

# The Media

The Political System of the United Kingdom

## Intro

## The Media in the UK

The Press

Television/Radio

Internet & Social Media

## Media and Politics

Media Effects

New Labour and Spinning

## Conclusion



# Today: The Media

- ▶ The Media: a fourth power/estate/branch of government

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- ▶ A political force in their own right?

# Today: The Media

- ▶ The Media: a fourth power/estate/branch of government
- ▶ A political force in their own right?
- ▶ A means for politicians to manipulate the public?

Jan 27 2010

The screenshot shows the BBC News website interface. At the top, the BBC logo is on the left, followed by 'Low graphics Help' and a search bar with a 'Search' button. To the right is an orange button that says 'Explore the BBC'. Below this is a red banner with the word 'NEWS' in white, a 'Watch ONE-MINUTE WORLD NEWS' link, and a world map graphic. The main content area has a navigation bar with 'News Front Page' and 'Page last updated at 13:40 GMT, Wednesday, 27 January 2010'. The featured story is 'LATEST: Israeli police arrest a rabbi on suspicion of involvement in arson attack on West Bank mosque'. Below this is a large photo of a man in a white religious garment being held up by a crowd, with the headline 'Sri Lanka poll victory challenged'. The text below the photo states that President Mahinda Rajapaksa is declared the winner of Sri Lanka's presidential poll, but the outcome is rejected by his challenger. Other top stories include 'UN curbs eased on Taliban men', 'Worst year' for airlines in 2009, and 'Davos latest: Fewer world leaders and more business leaders this year'. There are also sections for 'VIDEO NEWS' and 'ALSO IN THE NEWS'. A left-hand navigation menu lists various categories like Africa, Americas, Europe, etc. At the bottom, there are sections for 'FEATURES, VIEWS, ANALYSIS' and 'SPORT HEADLINES'.

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News Front Page Page last updated at 13:40 GMT, Wednesday, 27 January 2010 News Feeds

**LATEST: Israeli police arrest a rabbi on suspicion of involvement in arson attack on West Bank mosque**

**Sri Lanka poll victory challenged**

President Mahinda Rajapaksa is declared winner of Sri Lanka's presidential poll, but the outcome is rejected by his challenger.

- Troops surround Colombo hotel
- In pictures: President wins vote
- Profile: Mahinda Rajapaksa

**OTHER TOP STORIES**

- North and S Korea exchange fire
- Secrecy 'frustrating' Iraq panel
- Holocaust Day marked at Auschwitz
- Nigeria texts 'fuelled Jos riots'
- Pigs' heads found at Malaysian mosque
- Apple set to unveil new product

**WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM 2010**

**Davos latest: Fewer world leaders and more business leaders this year**

- Bankers hit out at regulation plans

**ALSO IN THE NEWS**

- Student prank backfires as blindfolded coach shoots hoop
- Short and sweet - monkeys keep their chat concise, scientists find

**VIDEO NEWS**

- Haiti's first lady defends President
- Belgian apartment block collapses
- In praise of Crapper: Godfather of the loo
- Behind the scenes at Cirque du Soleil

**FEATURES, VIEWS, ANALYSIS**

**SPORT HEADLINES**

- Live - Djokovic v Tsongas
- Zaheer inspires India to victory

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“Errors allow even the most scientifically illiterate to talk down Obama's climate bill” Charles Clover

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## UK EDITION

## Live: Lord Goldsmith faces Iraq inquiry questions



Former Attorney-General to be interrogated over why he changed his mind on legality of war days before invasion 15 comments

- Goldsmith admits he changed his mind
- Goldsmith says Iraq advice should be published

### Top court quashes 'Draconian' terror powers



Supreme Court says powers which allowed Treasury to freeze assets of terror suspects were oppressive and "paralysing" 17 comments

- Terror suspects can claim damages
- Blow to control orders as suspect released

### Troops surround Sri Lanka opposition leader

Heavily-armed Sri Lankan troops surround five-star hotel where presidential challenger Sarath Fonseka is staying 13 comments

- Power struggle feared in Sri Lanka poll aftermath
- ANALYSIS: a travesty of democracy

### Chief scientist demands honesty on climate change

John Beddington told The Times that the impact of global warming had been exaggerated by some scientists 197 comments

- UN's rogue glacier claim 'just one page in report'
- Read our dedicated environment blog

HEADLINES: Damascène Maurice, gang leader who escaped in the Haiti...



