

CHAPTER 3

The Public Service Media and Public Service Internet Utopias Survey Report

Christian Fuchs

3.1. Background

Slavko Splichal provides the following definition of Public Service Media: “In normative terms, public service media must be a service *of* the public, *by* the public and *for* the public. It is a service *of* the public because it is financed by it and should be owned by it. It ought to be a service *by* the public – not only financed and controlled, but also produced by it. It must be a service *for* the public – but also for the government and other powers acting in the public sphere. In sum, Public Service Media ought to become ‘a cornerstone of democracy’” (Splichal 2007, 255).

Public Service Media are publicly owned organisations. They are not controlled by the state but enabled by Public Service Media legislation. Their decisions are independent from the state and private corporations. They do not operate for profit and do not rely

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primarily on selling advertisements or other commodities. The licence fee is a frequently used means for funding Public Service Media. Public Service Media advance the democratic, the cultural and the social good by providing opportunities and service for information, education and entertainment. Public Service Media's high-quality content supports individuals in acting as informed, active and critical citizens who reflect on society. Public Service Media ensures that content is produced and made available that is unlikely to thrive under capitalist market conditions, such as arts programmes, children's television, minority programmes, educational and documentary programmes and so on. Public Service Media strive to innovate new ideas, make viewers think, produce original content rather than buying content and make sure that there is easy access for everyone.

Public Service Media and the media in general have faced a number of challenges, including the following:

- *Young people:* In many countries, especially young people prefer the use of the services of Internet platforms such as YouTube, Netflix, Spotify, Amazon Prime, Apple TV, Apple Music, Disney+ or Facebook Watch to public service television and radio. Young people are more interested in online, streaming and on-demand content than scheduled content (Ofcom 2018, 7–9).
- *Commercial broadcasting:* For-profit, commercial broadcasters have argued that they partly also provide Public Service Media content that helps advancing Public Service Media remits and that the licence fee should therefore be top-sliced and be split between Public Service Media organisations and those commercial broadcasters that publish Public Service Media content.
- *Commercial publishing:* Traditional commercial publishers (newspapers, magazines) and broadcasters (radio, television) that operate to yield profit have argued that the licence fee distorts competition and that the operations of Public Service Media should therefore be limited.
- *Online services:* For-profit Internet platforms such as Google, Facebook, Amazon and Twitter dominate the use of online services, whereas Public Service Media can and do due to legal and other limits not offer innovative online services.

- *Internet monopolies*: For-profit Internet platforms monopolise the markets for online services and avoid paying taxes while the market tests of public service tests keep Public Service Media from offering competing audio-visual online services. Given their high profits, online platforms such as Amazon, Netflix, YouTube, Facebook and Apple have started to produce and disseminate their own television series and programmes. They have budgets that vastly exceed the ones of Public Service Media (Ofcom 2018, 10). There is the danger that Public Service Media “are priced out of the market for making high-quality television” (House of Lords Select Committee on Communications and Digital 2019, 3).
- *Neoliberalism*: The dominance of neoliberalism has created the logic of the commodification and marketisation of everything, including public services. This has resulted in increasing pressure on Public Service Media to behave like private companies and in questioning of licence fee-funding.
- *Authoritarianism*: Authoritarian tendencies in politics have tried to curb the independence of Public Service Media and to turn them into state-controlled media that act as mouthpieces of governments.
- *Fake news, filter bubbles, post-truth*: The spreading of false news online, filter bubbles and a culture of post-truth politics where distrust of facts, emotionalisation and dominant ideology have posed new challenges for producing content and news that clearly distinguish between fact and fiction, truth and falsity and objectivity and ideology and check facts in a transparent manner. The Cambridge Analytica Scandal has shown how the combination of fake news, surveillance and digital capitalism poses a threat to democracy.
- *Tabloidization*: Commercial, for-profit media have advanced a media logic that tries to accumulate attention and profits by focusing on scandalisation, simplification, personalisation, emotionalisation, superficiality, a strong focus on entertainment that displaces educational content (e.g., reality TV) and the focus on celebrities as news. Tabloidization has not just transformed entertainment but has also colonised news, politics, culture and education.
- *Individualism*: Alongside neoliberalism, the logic of individualism that focus on the egoism and the accumulation of fame has displaced the focus on the social good that has advantages for everyone in mind. Individualism has expressed itself as celebrification (a strong focus on celebrities and individuals striving to imitate, act like and

become like celebrities), the accumulation of likes, visibility and followers on social media, or the ideology that reality TV and social media are democratic and participatory and therefore enable everyone to become famous.

- *Acceleration in the attention economy:* Along with tabloidization, the speed at which information is produced, disseminated and consumed has massively increased. There is often a lack of time and space for in-depth reflection, engagement and debate. An attention economy has emerged where there is heavy competition for public attention and where corporations and celebrities form strong hubs of attention.
- *Algorithmification:* Commercial digital companies have advanced privately owned algorithms whose operations are patented, intransparent, proprietary (privately owned) and closed. Such algorithms have come to shape more and more aspects of everyday life and decisions that affect individuals' lives. It has become more difficult to discern what activities originate from humans or from algorithms.

In the light of these challenges, the question arises how the future of Public Service Media can and should look like. Dystopian views argue that there isn't a future for Public Service Media because the economic, political, cultural and technological pressures and changes are so vast that Public Service Media cannot keep up and have become outdated. In contrast, utopian views argue against both defeatism and defensiveness. Defeatists give up any active hope for a better world and better media. Those who focus on defensiveness purely try to defend what already exists. Utopianism takes a transformative and radical view that argues for the radical renewal, updating and improvement of Public Service Media as a part of societal transformations. Utopian thinking allows us to think about how Public Service Media can be different and can be made different. Talking about Public Service Media utopias does not mean inventing implausible illusions as the use of the term "utopia" in a derogatory manner often implies. Talking about Public Service Media utopias should instead be conceived of as concrete utopian thinking that envisions alternatives to the contemporary media system that help advancing a good, fair

and just society as well as ways and steps towards the realisation of such alternatives.

3.2. Methodology

3.2.1. *Innovation in Public Service Media Policies*

“Innovation in Public Service Media Policies” is a network funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) that is hosted and run by Alessandro d’Arma (University of Westminster) and Minna Horowitz (University of Helsinki). Its goal is to “to facilitate exchange between academic experts and key PSM stakeholders and develop a research agenda across national and disciplinary boundaries with a view to advancing our thinking about innovative policy solutions and strategies to respond to the major digital challenges confronting PSM.” It is organised in the form of four workshops.

The fourth workshop’s topic was “Public Service Media Utopias” and was hosted by Christian Fuchs (University of Westminster) and Klaus Unterberger (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation ORF). The overall goal was to advance utopian thinking about the future of Public Service Media, the Internet and the society. The work took on three stages:

- Stage 1: The exploratory Public Service Media/Internet Utopias Survey
- Stage 2: Public Service Media utopias videos
- Stage 3: Events and activities that led to Public Service Media and Public Service Internet Manifesto

The basic idea of the first stage was to conduct a qualitative survey with open questions to generate ideas about Public Service Media utopias and identify important themes and topics. The survey was exploratory, which means that it explored topics in a qualitative manner. It was not an opinion survey aimed at analysing to what quantitative degree audiences are aware of, favour or oppose certain utopias. As a consequence, the survey was not designed as

representative poll of individuals in a certain country or region, but as a purposive survey aimed at individuals whom we expected to be able to and interested in thinking about the future of Public Service Media and the Internet.

Klaus Unterberger (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation ORF Public Value) facilitated the second stage of the process. First, visionaries who have something to say on the future of Public Service Media were identified. Second, they were invited to explain their ideas on Public Service Media utopias in a video interview. Third, the videos were edited and published. switchX is an app that was developed by Julius Kratky at ORF. It is a software tool that can be installed on a smartphone. The app supports conducting video interviews and video conversations. The conversations are recorded in high-definition video quality and are when finished transmitted to a server run by ORF. switchX allows television production over the Internet. ORF conducted a number of video interviews utilising switchX focusing on Public Service Media utopias.

Stage 3 should have been a 2-day long workshop held at the University of Westminster on 18 and 19 May 2020. The overall goal was that individuals interested in Public Service Media utopias come together and co-write a Public Service Media Utopias Manifesto. The results of stages 1 and 2 (survey results, video interviews) should have fed into the workshop and informed the discussions. Given the COVID-19 pandemic, we had to change plans so that the workshop was replaced by online events and activities that led to the Public Service Media and Public Service Internet Manifesto.

The survey focused on three themes:

- communication, digital media and the Internet in an ideal world;
- progressive reforms of Public Service Media;
- Public Service Media and the Internet in 2030.

