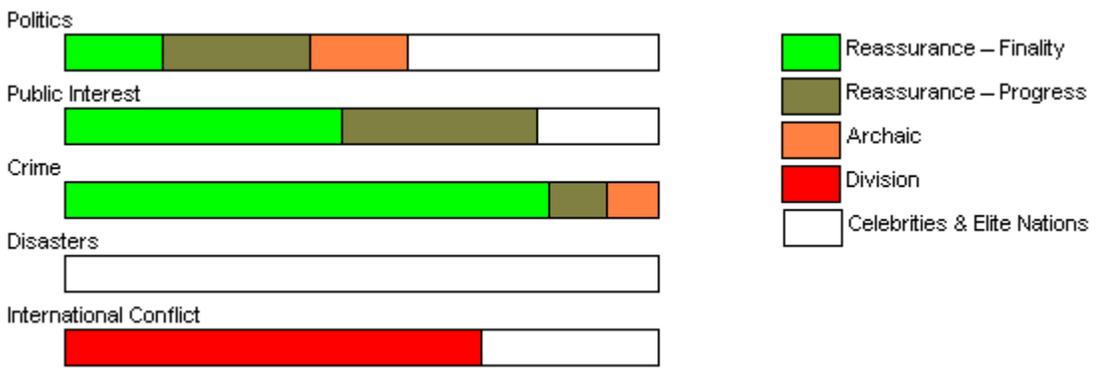
Appendix 4

Content Overview of Sky News:
(Stories & Themes)

Composition:



Theme Ratio Per Story-Type:



Tables of Analysis:

Overview:

	ReF	ReP	C21	Div	Cel	Elite	Total:
politics	2	3	2	0	1	3	11
publ. ints.	7	5	0	0	2	2	16
crime	9	1	1	0	0	0	11
disasters	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
intl. cflt.	0	0	0	7	0	3	10
Total:	18	9	3	7	3	12	52

The table above refers to the number of incidences of each story or theme during the week in survey; story-types are shown on the left (politics, public or consumer interest, crime, disasters, international conflict or diplomacy) and themes on top (Reassurance through Finality, Reassurance through Progress, Consonance (the Archaic), Consonance (Divisions), Celebrities, Elite Nations).

Detailed:

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1.	PCI:ReF	PCI:ReF	PCI:ReF	PCI:ReF	PCI:ReP
2.	Pol:C21	Crime:ReF	PCI:ReF	Crime:C21	Crime:ReF
3.	PCI:ReP	Pol:Cel	Intl:Div	Dstr:Elite	PCI:Elite
4.	Intl:Div	Intl:Elite	Crime:ReP	PCI:ReF	Pol:Elite
5.	Crime:ReF	Intl:Div	Intl:Elite	Pol:C21	Dstr:Elite
6.	Crime:ReF	PCI:ReF	Pol:ReF	Pol:ReF	PCI:Cel
7.	Crime:ReF	Dstr:Elite	Crime:ReF	Pol:ReP	Pol:ReP
8.	Crime:ReF	Pol:ReP	Crime:ReF	Intl:Div	Intl:Div
9.	Crime:ReF	Intl:Div	Dstr:Elite		Intl:Div
10.	Pol:Elite	PCI:ReP	PCI:ReP		Pol:Elite
11.		PCI:Elite	Intl:Elite		
12.			PCI:Cel		
13.			PCI:ReP		

Each story is detailed as it appeared on each day of analysis, therefore the numbers corresponding to it on the left represents its order in running, the key is **Topic:Theme** so, for example, **PCI:ReF** refers to a **Public/Consumer Interest** story (PCI) broadcast using a **Reassurance through Progress** theme (ReP) using the key below:

<p>Topics: Pol = Politics, PCI = Public/Consumer Interest, Crime = Crime, Dstr = Disaster, Intl = International Conflict</p> <p>Themes: ReF = Reassurance – Finality, Rep = Reassurance – Progress, C21 = Consonance – Archaic, Div = Consonance – Divisions, Celeb = Celebrities, Elite = Elite Nations</p>
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Source:

Five-day content analysis of Sky News' Nine O'Clock News (9.00pm to 9.30pm, Monday, 16/10/00 thru Friday, 20/10/00 inclusive, excluding sports reports).

Home About Contact Shop. Morgan Oliver-Allen. 0. @moliverallen - MOBILE Preset Pack. 50.00. sale. @moliverallen - Tropics Preset Pack. 50.00 60.00. We have a record for a Morgan Oliver living at an address in Bath BA2. The record includes the full address, along with information about the source of the data that will show whether the address is likely to be current. 192.com has records on millions of UK people and addresses. Morgan Oliver in Bath, BA2. Based on 2003 Electoral Roll. Street address available. Bath. Avon. BA2. Full postcode available. Together with OBRIS MORGAN TIMEPIECES will repair, adjust or replace parts and/or movement as it sees fit. To obtain service under the terms of the warranty. Send your watches to our office in Hong Kong. Along with the Certificate of Limited Warranty(CLW)-which must be properly filled in by the authorized. OBRIS MORGAN Dealer's Seal.Free Warranty does not cover the following types of damage resulting from : A. Mishandling, accidents, or tampering. B. Repairs done by anyone but OM services Center.