US troops pull man alive from the rubble two weeks after the Haiti quake

MOST READ MOST COMMENTED MOST CURIOUS

## TODAY

- The secret lives of married men
- Billie Piper talks marriage, motherhood and...
- Science chief John Beddington calls for...
- Owner of El Bulli, world's most exclusive...

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Jan 27 2010

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## Saddam was not imminent threat, says Goldsmith

Last updated five minutes ago

Former attorney general tells panel he changed mind over necessity of second UN resolution

24 comments

- LIVE blog: Lord Goldsmith at the Iraq inquiry**
- Saddam posed no immediate threat, says Goldsmith
- Analysis: what Goldsmith has yet to reveal
- Goldsmith got public funds for inquiry legal advice
- Gagging order on David Kelly records could be lifted
- Blair 'to campaign for Labour in election'

## Barclays chief attacks Obama plan

Barclays president Bob Diamond warns US plans to limit size of banks would hit jobs, growth and global trade

106 comments

- FSA chairman calls for direct credit controls
- Top financier: UK is 'a must to avoid'

## UN: UK complicit in possible torture

Human rights report indicates clear evidence of UK role in secret detention of British Muslims

- Supreme court overrules terror suspect asset freeze



▶ 00:00 06:55

## The human cost of Haiti's disaster

**Video** (6min 54sec): Photographer and filmmaker

David Levene spent a week in Port-au-Prince

- Identity of dead British UN worker confirmed
- Rock stars donate memorabilia to raise money
- The shooting of Fabienne Cherisma

## Richest 10% are 100 times better off

Gordon Brown says equality panel report that reveals

persistence of 1980s income gap is 'sobering'

181 comments

- The Hills report: what you are worth ...
- 2m pensioners live in poverty, says ONS

 Afghanistan  
Live Q&A

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Makes their day

 Fashion video  
Hot to trot




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TOP STORY

## Children of better-off parents in tears after they are banned from half-term school trips reserved for free meals pupils only

Only pupils eligible for free school meals because their parents are on benefits are able to take part in the holiday activities. The government-funded scheme, operating in 22 schools in Trafford, Greater Manchester, pays for pupils for 'economically disadvantaged' school children only.

Comments (-) | Add to My Stories

### Lord Goldsmith accuses Labour of Iraq war cover-up after blocking release of key memos to Blair

Lord Goldsmith and the chairman of the inquiry Sir John Chilcot expressed anger that Labour has banned the publication of certain information.


Comments (-) | Add to My Stories

Whitehall mandarins attack 'sofa government' and slam Brown for bypassing civil servants


### Have-a-go father Munir Hussain 'wrongly targeted by burglars for affair with jealous man's wife'

The innocent wife of a businessman who allegedly hired the burglars said...

Click through today in pictures



### Amanda Holden becomes a very cheeky Paris showgirl



Comments (-) | Add to My Stories

### 'I thought I was going to die': Brave abuse victim releases horrific picture after jealous ex-partner is jailed for attack

Heleen George, 25, was repeatedly punched, kicked and stamped on her head by Fabian Pylee, 22, after he flew into a jealous rage.

Comments (-) | Add to My Stories

### Police smash Irish traveller gang suspected of half of all caravan thefts in the UK

Comments (-) | Add to My Stories

### FEMAIL TODAY

- Amanda Holden fulfils her fantasies - and those of a few male fans - in sexy showgirl outfit Britain's Got Talent judge revealed her derrière to the cameras last night
- Spoiler alert: Corrie's Gall 'Four Weddings' McIntyre buries her third husband
- Actress Helen Worth certainly gets through 'em
- Fearne Cotton's exposed tattoos give her red all-in-one the look of a workmen's boilersuit Not a great look from DJ leaving Radio 1 studios
- As Gary Coleman leaves jail in wheelchair, we reveal the Curse of Different Strokes How TV's cutest sitcom stars fell into crime and drugs
- Heidi Montag returns to the yoga mat after surgery, revealing: 'I'm still in pain' It's less than two months since The Hills star's ten treatments in one day
- John Travolta delivers aid and scientists to