The first question focuses on radical changes and the long-term future, the second question on potential immediate reforms, the third question on the medium-term future 10 years from the point of time when the survey was conducted.

The survey was implemented with LimeSurvey (<http://www.limesurvey.net>). An expert licence was purchased for 1 year. The Public Service Media/Internet Utopias Survey was created on LimeSurvey under the URL <https://psmutopias.limequery.net/>. Also the short URL <http://tiny.cc/psmutopias> was created. The core of the survey consisted of three open questions. The following questionnaire was used:

3.2.2. Public Service Media/Internet Utopias Survey Questionnaire

This short survey is a co-operation of the Communication and Media Research Institute and ORF Public Value.

Please join us in creating visions for the future of Public Service Media, the Internet and communication *by answering three short questions!*

There is a need to empower the Internet and Public Service Media by visionary thinking, including provocative, radical and utopian perspectives.

We ask: How will Public Service Media/Internet in the future be able to attract citizens, to empower democracy and in doing so be successful and relevant?

We are interested to collect and give a voice to diverse, heterogenic ideas about the future of Public Service Media/Internet and society.

The survey wants to identify utopias *and visions that will guide the future* of the Internet and Public Service Media.

The authors of the most visionary contributions will be invited to participate in the *Public Service Media/Internet Utopias-workshop in 2020*, an event in London organised and hosted by the *AHRC Research Network* “Innovations in Public Service Media Policies” that is led by Dr Alessandro D’Arma (University of Westminster) and Dr Minna Horowitz (University of Helsinki).

Survey organisers/contacts:

Prof Christian Fuchs, Director of the Communication and Media Research Institute

Dr Klaus Unterberger, Head of ORF Public Value

Future Media/Internet: Communication, Digital Media and the Internet in an Ideal World

IMAGINE:

The best world ever:

What kind of media are you using and why?

How is it beneficial for citizens, society and democracy?

How would the Internet look like in the best of all worlds?

Making Public Service Media Better

IMAGINE:

You are elected as the Director/CEO of a Public Service Media (PSM) provider (such as the BBC, ORF, Yle, ARD, ZDF, RTVE, France Télévisions, RAI, RTE, PBS, CBC, SRG, NPR, NHK, etc):

What new projects and initiatives would you immediately like to implement?

How would media and communication be different from today?

Public Service Media/Internet in 2030:

IMAGINE:

It's 2030: Public Service Media have experienced a remarkable development and a renaissance. A very successful, radically new media ecosystem has developed:

What has been changed in comparison to 2020 (10 years ago)?

How was it possible to achieve these changes?

How do Public Service Media look like in 2030?

I would like to receive updates about this survey and events related to it and want to be considered as an invited guest to the 2020 Workshop Utopias of Public Service Media. YES/NO

Name:

Country:

e-mail:

Do you know any other visionary individuals who could help us developing Public Service Media utopias? If so, can you please let us know their names, organisations (if any) and contact e-mail. Thank you!

3.2.3. Survey Data Collection

The survey was promoted with the help of a variety of channels. The basic idea was to invite both audience members and experts who have an interest in the future of Public Service Media. The focus was on young people/students, media professionals, science fiction fans, media, cultural and Internet researchers, activists and online influencers. The following steps were taken by the survey organisers:

- presentation of the survey and distribution of a handout at the first workshop of the AHRC network in November 2019;
- an invitation was posted on the following Facebook groups: British Science Fiction Association, Futopia – Futuristic Thinking for a Utopian World, RIPE: Public Media Researchers, Global PSM Experts Network/PMR, Kim Stanley Robinson Group, Science Fiction and Fantasy Book Readers, Science Fiction Fans, Fully Automated Luxury Communism;
- an invitation was disseminated in the weekly newsletter of the Communication and Media Research Institute;
- invitations were posted on a number of mailing lists: Association for Cultural Studies, Association of Internet Researchers, International Association for Media and Communication Research, Giganet: Global Internet Governance Academic Network, GNU Project Information, Greater London Linux User Group, ICTs & Society, Kritische Kommunikationswissenschaft (Critical Communication Research), Liberation Technology, Science Fiction Research Association, tripleC, UK Network Operator Community, Wikimedia Research, World Social Forum Discussion.
- an e-mail invitation was sent to all undergraduate, master's and doctoral students in the field of media and communication studies at the University of Westminster;
- an invitation was disseminated via the newsletter of television production company Open Media that created the discussion programme After Dark (<http://www.openmedia.co.uk/>);

- an investigative journalist working for the BBC forwarded an invitation to their network of investigative journalists;
- a fact-checker forwarded an invitation to the International Fact-Checking Network;
- 30 political vloggers (video bloggers) were identified and individual invitations to participate were sent to them;
- the Public Media Alliance (<https://www.publicmediaalliance.org/>) added an invitation to participate in the survey to its weekly newsletter;
- invitations were posted on the Web sites of the Communication and Media Research Institute (<http://www.camri.ac.uk>), ORF Public Value (<http://zukunft.orf.at>), the AHRC project (<https://innopsm.net/>).

The answers to the survey were provided between 10 November 2019 and 26 December 2019. A total of 818 users started the survey, of which 141 completed it and provided answers. This means that 17.2% of those using the link to the survey engaged with it. Thinking about utopias is complex and not part of most individuals' everyday work and life. It requires to focus on imagination. Given this was an exploratory survey, the number of responses ($N = 141$) is a very reasonable and satisfactory number for generating insights into key aspects of Public Service Media utopias and Internet utopias.

3.3. Results

The survey was exploratory, which means that it was interested in identifying important themes for thinking about Internet utopias and Public Service Media utopias. We were not interested in quantifying to what degree users agree or disagree with certain visions but wanted to identify potential features of the utopian Internet and utopian Public Service Media.

The results were analysed using thematic analysis as method (Bryman 2012, 578–581). The three basic research topics each formed one unit of analysis. In the survey, each topic was represented in the form of one survey question. For each topic, themes were identified and the survey answers were coded on paper so that each topic was mapped with the corresponding participants'

IDs. The original IDs, as generated by LimeSurvey, were used for coding and are also employed in the presentation of results.

3.3.1. Topic 1: Communication, Digital Media and the Internet in an Ideal World

The survey's first topic focused on the question of how communication, digital media and the Internet should look like in an ideal world. The survey asked: "IMAGINE: The best world ever: What kind of media are you using and why? How is it beneficial for citizens, society and democracy? How would the Internet look like in the best of all worlds?"

The survey participants generated a multitude of interesting and important ideas that are imaginary and critical. One participant remarked that there "is such a contrast to reality in thinking about these visions that it makes me sad..." (345). But Internet users who imagine utopias aren't defeatist, but often stress that "[a] better society is required in order to implement a better use of any technology" (362). A better Internet in a better society is "will look like a lovely garden" (787). The utopian Internet is not a walled garden but a multitude of interconnected community gardens where citizens together create plants, fruits and vegetables as commons and act in this environment as friends.

The survey participants had many interesting ideas on the future of the Internet and public communication. Using thematic analysis, 12 themes related to topic 1 were identified:

- the Internet is run not-for-profit, is advertising-free and there are no corporate Internet monopolies;
- the Internet has a decentralised technological and social structure;
- the Internet economy is an economic democracy built on worker- and user-owned infrastructure and platform co-ops, the digital commons and democratic governance;
- parts of the Internet are run and owned as public utility by Public Service Media in the form of Internet platforms;
- platform co-ops and Internet providers co-exist and co-operate in synergetic ways;

- there is gratis access to the Internet and digital technologies, free software and open content are the standard;
- digital technologies are environmentally sustainable;
- there is no authoritarian state-control, state-censorship and surveillance of the Internet; The Internet is privacy friendly and based on the principle of data minimisation;
- education includes critical digital media literacy; on the Internet, there is lots of engaging, critical educational content;
- users are enabled and encouraged to participate in the production of media content; the Internet and face-to-face encounters support democratic debate and decision-making in the public sphere; the democratic public sphere advances internationalism and solidarity and weakens hatred, fascism, nationalism and racism;
- on the Internet, there is fact-based, fact-checked news and high-quality content, critical online media report the truth and expose power;
- on the Internet, there is a diversity of media content, platforms, audiences, opinions and a representation of diverse groups from all social backgrounds and realms, regions and parts of the world.

Next, characteristic and interesting answers for each of the sub-topics are documented.

The Internet is run not-for profit, is advertising-free and there are no corporate Internet monopolies:

“The internet is not manipulating me into buying things” (115).

Users “are not forced by digital companies to share their privacy for commercial and advertising purposes” (137).

“Everyone can access an ad-free Internet, through a combination of taxation and licenses. [...] An international treaty has banned companies like Facebook and Tencent from holding online media oligopolies” (202).

“Can you imagine the internet without ads, without money twisting everything, without Facebook being the largest media outlet in the world while completely hiding it? Without bullshit ‘news-feed’ algorithmically built to provide targeted content to your half-awake brain in the morning?” (211).

“It informs, entertains, holds power to account, is free of advertising and corporate bias” (392).

“Hyper-commercialization of the Internet is history!” (407).

“[I]n the best possible world, the internet is entirely demonetized, that is nobody even thinks of making money off it. Furthermore, it is fully transparent and everybody can change it, that is, all code is open to everybody and is treated as common property” (507).

“There is no media industry, neither large conglomerates nor individual wannabe stars. Advertising and intellectually property are banned, or at least heavily taxed” (523).

“The media should be free from powerful commercial interests and any form of surveillance. It should operate using the business model of WikiTribune (WT)” (649).

“I would want no filters or algorithms to guide me or manipulate me. I would want the world of markets and commodities to leave the platform alone” (673).

“Journalist co-ops, public service and small-to-medium private media companies, with the state actively breaking up large media conglomerates and promoting a pluralistic ‘market’ (of sorts), is the way forward” (689).

“[I]t would be necessary, then, also to imagine a new social organisation. It is, in fact, very difficult to merge the present neoliberal capitalism with the dream of an Internet of people” (696).

“No ads. An internet that does not suck you into it and waste your time, but instead gives you the information and content you need then lets you go about your day in the real world” (766).

“The Internet will evolve to a large Wikipedia” (817).

“Without a profit incentive driving the development of these various digital media, ethics, transparency, and user governance are now firm guiding principles. [...] ethics, not profit, drives the development and design of digital media for all” (829).

The Internet has a decentralised technological and social structure:

“Decentralization is the key to the future of the Internet” (543).

“A centrifugal approach in organization of Internet interactions, that is quite compatible with its distributed nature, would bring back hope to the net that is heavily hurt by populist governmental hegemony and super power of economical monopolies” (768).

“I use decentralized federated media, and community-based infrastructure. It is beneficial to citizens because it brings us to self-organize and structure our communities, to society because it is one of the many conditions to a diversity of voice to be heard, democracy because it voices many more opinions than representative democracy [...] data information would be collectively managed and consciously updated” (839).

The Internet economy is an economic democracy built on worker- and user-owned infrastructure and platform co-ops, the digital commons and democratic governance:

“The Internet would be subject to forms of collective governance that would place the production and circulation of knowledge, meaning and sense in the hands of the powerless” (91).

“Facebook was communalized, i.e. taken over by its users as a user co-operative. In 2026, online advertising disappeared. [...] In Commontopia, there is no need for online ads or any other ads attached to media because the idea of selling something does not occur in this non-profit society. Rather, humans are producing goods and services that are distributed in a gift economy and are available as gratis goods in gift shops.[...] After the general working time had been reduced globally to 5 hours per week in 2032, which became possible reality because of technological progress and the collective political will, and a multitude of spaces of interaction and collaboration had been created, co-production, co-creation and a variety of new forms of co-operation emerged. Humans were no longer compelled to work to earn a living, but rather started to co-operate in order to create beauty. Commontopia is not just a fair, just and democratic world, it is also a beautiful world. It is more beautiful than William Morris could have ever imagined” (94).

“Decentralized federated platforms such as Mastodon, Peertube or Pixelfed. Those are platform run and built by people, completely open and censorship-resistant. You have communities of people sharing common interests and no-one is profiting from it. [...] Remove those monopolies, go decentralised, go federated” (211).

“In the best world, the Internet would be open and regulated by the people. Internet companies would be worker-owned. Users would have control over their information” (223).

“In an ideal world, the media is owned only by the people/users/citizens” (767).

“[B]asic services (e.g. search services, networking services) are provided by non-commercial platforms devoid of advertising and with clear terms and conditions of usage of user data, which are not owned by any commercial agent or deployed for any profit-making purposes. The data are owned by each individual and can be used for social purposes provided that the owner of the data gives their consent” (808).

“[P]ublic access to cultural productions, scientific knowledge, and technological innovation is crucial, facilitating a political change towards social democracy and a fundamental shift towards a co-operative mode of social production. This requires a socialization of the capital of corporations, the formation of an international state, a combination of centred and decentred democratic discussions through real forums and digital platforms, and the creation of innovative socio-cooperative economic units” (816).

Parts of the Internet are run and owned as public utility by Public Service Media in the form of Internet platforms:

“Countries desirous of an informed citizenry should set up and fund public institutions run by independently appointed persons to commission content designed to meet social needs unmet by market providers and to arrange its distribution on whatever platforms they deem appropriate” (28).

“The big challenge today is serving the public good on the Internet – preserving it from monopolisation by the private sector and surveillance capitalism. Public Service Media could create a protected space whereby media and services for public good can be nurtured and citizen’s privacy protected. The value of citizen’s data has been appropriated by private corporations and needs to be returned to citizens” (33).

“Google was renamed into PublicSearch and is today run by a global network of public universities. Its algorithms are open source and

transparent. Twice a year, there is a user forum deciding on how to further develop PublicSearch's algorithms as public service algorithms, i.e. algorithms by the public, for the public and of the public: It is a service of the public that finances it (through taxes, licence fees or subscription). It is a service by the public because the concept of public open innovation encourages user participation in the development and update of technologies. And it is a service for the public because it advances the public interest" (94).

"Public media environment. The ideal media environment would be much more local and definitely not market-based. I would love to get all my information from PSM media – from radio to entertainment and culture and socializing! PSM could provide also the strictly necessary digital components" (345).

The "media would be usable on a public and freely available worldwide information network that was collectively governed and open to all" (388).

"Public service media services across all platforms. Universal service, free to all at the point of reception, content catering to a full range of communities and needs, driven by civic not commercial imperatives. The Internet would be operated as a public utility with universal accessibility, net neutrality, with provisions for anonymity and user-control over personal data coupled with checks and balances to prevent abuses (e.g. attempts to manipulate elections through targeted fake news, proliferation of extreme/hate-based ideologies, mass surveillance)" (695).

"In the best world ever, there would be a publicly owned audio-visual music platform that is an all-in-one public music service: a streaming service; a radio and music TV with multiple thematic channels and both a live and a pre-recorded programme; a personal music library with options to publicly share with, and download from, others rare material; a public archive/library with access to repositories around the world and that receives music donations from citizens to their catalogue; an online school for musical education where accredited teachers and prospective students can work remotely; and finally, an academic forum/magazine/journal for musical expertise of various genres, cultures and musical

traditions of the world where citizens, government agencies or journalists can look for consultants and information resources. It would be accessible for free for anyone in the world with an Internet connection. [...] It would allow not only a democratised access to music resources, but also the public ownership of those resources. It would also enable the collaboration between music makers and music learners, professionals and amateurs, academics and students and the general public” (748).

“In the ‘best world ever’, I am a happy user of community-developed/governed federated media supported by the financial and intellectual resources of university and library consortiums. Though it had seemed an unlikely possibility, universities realized that they could invest their enormous IT budgets into supporting and developing non-commercial digital media (social media, email, collaborative platforms, etc) that served their institutional populations along with local communities and broader publics. [...] What perhaps was most exciting about this change, however, is that it granted institutions the opportunity to turn their media services into sites of participatory digital governance and research, where students and academics could study and transform these services according to the needs and interests of the communities they served” (829).

Platform co-ops and Internet providers co-exist and co-operate in synergetic ways:

The “Internet is decentralized, the basic infrastructure is common and public, part of the standard infrastructure of houses” (87).

“In Commontopia, there is a vivid non-commercial media sphere consisting both of public service media services and platforms as well as community media organized as platform co-operatives. Public service media runs services that require storage of vast amounts of audio-visual data such as video platforms. Platform co-operatives run popular services such as the social network OurBook and the instant messaging app OurChat” (94).

“I would like to see all digital platforms in the hands of either Common-based peer production projects, platform co-ops or

state-funded agencies' (of the more independent types). The state should economically and policy-wise support these platforms for democratic and service ends. These platforms should also work within a reformed legal framework where the more radical license family substitutes Creative Commons. The new license family should have as default some characteristics in [Dmytri] Kleiner's Peer Producer License, but it has to be further adapted" (318).