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Wednesday, 27 January 2010

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**LATEST CELEBRITY BIG BROTHER NEWS**

**Kat laps it up**  
KATIA and Lady Sovereign visit lap dancing club on yet another 'wild' girls' night out  
▶ Nic's annoyance fears  
▶ Buff-guy Alex  
▶ Fury at BB sex boasts

**Vin's bedtime prank**  
THE soccer hardman shows softer side as he sneakily tickles Alex Reid's toes  
▶ All Night... Wrong  
▶ Heidi: Jordan's so dumb  
▶ Nic's pretty happy

**JUST PUBLISHED MOST READ MOST DISCUSSED**

Today

- ▶ Victoria's Secret double Decker 1
- ▶ I'm going to Deg in now I'm fit 5 minutes ago
- ▶ WAGs get a raw deal, says WAG 13.8
- ▶ Get set for a big year of boxing 15 minutes ago
- ▶ CBB Rolling News: Day 25 13.12

**TODAY'S TOP STORIES** ▶ NEWS ▶ SPORT ▶ SHOWBIZ

**ANGELINA'S JOLIE NICE TRIBUTE**  
Actress pays homage to her late mother in home movie  
**WATCH VIDEO**

**AMANDA'S BOT TALENT** **SUN SONG IS A BRIT SPECIAL** **FERGIE 'IN CALL TO FANS'**

**ANGELINA'S JOLIE NICE TRIBUTE**

**IRAQ INQUIRY DRAMAS GROWS**  
**SKY NEWS**  
Ex-Attorney General Lord Goldsmith at hearing  
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**CBB Rolling News: Day 25**

# Current Events

## Current Events

- ▶ 7/7 anniversary
- ▶ Budget speech
- ▶ Conservatives divided over English votes
- ▶ ... ?

July 8, 2015

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## Pace of welfare cuts 'to be slowed'


George Osborne will slow the pace of planned welfare cuts when he presents his Budget, the BBC understands.

🕒 1 hour ago [UK Politics](#)

Robinson: Osborne's 'big' Budget

Key words and phrases

What to watch out for



July 8, 2015

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215

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**Welfare cuts** Blackburn families say there's no money left

Budget What to expect from George Osborne

**'Intense liquidity' / China stock markets continue nosedive as regulator warns of panic**

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## What sort of person agrees to marry a stranger for a rea show? Emma and James, both respectable professional that. And guess what - it's already falling apart



July 8, 2015

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## "This is the most critical moment in our history" days to save Greece from the abyss warns European Commission

Creditor powers ready to be used to avert humanitarian crisis and...  
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# THE TIMES

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**Latest News** Chinese firms rush to suspend trading

## Osborne's tax cut giveaway for the middle classes

Francis Elliott and Philip Aldrick

Last updated at 12:05AM, July 8 2015

Tax giveaways for middle-class workers will be brought forward, and sweeping welfare cuts slowed down, as the chancellor tries to smooth Britain's path out of austerity in the first Tory-only budget for almost 20 years. The threshold at which workers start paying the 40p tax rate is likely to be raised today in an



Concessions by tomorrow, Greece told

### LATEST NEWS

**Science:** fish oil made from GM plant to be saviour of the oceans

**Bill Cosby:** could stand trial after he admitted using date-rape drugs

**Energy:** giants face temporary price cap for overcharging by £1.2bn

**Mugabe:** despot lines up wife to succeed him in a 'bedroom coup'

**Michael Barrymore:** sues police over arrest after 2001 pool death

**India:** police 'set fire to

# Issues

- ▶ Changing role/style/content/scope of media coverage
- ▶ Relationship(s) between politics, the media, the public
- ▶ “New” (electronic) media
- ▶ Media and political trust/alienation
- ▶ Media and political perceptions, electoral behaviour