"In my ideal world, platforms have taken the role of public service media – they work for the good of society and for eudaimonic entertainment. Under the roof of these European Public Open Spaces (EPOS) media with a clear focus of non-commerciality are gathered. People were at the beginning reluctant to use these, but they experienced that online hatred and fake news declined. They are beneficial for society in the way they open up a space for democratic debate and public-public partnerships on a European level, i.e. schools, museums, etc cooperate with PSM providers, social economy with NGOs" (407).

"[I]n the best world ever, everyone can participate in a digital commons, where people can meaningfully contribute to society through the public sphere" (493).

"I think of the Internet in public and in common. Projects like Guifi.net should be a reference and reach an Internet where the public interest and citizens connect. Why not think of powerful pan-European infrastructures, devices and public platforms at the service of citizens? Until 1996 in Spain the telecommunications infrastructure was public (Telefónica) and was privatized. If citizens had been informed that these infrastructures would be vital for the development of our democracies, would this privatization have been allowed? But the logic of some twentieth-century public services must be overcome. We must go to public services that are more decentralized and open to the real participation of citizens, beyond the elites" (782).

"I'm using a mix of public and civic/non-profit/community media. Both public and civic/community media distribute their contents via radio, TV and digital platforms. Public service media are no more evaluated for the number/size of their audience, but for the

social benefits they provide to society. Advertising is banned on public service media” (785).

“In a best world scenario, we should be using decentralized alternative public media. [...] it would make sense to create public services that ensures the access and participation of all citizens in society, as well as creating healthy competition with existing private provision. Ideally, it would be desirable to have decentralized citizen platforms such as Mastodon. However, given the disproportionate competition they face from large multinationals, a viable alternative would be state support for the creation, regulation, or at least, sustainability of such alternatives, provided that the necessary measures are taken to ensure the security of citizens’ data” (815).

There is gratis access to the Internet and digital technologies. Free software and open content are the standard:

“I would be using ecologically sustainable media that are built with free and open source software, thereby reducing their overall cost while preserving the freedom of users to tinker, adapt, modify, etc. the technology for their own purposes. These media would be easily upgraded through modular (and, again, sustainable) components. These media would be usable on a public and freely available worldwide information network that was collectively governed and open to all. This would reduce barriers to communication, prevent the ‘Balkanization’ of different information and communication networks” (388).

“Transparency and openness in public data. [...] Internet as a universal service and connectivity (same as health, education and homing) as a basic human right, respected and accomplished” (499).

“I am using open source open innovation open x media designed by vulnerable groups (like people with disabilities) beneficial for all groups of people” (644).

“Most of the content is free. [...] I think the ideal internet should be accessible to all citizens; not restricted to the rich” (649).

“There is no competitive market for handsets and these are offered for free or on a low subscription to all members of the population.

[...] There is no paid for knowledge of information and access to the Internet” (808).

“Media access to communicate, creatively express ourselves, and gather information should be universal (meaning both that the infrastructure should be universal, but also either free or heavily subsidized so that everyone can engage with it)” (842).

Digital technologies are environmentally sustainable:

Society would “reduce the need for waste because the technologies would be ecologically sustainable” (388).

“The possibilities that the Internet throws up are boundless and they could be harnessed for global peace and control of our ecosystem for sustainable futures of the human race” (701).

“The production is sustainable with minimal harm for the environment, no risk for the workers involved and under humane and ethical working conditions” (808).

“Computers would be used with scarcity in the full duration of their life and systems adapted for less consumption of resources” (839).

There is no authoritarian state-control, state-censorship and surveillance of the Internet. The Internet is privacy-friendly and based on the principle of data minimisation:

“Citizens should be empowered to make informed and impactful choices about how they want their data to be used” (33).

“Unnecessary data storage that is not needed in order to run the service is avoided. In the old times of digital capitalism, every click and every online move was stored on vast server farms and never deleted. Commontopia’s media environment is privacy friendly. Users choose with whom they share information. Along with the emergence of privacy-friendliness digital and other forms of political and economic surveillance ceased to exist a long time ago” (94).

“Fully encrypted/Tor integrated/ using some kind of quantum encryption, [...] incorruptible/cannot be shut down/built firewalls around” (392).

“In the best world ever, I’m using privacy-by-design social media that truly focus on connecting people together and not on increasing profits” (493).

“In an ideal world, everybody would experience equal human rights and no violation thereof by digital technology. Privacy would be respected by enterprises and the state alike and freedom, liberty and free knowledge would be the major driving values of society. [...] The internet would be free from commercial as well as from state surveillance, would not violate but enforce human rights and would be backed by a global community of democratic states, NGOs and enterprises that are committed to safeguarding net neutrality, freedom of information, privacy and other human rights to ensure that the Internet is a democratic core infrastructure with global impact to spread ethics and democratic values worldwide” (558).

“Media are free from state or corporate censorship, except for clearly identified reasons (propaganda for barbarism, i.e. Neona-zism or fundamentalist propaganda)” (568).

“An internet utopia will come when we talk not about big data but about big non-data” (677).

Education includes critical digital media literacy. On the Internet, there is lots of engaging, critical educational content:

“The Internet would be a tool for education, a vetted knowledge base” (74).

“knowledge from universities would be made public – like MIT does – to propagate global increase in life quality through education” (167).

“The Internet would allow citizens to become educated and participate in democracy – the people cannot have power without being educated on issues” (223).

“In an utopian concept, all citizens are well educated in media, communication and information literacy which are fundamental for the usage and evaluation of communication channels. In this world, the abovementioned literacies are part of the teaching plans from elementary over high school as well as in universities

and all other institutions of third level education. Media, communication and information literacy are also part of a lifelong educational approach in which all people have the guarantee to inform themselves on recent communication topics and to learn all necessary skills to use media technologies. In this utopian view, literacy is not limited to media and communication topics but also includes consensual values how people interact with each other in their media use” (244).

“[T]he conditions for such a true empowerment do not exist as long as citizens are not properly equipped with critical thinking, information and digital literacy, adequate financial and technical resources, sense of responsibility and intellectual honesty. A better society is required in order to implement a better use of any technology” (362).

“Hateful and fake discourses on platforms had been diminished, because of comprehensive media literacy education that begins in Kindergarten. People perceive these platforms as ‘theirs’, hence refrain from hateful comments” (407).

“Individuals are having high information and media literacy skills” (549).

Users are enabled and encouraged to participate in the production of media content. The Internet and face-to-face encounters support democratic debate and decision-making in the public sphere. The democratic public sphere advances internationalism and solidarity and weakens hatred, fascism, nationalism and racism:

“PSM should open specific platforms – organize and curate mediated communication (VoD) and develop attractive forms of UGC (user-generated content). Such multilingual platforms could stimulate the conversation between users and experts, like that in think tanks, NGOs, civil society. The initiative should support the empowerment of people with valuable ideas for Europe and its regions. [...] the implementation of smartphone-based participation in sessions of HD-video-communication (technical solutions already realized) as urgent impulse for the needed development and modernized understanding of democracy” (11).

“Utopically, then, debate should be uncoupled from the profit motive, and the means of production/dissemination collectivised. There are many compromise positions — break up monopolies, increase public oversight (people’s commissions, transparency over e.g. search algorithms, advertising funding, etc), etc, but these are not utopic. They are desirable, even essential fixes, but, as long as profit drives content/dissemination, the problem would remain” (20).

“The wiki software enables collaboration and participation from the community” (63).

“Nowadays, humans engage in multiple forms with each other via the Internet and face-to-face in the global public sphere. Com-montopia has a vivid public sphere where humans meet in local, regional and global forums and interest groups to exchange ideas and organize themselves according to joint interests. These forums often take place face-to-face, which resulted in the weakening of alienation and isolation. In between forum meetings, participants continue to debate online and their joint work on projects of digital co-production” (94).

The Internet nurtures “a synergy-seeking ‘syndividualism’” (161).

“The Internet in future will serve as mouthpieces for voiceless to make the voice heard” (608).

“In the best of all worlds, I will be using a media that enables me to converse directly, in real time, with any human being in any part of the world regardless of the fact that we speak different languages and inhabit different life-worlds. This kind of media will enable human beings to grow views of citizenship and society that include the greatest possible range of human experience across human histories and human geographies. This kind of mediated conversation will significantly reduce the disproportionate determination of the democratic process by diverse elites [...] In the best of all worlds, there would be no barriers to participation in the Internet by any human being in any part of the world” (261).

“I would still like an Internet that nurtures public participation, debunks misinformation, and erodes established power dynamics. Folks would be able to use the Internet to participate in public processes without the need to attend meetings in person, yet

guard against brigading by privileged groups and the dissemination of misinformation” (284).

“The Internet would still enable connections between people but facts would be authenticated by external trusted and transparent authorities. [...] [M]aybe we would use the internet to share only love instead of hate” (399).

“Brecht’s ideal of a ‘great communication channel of public life’ has finally come true. And, why not add a little more Startrek utopia, let’s ignore commercial interests, hatred and populism and replace them with curiosity, research urge, enrichment through exchange. Who knows, perhaps in this way we will abolish borders and find a gentle murmur, not unisono, but diversity, respect and togetherness” (402).

“translation tools have reached a quality in which cross-language communication is seamlessly enabled. [...] On a technological level, functions that today are segregated have been integrated into one global communication platform, allowing for structured debates (today’s mails and forums) and quick communication (Instant Messenger/Social Media)” (568).

“Governance depends less on institutions of representation and more on a wider participation from citizens. [...] more participation and contribution for a wider number of citizens can increase engagement, commitment to public good, accountability of public policies and efficiency of public decisions. In a sense, a converging, connected society is more prone to function as a digital public sphere that enables citizenships to have informed takes on issues that matter. However, convergence is expected to have no limits in form or function” (599).

“The universal declaration of human rights and the EU conventions on the same will strike an appropriate balance between freedom of speech and countering fascist hate speech etc” (711).

Public platforms would “counterbalance racist and neo-orientalist approaches to audio-visual musical content and thus protect citizens from the normalisation of racism and misinformation (and more generally cultural imperialism and fascism)” (748).

“There’s a growing body of evidence showing that improvements in public-interest, non-commercial news and information lead

to growth in civic engagement and decreases in political polarization. Conversely, the faltering of commercial news, the layoffs of reporters, and the rising power of social media platforms are not just systemic market failures. They are social issues with profound implications for democracy. A more civic-minded media and internet ecosystem has ‘positive externalities’ that act as catalysts for a more just, equitable and democratic society as a whole” (819).

On the Internet, there is fact-based, fact-checked news and high-quality content, critical online media report the truth and expose power:

“The news reports would set out what is happening in context and based on clear evidence, not sensationalising accounts. The opinion presented would challenge people’s views without seeking simply to enrage or shock. [...] In an ideal world, what you see would set out clearly the identity of the news or content provider is and what biases and/or reporting structure and values they have. One of the major problems with the way platforms today present information is it is difficult for users to judge the credibility of one source of information against another. That has to end” (32).

“As for the concept of impartiality in public service media, this needs to be re-imagined as truth-seeking and verification. The tired construct of balance needs to be put to bed and public service journalists given a mandate to contest ideas and challenge falsehoods in the name of empowering the public. Public service journalism needs to rise above the social media-driven impetus to be the first to disseminate a development and focus more on shedding light on the melee. This goes back to the idea of being a trusted guide in a confusing landscape” (33).

The Internet “should be a tool for the exchange of knowledge and progressive thinking, not the trashcan it is now” (314).

Media and an Internet “that entertains, educates and tells the truth; true and objective information” (429).

“In the best world ever, I pay for digital media that offers well-researched, high-quality, and professional journalism that offers no-less than three external fact checks of the content. Any

misinformation is automatically be removed or filtered by artificial intelligence, a team of trained staff, as well as the public themselves (verifying factual information and debunking fake information in the digital space)” (432).

“The AI multi-agent system assures that (a) I am only receiving each piece of news once, regardless of how many media outlets may have copied a press release and published on their own Web sites/in their own apps; that (b) I can immediately reach out from this one piece of news I am reading to other news or informative Web sites regarding the same context, but without being caught in the network of one single media outlet and without having to switch to a search engine to display results for my search; that (c) has flags and indicators regarding the institutional, political, or media background of the author(s) of the piece of news I am reading; and that (d) has sophisticated mechanisms to nudge me out of my own content bubble. [...] It is beneficial in that it no longer works with exaggerated emotions, but with informing the people where they need to be informed and entertaining them where they want to be entertained. The line between information and entertainment is drawn much clearer to avoid media interfering with democratic policy, thanks to the AI-based network that regulates media attention” (466).

“Media would act as a check and watchdog that educates and speaks truth to power” (495).

“As the field of film classification moves towards a global ratings system, so too there will be regulation for fact as opposed to lies and propaganda on a regional then global scale” (711).

“The media is informing me of what is happening locally and globally – with the issues that matter. It’s also giving a critical look at what is happening, exposing some of the power dynamics and adding some constructive ideas” (814).

On the Internet, there is a diversity of media content, platforms, audiences, opinions and a representation of diverse groups from all social backgrounds and realms, regions and parts of the world:

“The mixture of media allows benefits such as informed debate, including on international as well as national, and including very

different social groups to one's own. This includes, importantly, groups who may have less hold over power by social class, gender, ethnicity, age, etc, complex pictures of whose lives and positions is essential for the means to collectively address social issues which could otherwise lead to misery and injustice, conflict and disaster: the purpose, surely, of democracy" (20).

"Information provided online would represent a far wider cross section of news and opinion than at present. Far too much of the content online is controlled by a small handful of organisations, and presents a world view shaped in Silicon Valley, and does not well represent the world as it is" (32).

"reversing the concentration of production in London and a few cities designated to represent the voice of the regions and nations" (33).

"rich variety of content with public interest focus" (429).

"All kinds of people would be represented, in entertainment as well as news" (495).

"A utopia is one where we do not (ever) benefit from the poverty of others. We do not levy the costs of technology on the Third World" (677).

"In an ideal world, citizens would hear of many diverse topics from multiple perspectives and views" (689).

"The media is made by people with similar backgrounds and experiences to the audience – it reflects the demographics of wider society" (814).

3.3.2. Topic 2: Progressive Reforms of Public Service Media

The survey's second topic was focused on how Public Service Media should be reformed. For this purpose, the following question was asked: "IMAGINE: You are elected as the Director/CEO of a Public Service Media (PSM) provider (such as the BBC, ORF, Yle, ARD, ZDF, RTVE, France Télévisions, RAI, RTÉ, PBS, CBC, SRG, NPR, NHK, etc): What new projects and initiatives would you immediately like to implement? How would media and communication be different from today?"

Respondents made a multitude of interesting suggestions. Using thematic analysis, 12 themes related to the second topic were identified:

- Public Service Media should develop and offer Internet platforms.
- Public Service Media should ensure diversity of its programmes and its organisational structures and make sure ordinary people and local life are adequately represented.
- Public Service Media should create new formats of debate and communication.
- Public Service Media should establish and maintain high standards of fact-checking and objectivity.
- Public Service Media should advance new forms of audience participation and co-operation with civil society.
- Public Service Media should internationalise its services.
- Public Service Media should challenge tabloidization and scandalisation and publish high-quality documentaries and educational programmes.
- Public Service Media should have democratic forms of governance.
- Public Service Media should abolish all space and time access limits to its contents and maintain archives that are available forever and accessible from anywhere.
- The licence fee should be maintained and further developed and be complemented by new funding mechanisms.
- Public Service Media should be independent from corporations and governments.
- Public Service Media should be advertising free.

We will next give typical examples of suggestions respondents made in respect to the 12 themes having to do with Public Service Media reforms.

Public Service Media should develop and offer Internet platforms:

“I would like to see the development of what one might call interactive movies (Lara Croft provides hints) or interactive games that can bridge the generations (e.g. based on current quiz shows perhaps) and indeed also probably more interactive politics (e.g. from BBC Parliament out) going beyond the local to further afield” (35).

“After the network of directors of PSM media in 100 countries had been established, the network in 2022 convinced the governments in these 100 countries to change legislation in such a way that: * public service value market tests were abolished; * national and international media policies stopped imitating and admiring the Californian digital giants, but started taxing them and started to create policy initiatives that enabled the creation of Internet and Internet platforms; * a global digital services tax of 20% of the digital giants’ profits was introduced and used to fund the development of new digital public service media platforms/services and public/common digital services partnerships; [...] * a multitude of public/commons partnerships was started, where public service media, public service institutions (libraries, museums, post offices, universities, etc), and not-for-profit civil society organisations/co-operatives cooperate and co-create new services” (94).

“With an empowered public sector role I would aim at maximum possible public skilling in and access to the Internet. Free broadband for all but I would also establish well-staffed open media centres at local authority level and run by local authorities for the purpose of education, support and provision of the means of communication” (171).

“A People’s Platform: A nationwide consultation project where citizens would be encouraged to recognise those practices they appreciate from current private online platforms and those they reject. From this consultation, an alternative platform environment would be launched, which would grow according to audience expectations. Public Service Streaming Services: Rather than selling products to private streaming platforms, I would encourage alliances with other PSMs to build a transcontinental streaming platform, where these contents would be exclusively shown. Laws would limit competition from private providers” (202).