# What is Political Communication?

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- ▶ Communication about politics amongst citizens
- ▶ Communication between citizens and
  - ▶ Political Elites

# What is Political Communication?

- ▶ Communication about politics amongst citizens
- ▶ Communication between citizens and
  - ▶ Political Elites
  - ▶ Media Elites (journalists)

## Why are the media important?

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  - ▶ What politicians know about us
- ▶ Media are not a neutral channel

# Structure

- ▶ Ownership
- ▶ Political Agenda
- ▶ Readership (Middle class vs. working class)
- ▶ Style (tabloid vs. broadsheet)
- ▶ Sunday papers vs. “normal” newspapers

## Structure

- ▶ Ownership
- ▶ Political Agenda
- ▶ Readership (Middle class vs. working class)
- ▶ Style (tabloid vs. broadsheet)
- ▶ Sunday papers vs. “normal” newspapers
- ▶ Diversity deceiving – concentration
- ▶ By and large, *national* newspapers – printed in London or Manchester
- ▶ No party papers, but (often) obvious political preferences

# Circulation and Support 2005

Name of paper Ownership group (Chairman) Editor Preferred result	Circulation <sup>1</sup> (2001 in brackets) (000s)	Readership <sup>2</sup> (2001 in brackets) (000s)	% of readers in social grade <sup>3</sup> (2001 in brackets)	
			ABC1	C2DE
<b>Mirror</b> Trinity Mirror (Sir Victor Blank) Richard Wallace Labour victory	1602 (2056)	4657 (5733)	38 (34)	61 (67)
<b>Express</b> Northern and Shell (Richard Desmond) Peter Hill Conservative victory	884 (929)	2132 (2168)	60 (64)	40 (37)
<b>Sun</b> News International (Rupert Murdoch) Rebekah Wade Labour victory	3098 (3288)	8825 (9591)	37 (33)	63 (67)
<b>Daily Mail</b> Daily Mail and General Trust (Viscount Rothermere) Paul Dacre Not a Labour victory	2278 (2337)	5740 (5564)	66 (64)	34 (36)
<b>Daily Star</b> Northern and Shell (Richard Desmond) Dawn Neesom No preference declared	735 (585)	1965 (1460)	33 (27)	67 (72)
<b>Daily Telegraph</b> Telegraph Group (& The Business) (Barclay brothers) Martin Newland Conservative victory	868 (989)	2181 (2235)	87 (86)	13 (14)

Source: Kavanagh et al. p.  
501-503

# Circulation and Support 2005

Name of paper	Circulation <sup>1</sup> (2001 in brackets) (000s)	Readership <sup>2</sup> (2001 in brackets) (000s)	% of readers in social grade <sup>3</sup> (2001 in brackets)	
Ownership group (Chairman)			ABC1	C2DE
Editor				
Preferred result				
<b>Guardian</b>	327	1068	89	11
Scott Trust (Paul Myners)	(362)	(1024)	(88)	(12)
Alan Rusbridger Labour victory <sup>4</sup>				
<b>The Times</b>	654	1655	87	13
News International (Rupert Murdoch)	(667)	(1575)	(88)	(13)
Robert Thomson Labour victory <sup>5</sup>				
<b>Independent</b>	226	643	87	13
Independent Newspapers (Tony O'Reilly)	(197)	(571)	(89)	(12)
Simon Kelner More Liberal Democrats				
<b>Financial Times</b>	132	453	92	8
Pearson (Lord Stevenson)	(176)	(598)	(92)	(7)
Andrew Gowers Labour victory				

Source: Kavanagh et al. p. 501-503

## Circulation and Support 2005

	Preferred 2005	Winner (2001)	Circulation <sup>1</sup> (000s)	Readership <sup>2</sup> (000s)
<i>News of the World</i>	Lab	(Lab)	3417	9490
<i>Sunday Mirror</i>	Lab	(Lab)	1441	4851
<i>The People</i>	Lab	(Lab)	870	2217
<i>Mail on Sunday</i>	Not Lab	(Con)	2336	6329
<i>Sunday Express</i>	Con	(Lab)	866	2214
<i>Sunday Times</i>	Con	(Lab)	1197	3272
<i>Observer</i>	Lab	(Lab)	405	1163
<i>Sunday Telegraph</i>	Con	(Con)	660	2045
<i>Independent on Sunday</i>	Lib Dem <sup>3</sup>	(Lab)	176	666