“Improved platforms for citizen journalism with little gatekeeping. Buy Reddit and Twitter and establish stronger moderation, treat them as public utilities with more robust and transparent oversight” (284).

“European public service media content platform; European content of high quality from every country available to all” (429).

“There’s no point in being a new Netflix. There might be a point in being a new Reddit or Flickr” (452).

“I’d [...] explore opportunities to develop a public service social media platform and online search engine with the same functionality of other social media/engines but with transparent algorithms (with publicly accountable reviews) and no advertising and personal data harvesting” (695).

“My project is related to the de-commercialized development of social media platforms. By suppressing the commercialized content of social media platforms, the Internet public space will be freer and purer, and everyone can express their own voice, which is conducive to the development of a more democratic society” (752).

“Provide decentralized and alternative platforms to YouTube or Netflix and create citizen relevant content and make it freely available in these platforms. This could be an effort made at international level, where PSMs from different countries could collaborate to implement this vision” (815).

Public Service Media should ensure diversity of its programmes and its organisational structures and make sure ordinary people and local life are adequately represented:

“I would initiate programs that are inclusive of all classes of people, and that would give the ordinary man the opportunity to question the legitimate authority in a Q&A session” (59).

“More diversity and inclusion, one big NO to hate rhetoric, representation of all sides and marginalised areas of Britain” (115).

“I would find voices that do not always appear on radio/television from institutions and places in society that are not represented today. To do this would require acknowledging how class reproduces itself. I would look for organic intellectuals to contribute about their daily lives. Instead of finding the easy sources, I’d find the people who have lived through the miseries of capitalism” (223).

“Our media is too controlled, I think, and too distant from the public. [...] One of the first things I would really push is to recruit

a group of people for a ‘slice of life’ type program: the PSM staff would help them film a day in their lives, or something they feel is important to them” (288).

“Local news presenting possibly all stakeholders’ different perspectives” (305).

“The PSM could do a much better job of engaging with younger people, focusing on the growing social movements within that generation, and begin engaging those people and their movements to radically transform the coverage by making it more relevant for future generations” (388).

“having a 50:50 gender and race quota for each desk; [...] Different from today – more representative, democratic, less current affairs debates and more facts” (392).

“I would base projects on values, such as human rights, cultural diversity, solidarity, and biodiversity” (596).

“would start an initiative to build trust in the media again. Part of that can include creating a more inclusive and diverse body of voices on the platform, or opening the door to more unorthodox ideas. I think it’s important for the people to realize the media works for them, and by engaging in more outreach, and giving people more opportunities to contribute, they may feel a greater sense of ownership. I’d also like to see new ways of people engaging with the content, to broaden things beyond ordinary video, audio, and text” (694).

Public Service Media should create new formats of debate and communication:

“People’s fora to debate and implement information practices – to hear from experts, call witnesses, and investigate issues. These practices to be disseminated through various channels – live, documentary, etc.” (20).

“One important initiative would be to allow a Reddit-style commenting apparatus – though one that requires identity confirmation so as to prevent spam and coordinated inauthentic posts. This would allow for those with certain perspectives judged by the audience as popular to help drive strategy. Someone who’s

counter-interpretation to a particular article, for example, could be tapped to work with existent talent to produce an article for debate amongst the audience” (76).

“Create real social media – i.e., media that builds social connection by its use. That would include designs that involve facework, sharing, and human contact environments rather than fostered isolation. [...] Rather than creating virtual communities, we will be reconnecting real communities” (161).

“A well moderated public forum would be great” (452).

“BBC would come to mean ‘Building a Better Conversation’. Every aspect of media would be in scope, and we would be asking continually how the shared inquiry and communion could improve. [...] I like Jeremy Corbyn’s idea of universal broadband, but just as important would be ways of improving communication in local communities off line” (505).

“to transform political debate promoting real discussions among all political actors in each community/state and on a global scale” (816).

Public Service Media should establish and maintain high standards of fact-checking and objectivity:

“I think the key change I would make would be to ensure both that the organisation I ran (a) provided clearer evidence for the public about the accuracy of information in the public domain (fact-checking it) and (b) ensured its own news and information set the complex world we live in, in more context. There is a lot of ‘heat’ in most media production and not so much ‘light’. Putting information in context, and setting out the evidence for different positions is important” (32).

“I will also mainstream live and on demand fact checking into news coverage, in addition to mapping the news more with fact/figures/location and references. This will help news consumers in their news literacy and train them to avoid falling for Fake News stories and deep-fakes. The media and communication landscape will be more immersive and fact-checking based” (137).

“Utilizing AI to report on issues would remove the human bias and allow only facts to be presented as they should be. Any

conclusions should be based of those facts and nothing more” (167).

“Every infographic would be linked an open version of the data and code that produced it, using something like Jupyter where editing and re-presenting the work is cheap and straightforward. Every scientific paper mentioned would be linked. Every part of the archive (excepting possible legal constraints) would be put online and be freely available” (545).

“Media and communication are important, and the media and communication process of Public Service Media in a best world is critically triple checked (facts, other possible interpretations, other possible significances that can be assigned) by colleagues before it goes public” (570).

“The newsrooms and presenters/journalists will not be afraid to call out lies when they are articulated. For example, Trump claimed that the pipe line to Germany from Russia was more than 60% of Germany’s energy needs when it was that percentage of Germany’s needs for gas which are 20% of their energy needs. The claim was fact checked later in the bulletin but the headline was what most folk would see/read/hear and it was also repeated without comment. Facts are sacred: comment free hence when it is not a matter of interpretation but factual and incorrect, it needs to be called out at that point even with the current POTUS” (711).

Public Service Media should advance new forms of audience participation and co-operation with civil society:

“viewer participation in selection of topics of interest [...] Possibility of users to choose interest areas for which they can receive in depth info (based on global newstickers) to enable viewers to select stories of interest (on demand media)” (175).

“more participatory programs” (343).

“I would call for civil society actors and movements on both national and regional level to join in and form a new collaborative process. I would see the PSM media as a part of societal common knowledge architecture. The aim would be to formulate common goals and co-operation mechanisms for media and these

other actors, in order to be integrally part of democratic and participatory actions in societies” (345).

“I would get as much citizen involvement as possible” (452).

“open to nonprofessional producers and productions from communities, neighbourhoods, supporting them with technical means to achieve Hollywood level productions” (499).

“Partner with academics and communities on programming and production” (523).

“I will frequently ask our audiences to suggest program types, program contents and program modifications to meet their expectations. [...] viewers will have accounts in an interactive platform that insures direct interaction between the production and reception sides of PS” (599).

“I would also introduce more phone-in programmes for BBC to engage more effectively with its viewers and listeners” (649).

“Contents would be co-created with various communities, with professional writers/actors working with non-pro people: news would be steered by local participants, fictions written in cooperation with now students, then workers from a certain company, then by residents of a certain neighbourhood, etc. So that editorial choices, contents and forms wouldn’t appear as falling on society from an above and detached world with alien interests and codes, but would rather give form to dynamics immanent to communities in their diversity” (663).

“I will focus on community initiatives and give them visibility so that grassroots democracy gets wide publicity” (673).

“I would develop partnerships with community-based and independent news media perhaps with collaborative investigative journalism projects” (695).

Public Service Media should internationalise its services:

“Transnational PSB partnerships to compete with the global reach of, for example, Netflix, but with the quality of series of, for example, BBC” (20).

“more global news coverage rather than same news around the clock with in depth analyses of topic selected by editors” (175).

“Less nationalism. PSM need to become global” (596).

“More international news: there is a lack of information about countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America. The eurocentrism of news is huge but also is centred in a few countries” (681). “I’d also look at developing international partnerships with other PSM providers to (a) develop a reliable news-pool of international news and current affairs and other factual content and (b) explore opportunities to develop a public service social media platform and online search engine with the same functionality of other social media/engines but with transparent algorithms (with publicly accountable reviews) and no advertising and personal data harvesting” (695).

“to transform political debate promoting real discussions among all political actors in each community/state and on a global scale” (816).

Public Service Media should challenge tabloidization and scandalisation and publish high-quality documentaries and educational programmes:

“I would like to educate people and show programmes about nature, other parts of the world, etc.” (19). “European content of high quality from every country available to all” (429). “In my country, for instance, it would be interesting to have projects designed to help citizens access better education so they can improve their lives” (511). “Rather than mutilating content to make it more “digestible” and oftentimes copying the formats of commercially successful media corporations, public service media should serve an educational purpose. As such, more time (and at more attractive times of the day!) would be dedicated to documentaries dedicated to enlightening public debate, particularly regarding questions of today’s political economy and global human civilisation” (568). “I would then commission a project that link resources from the broadcaster (e.g. the BBC) with resources from major educational institutions around the world, so that the archival material can be freely used for public education. More importantly, the broadcaster and the educational institutions would work together

towards designing and implementing an educational programme that would be free to access and follow online for anyone in the world, and that would be available in several languages” (748). “I will create partnerships with independent producers to ensure I have access to content that responds to diverse needs of different audience niches. This would include children’s programmes, young audience TV, ethnic minority programmes, local programmes addressing local problems. The content would have a balance of news, entertainment and education. I would also place strong emphasis on the arts, music, theatre and cinema. [...] more opportunities for documentary, film-making and independent production to enter PSM” (808).

Public Service Media should have democratic forms of governance:

“media policy reforms turned Public Service Media organisations into fully independent organisations. PSM’s boards from then on have no longer been appointed or partly appointed by governments but are now elected by both licence-fee paying audiences and PSM employees. Candidates for PSM directors are suggested by the board and elected by employees and audiences” (94).

“Organisational structures are designed horizontally. Equality, diversity and inclusion are applied everywhere, quality of product is a priority” (203).

“I’d suggest to set up a programme supervision body composed of a representative sample of the population. It would have a non-renewable mandate of a few years. it would be responsible for collecting on a regular basis opinions and suggestions of the citizens (as opposed to listeners or members of audience) regarding the scope, contents and process of the various programmes” (362).

“I would first undertake an initiative of various citizen assemblies all over the country about what the citizens would expect from my PSM, and then use that as my mandate. Given the media I’d be the director of its public, I’d want to get my mandate directly from the public rather than from any government or other official” (507).

“1. Make the workers of the BBC the owners of BBC. Let them make the decisions. They know it better than the management.

Use something like Holacracy or loomio to facilitate the decision-making process. 2. Make the CITIZENS the owners” (546).

“Audiences will equally be allowed to partake in deciding on TV dramas, given their popularity. They will be allowed not only to suggest which dramas should be offered in terms of binge-watching, but also which dramas to buy and which to neglect. To allow all this, viewers will have accounts in an interactive platform that ensures direct interaction between the production and reception sides of PSM. In that platform, laws will be uploaded, the production processes can be followed, audience opinions are expressed and suggestions for improvement are gathered. In the same platform, citizens can receive media literacy courses to equip them with adequate knowledge and skills” (599).

“I would also change the PSM governance, involving civic associations, third sector organizations, schools and Universities: in other words, I would be a Director promoting a more horizontal and pluralistic governance” (696).

“Rather, a utopia requires a future without corporations. As such, I cannot imagine a future utopia where I would be CEO of the BBC or RAI or any other corporation. There cannot be CEOs in a utopia. These top-down visions belong to apartheid” (677).

“my first decree would be to abolish the CEO position, unless the CEO is subjected to common election and approval of her/his decisions. A sort of ‘ayllu’, a social unit of economic production, political discussion, and social administration, where all decisions are taken by the community and realized by those appointed” (816).

“any transformation I would propose would first aim to suppress the position of CEO itself, and secondly open the channels to independent media” (839).

Public Service Media should abolish all space and time access limits to its contents and maintain archives that are available forever and accessible from anywhere:

“anachronistic legal limits such as the limited temporal availability of PSM content and the limited spatial access to PSM were abolished. PSM started to be available for unlimited time and to be

accessible from anywhere in the world. It was recognized that such spatial and temporal limits are out of sync with the affordances of digital media” (94).

“make archive publicly available, and not just for 4 days or in my own country, like easily watchable, no account, no bullshit, not YouTube hosted” (211).

“First of all, I would open a huge back catalogue of old TV and radio productions for free access in the media centres. People have already paid for it, so why hide it in the archives? Then I would open this internationally, so that people from abroad can see and hear the content, too. Then I would structure and tag and organize these huge amounts of content data so that it can be used efficiently, and so that meaningful research will be possible in the media centres. Then I would link them with each other. An open software would be needed so that latecomers could join, too. In the end, we would have general access to humanities’ arts, science and journalism, including films, documentaries, news, music, paintings and even games. Of course, new stuff would be produced daily” (540).

The licence fee should be maintained and further developed and be complemented by new funding mechanisms:

“a global digital services tax of 20% of the digital giants’ profits was introduced and used to fund the development of new digital public service media platforms/services and public/common digital services partnerships” (94).

“New funding mechanisms and business models to eliminate dependencies and roles of private sector interests” (148).

“Some of the initiatives I’d like to see would need to come from government, not just the public service media provider themselves. These would include the introduction of a marginal media levy (say 1%) on the commercial turnover of (i) subscription media such as SVoDs or pay-TV), (ii) telecommunication services (including internet and mobile phone), (iii) audio-visual retail goods (including televisions, phones, computers, lap-tops) and (iv) advertising (on companies with revenues over a set benchmark). The revenue collected could then be ring-fenced and used

to expand the PSM services including subsidy of independent journalism” (695).

“I would explore a new funding model that would retain the license fee but would also create some variation inside this scheme. For instance, I would make the license fee means tested and would tier it according to household income. The result would be a progressive license fee charge. Additionally, I would seek ways to channel taxpayers’ money into the funding of the PSM. One way of doing so would be to provide state-based advertising of public and community initiatives (e.g. sports or culture)” (808).

“a tax on global corporations may finance the change towards public media” (816).

“I would call on legislative bodies to create a new, multibillion-dollar Public Interest Media Endowment funded by taxing the purveyors of targeted advertising. The endowment would direct tax revenues to fund independent and non-commercial news outlets” (819).

Public Service Media should be independent from corporations and governments:

“I believe these services should be regulated by organizations that are not connected to political power” (81).

“I would encourage the news functions of say the BBC to uncouple itself from the press. Too often the broadcast media merely reproduce the arguments of what is a seriously politically unbalanced press” (331).

“Reinforce the role of public media for society and democracy and combat the tendency to privatize public media” (558).

“I believe a media without powerful commercial interests can only be reimaged under a PSM” (649).

“I would advocate for: free the selection of the PSM board from political control” (785).

Public Service Media should be advertising-free:

“I’d prohibit political ads” (555).

“Future media and communication would be without advertisements” (679).

“I would get rid of corporate sponsorship on PBS which limits the kinds of programming it can broadcast” (766).

“I would advocate for: ban all advertising on PSM” (785).

3.3.4. Topic 3: Public Service Media and the Internet in 2030

The survey’s third question focused on the assumption that Public Service Media develops very well in the 2020s. Given this assumption, we asked the respondents how they thought the media and Internet landscape would look like in 2030.

The corresponding question in the survey read: “IMAGINE: It’s 2030: Public Service Media have experienced a remarkable development and a renaissance. A very successful, radically new media ecosystem has developed: What has been changed in comparison to 2020 (10 years ago)? How was it possible to achieve these changes? How do Public Service Media look like in 2030?”

Using thematic analysis, a total of nine themes related to this question were identified:

- In 2030, corporate media and Internet monopolies have been weakened.
- In 2030, advances towards Internet have been made.
- In 2030, noncommercial, advertising-free, not-for-profit media are more important than in 2020.
- In 2030, Public Service Media provide diverse content and have a diverse organisational structure.
- In 2030, Public Service Media and the Internet advance and sustain democracy and are democratically organised.
- In 2030, fact-checking, high-quality information and educational programmes are key aspects of Public Service Media.
- In 2030, Public Service Media are critical media that co-operate with the independent media sector, support citizen journalism, are well funded, and are independent from political and economic power.
- In 2030, Public Service Media advance dialogue and debate.
- In 2030, Public Service Media focus more on global and international cooperation than in 2020 while at the same time focusing on local issues.

In 2030, corporate media and Internet monopolies have been weakened:

“Ideally we would witness a diversification of the social media providers” (175).

“Diversity of owners would be key” (331).

“Privately owned media empires have been curtailed, esp. through the success of the Global Competition Authority (first suggested by Hutton and Giddens 2000). Not only electronic media: print media and news agencies too are flourishing with increasing diversity” (596).

The “regulation and non-concentration of ownership of networks by some people is crucial. We will need to create internet services and not private communication companies” (643).

“Decentralized alternative public media were created since 2020 and transnational regulation was introduced to prevent the market monopoly of big tech companies such as Google and Facebook” (815).

In 2030, advances towards the Internet have been made:

“‘Facebook’ no longer exists, having been transferred to public ownership by popular demand, and so transformed that a name change was required. ‘Social media’ as a term means what it says: it refers to publicly owned media driven by democratically determined social needs and wants and constituted to serve those needs and wants alone” (20).