Source: Kavanagh et al. p.  
501-503

# Structure

- ▶ Dual system (like in Germany)
- ▶ Public Broadcasting – the BBC
  - ▶ Largest and oldest broadcaster in the world
  - ▶ Founded in 1922, became non-commercial in 1927
  - ▶ Funded by licence fees
  - ▶ Independent from government, but under public control
  - ▶ Politically impartial, serving the public interest



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- ▶ Private Companies
  - ▶ 1955: ITV (commercial but obliged to serve the public; complicated)
  - ▶ Channel 4 (publicly owned but funded by income from advertising)
  - ▶ Deregulation during 1980s → satellite and cable TV
  - ▶ BSkyB: large share controlled by Murdoch, Sky Digital
  - ▶ Virgin

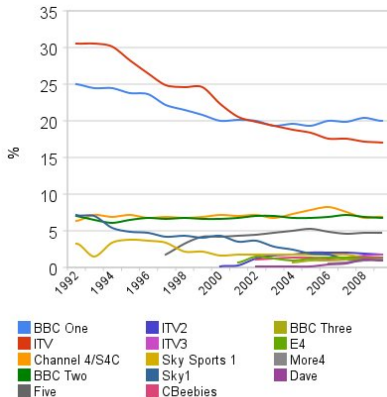
## Technology/Market Shares

- ▶ Analogue terrestrial (gone since 2013)
- ▶ Digital terrestrial (Freeview)
- ▶ Satellite (free and pay-TV)
- ▶ Cable/Internet (pay TV)

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- ▶ Analogue terrestrial (gone since 2013)
- ▶ Digital terrestrial (Freeview)
- ▶ Satellite (free and pay-TV)
- ▶ Cable/Internet (pay TV)
- ▶ Loads of channels, but very high concentration

# Technology/Market Shares



## The Rise (and Decline?) of Blogging?

- ▶ Like in the US, great excitement about political blogs ca. 2007/8
- ▶ Individual blogs/sites largely replaced by collectives
- ▶ Some very interesting sites: Conservative Home, Left Foot Forward, LSE blogs, The Conversation . . .
- ▶ Plus blogs/fora attached to major sites
- ▶ Largely a cognitive elite sport

# Social Media

- ▶ About 90 pct of the population with internet access
- ▶ Early (compared to continent) rise of Social Media
- ▶ In 2015, about 60 pct of population using Social Media (most of them mobile)
- ▶ About 43 pct of the population active FB user, 20 pct active on Twitter
- ▶ User generated content vs. viral distribution of content from mainstream organisations/sites

## Top 10 Sites 2015

- ▶ Google, BBC, Facebook
- ▶ Microsoft, Amazon, Yahoo, Ebay
- ▶ Mail Online/Daily Mail, Sky sites, Apple

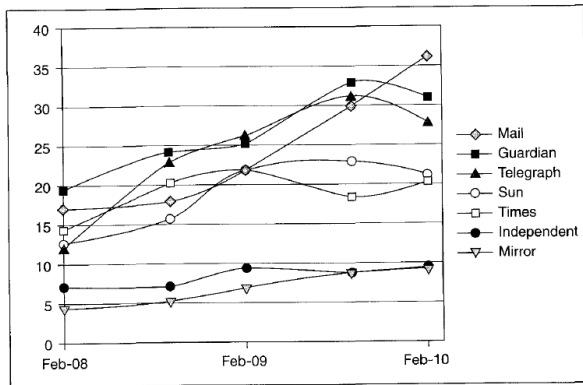


## Top 10 Sites 2015

- ▶ Google, BBC, Facebook
- ▶ Microsoft, Amazon, Yahoo, Ebay
- ▶ Mail Online/Daily Mail, Sky sites, Apple
- ▶ Content dominated by traditional organisations

## Top 10 Sites 2015

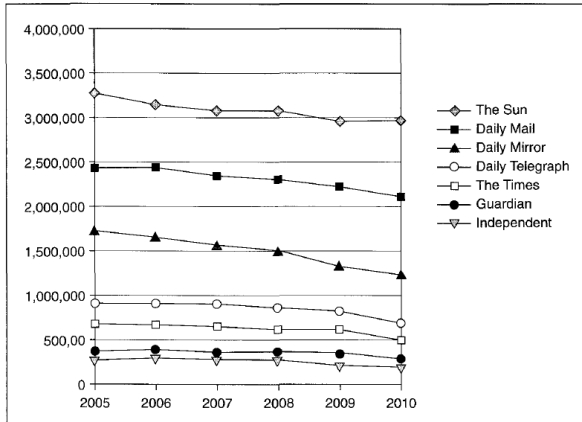
Figure 12.1 *Monthly unique readers of national newspaper websites, 2008–10 (millions)*



Source: Chadwick/Stanyer 2011: 218

# Top 10 Sites 2015

Figure 12.2 National newspaper print edition circulations, 2005–10



Source: Chadwick/Stanyer 2011: 219

## How Can the Media Affect Political Attitudes?

- ▶ Media are selective in their coverage + sometimes politically biased in coverage, presentation comment
- ▶ Early research: direct effects. Probably wrong
- ▶ People use media selectively
- ▶ Media can (probably) re-inforce existing attitudes
- ▶ Media certainly shape the public agenda → agenda setting and priming
- ▶ Stronger media effects as a consequence of partisan de-alignment?

## What is agenda setting/priming?

- ▶ Multitude of issues – what is important?
- ▶ What does concern us? → Media select and frame issues on our agenda (to a degree: **agenda setting**)
- ▶ Parties “own” different issues
  - ▶ Conservatives could manage economy and go to war (before 1992)
  - ▶ Labour was hopeless with money but did social justice
- ▶ If media emphasise discrimination, social inequality, undeserved poverty etc. Labour might benefit (**priming**)

## Politicians and the Media

- ▶ Politicians have tried to shape public opinion since the days of the Athenian Democracy
- ▶ In the UK, Thatcher revolutionised news management by introducing American techniques
- ▶ 18 years on, Blair consolidated and extended structures at No. 10 originally created by Mrs. T.

# The New Labour Media Machine

- ▶ Before 1997, “New Labour” started permanent, professional PR campaign
- ▶ Partly a reaction to treatment of/by the media
  - ▶ Advertising and corporate identity done by outside pros
  - ▶ Regular and intensive use of commercial pollsters/market researchers
  - ▶ Attempts to control and streamline communication by (elite) party members
  - ▶ Attempts to manage the media agenda (timing of press conferences, “spinning”, “agenda surfing” etc.)
  - ▶ Subtle and less subtle attacks on “enemies” inside/outside the party
    - ▶ Blair as a presidential PM
- ▶ New Labour media machine became part of No. 10 operations, Alastair Campbell

# Tensions

- ▶ Many people inside and outside the media disaffected with spin and media control
- ▶ Many journalists felt they had to prove their independence
- ▶ The Kelly incident
  - ▶ Criticised “sexed-up” government dossier on Iraq
  - ▶ Government destroyed his reputation
  - ▶ Respected scientist committed suicide
- ▶ Hutton Inquiry (2003), Campbell’s resignation and various reforms
- ▶ Brown promised new start → Draper-McBride affair
- ▶ Trust in government (and most of the media) seriously undermined



## Conclusion

- ▶ Both publicly and privately controlled media have their own agendas
- ▶ Media are never neutral
- ▶ Politicians and journalists depend and try to use each other
- ▶ Media have become less restrained and more assertive
- ▶ Politicians have become even more professional communicators
- ▶ Yet, modern democracy cannot work without mass media
- ▶ Even internet controlled by the giants (BBC and big publishers)

# Class questions