“A network of 100 public service media organisations established PublicServiceTube, a public service alternative to YouTube. [...] In 2025, a network of 100 public service broadcasters started an international video streaming service under the title of PublicPlus” (94).

“The key change is that in 2030 there is now a public sector internet as well as a commercial one” (171).

“PSM media is in 2030 local, sustainable, and provides an alternative digital infrastructure to societies” (345).

“Public Service Platforms or protocols have been implemented” (407).

“Public service has moved beyond being media. Instead they’re platforms for innovation done by regular people” (452).

“Every person is an operator of the SERVER for their own media. [...] every neighbourhood has pooled-up resources and are operating their own ‘ISP’” (546).

“The new media ecosystem of 2030 is more integrated, where broadcasters, archives/libraries, and educational institutions are constitutive parts of their activities and projects, rather than separate domains of society. This was possible through changing the ways in which public service media is understood and managed, and how governments understand their role in society as a whole. [...] What has radically changed between 2020 and 2030 is the exponential increase in the number of publicly owned platforms and initiatives to replace private corporations in the archiving, provision and access to media (including music)” (748).

“The platforms have dropped much of their toxicity. We have not become perfect angels online, but the media no longer draws out the worst in people. This happened by turning old platforms into public utilities. They no longer try to keep people logged on for as long as possible in pursuit of clicks and ad revenue. Instead users decide what kind of behaviours the platforms promote” (766).

“University and library IT budgets (with increased state funding) are used to support federated public digital media services with community governance structures” (829).

In 2030, noncommercial, advertising-free, not-for-profit media are more important than in 2020:

“We are less concerned with profitability, just to begin with. It is impossible to create quality content where our ‘success’ line is focused on monetary gain rather than community goals” (288).

“When [we have] journalists free from commercial dependence and user generated content free from surveillance than we can have cooperation instead of competition” (305).

“content is PRODUCED and CONSUMED by the FREE CITIZENS, not burdened by the ‘propaganda’ and ‘marketing’ of people trying to SELL useless STUFF to others...” (546).

Public service media “are also much less commercial: i.e. fewer ads (whether paid-for time or space, product placement, advertorial

or other), if any. Because people voted against advertising in global referenda” (596).

“the changes in the Internet structure have generated a more democratic and less commercial Internet in the wake of the general uneasy with advertising, surveillance and violation of private data” (808).

In 2030, Public Service Media provide diverse content and have a diverse organisational structure:

“Binary conceptions of balance will have been replaced by pluralist modes in which a diversity of voices and perspectives are represented” (91).

“Hire more young and diverse staff – class, race, gender, ability, native language. This helps to broaden the perspectives and refresh the agenda. Free training on progressive values” (115).

“new generation of journalists allowed to take the helm of orgs thus allowing new editorial lines to be created that can distinguish between objectivity and neutrality” (392).

“In 2030, the voices of the oppressed are the main voices heard in PSM. Instead of speaking with talking heads about a strike, they talk to the workers. PSM deals with the problems of working-class people” (223).

“The networks have been structured along lines similar to the Indymedia networks, with local stations and reporters preserving their autonomy and reporting on stories of local importance. More specifically, these stations amplify the voices of the poor, the working class, and communities of colour who are struggling for justice” (388).

“Public Service media in 2030 are fluid and open organisations, reflecting the dynamics of society” (407).

“Public service media experienced its renaissance due to a combination of pushing forward items in the public interest, and integrating the public better into the content it delivered. Rather than using a uniform authoritative voice, it permitted itself to present multiple, sometimes disagreeing voices, from many different perspectives, demographic, regional, identity-based” (545).

“PSMs are less organized in national units and more in cultural ones. For example, there are 190 nation-states today, but 6000 living languages” (596).

“PSM in 2030 [...] present diverse content meeting a variety of needs of a constantly changing population” (808).

“People stated to practice their ‘ideals’ when it comes to ‘diversity’ and hired people representative of the audience. Now, the people doing the hiring are also representative” (814).

In 2030, Public Service Media and the Internet advance and sustain democracy and are democratically organised:

In 2030, Public Service Media “are organised as self-managed public companies, where audiences and public service media workers together take key decisions independent from governments and for-profit-corporations” (94).

“PSMs are beacons of innovation, quality, transparency, accessibility and of democratic values” (203).

“The internet has now become a basic human right. Net Neutrality came back into style and people receive quality internet through public utilities instead of grotesquely overpriced and manipulative corporations” (288).

“The public media have reinterpreted their role as the fourth pillar of democracy” (402).

“Society and media need to be reconfigured into smaller units, what I would describe as producer-consumer co-operatives” (655).

“Public Service would be more participative and deliberative than today, possibly through direct viewer (consumer) participation or some other way” (689).

“Public service media in 2030 are intertwined in the daily lives of everyone for the better. They help fortify the health of our communities and are essential to our functioning democracy. [...] Not only have we reimagined the role independent, non-commercial media plays in healthy and diverse democracies, we have rebuilt support structures for civic-minded journalism to make it resilient and thriving. These changes were made possible from the bottom-up, by a well-organized and large population of advocates

who took charge of the decisions shaping the media landscape and sounded the alarm when people's rights to connect and communicate were in danger" (819).

In 2030, fact-checking, high-quality information and educational programmes are key aspects of Public Service Media:

"There are many programs of educational nature and less advertising, crime, scandal, horrifying messages" (19).

"In the past 3 or 4 years, many mainstream media organisations have launched projects carrying out fact checking for debates that take place around elections. I believe that over the coming 10 years, this trend will continue and move even more into the mainstream – responding to a pressing demand from the public for greater honesty in public debate. The role of public service media organisations worldwide is more to sift and explain the news than to simply report it, since so much 'noise' reporting takes place already" (32).

"Public service Media in 2030 remains the only factual source of news" (137).

"Trolls and fake news bots have finally been overcome by social bots" (397).

"more and more inclusive and educational (political and cultural) formats are produced" (402).

"more quality assured content, less fake news, flexibility in supporting the changing needs" (555).

In 2030, Public Service Media are critical media that co-operate with the independent media sector, support citizen journalism, are well funded, and are independent from political and economic power:

"In 2030, PSM are publicly funded, independent organisations enabled by public service legislation and the licence fee" (94).

"PSM are better funded, but also reminded to be very transparent and efficient" (361).

"The media is neither controlled any more by corporations, nor by the state and citizens have access and can publish media relevant that enables their full participation in society" (815).

“Broad commitment by all political sides to invest in responsible independent media with high-quality standards. Stable, sufficiently funded PSM in 2030 carrying out a recognisably indispensable service for society” (429).

“Public service media was able to support Indy media creators in all kinds of media, thus creating a radically liberal media ecosystem” (466).

“Public media provides the infrastructure for citizen journalism” (506).

“strong public funding, neither political nor commercial influence” (558).

“A larger presence of citizen journalists who are socially involved and inspired by the desire for social change” (673).

“What must change is this framework, through public service media focusing on non-data and the data of non-data – showing that Grenfell matters before the fire and that the millions of murdered Iraqi children and women can curse the world into a recession, a depression and a revolution. In 2030, as Gil-Scott Heron would say, the revolution will be televised. In 2030 public service media will be different because I hope that they will (i) televise the revolution and (ii) offer a humanising alternative based on ‘less media, more time’ and ‘less, better media’” (677).

“Increased partnerships between PSM providers and community/indi media, funded by a levy on commercial media services” (695).

“The funding basis for PSM remains civic: in the UK the licence fee remains but is also applied to anyone using a computer: a universal fee and is set by an independent body. Private providers such as BSKyB and Netflix pay providers for showing PSM content. There are taxes on the tech giants such as Facebook and Google which are then used for a fund to support PSM creative economy” (711).

“It was decided to put the Internet, as a great mediator, and the public services of cultural creation at the service of citizens. It was possible to finance this reform from the taxes to the big companies and with a high control of the new commission of Global competition that abolished the tax havens and established exhaustive measures against the monopolistic practices” (782).

“PSM is now free from political control and a representative of the citizens is elected in the board” (785).

“Public Service media is well funded” (814).

In 2030, Public Service Media advance dialogue and debate:

“PSM will have to learn to create dialogous forms of media. [...] To become a PSM of dialogue, bringing people together. In my eyes this would be the development of a successful media ecosystem. Within the next decade we have to master this step to interact with our communities, the share- and the stakeholders of PSM. We have to learn and to develop possibilities to interact more intensive with our audiences, to involve the communities and to make them part of the programmes we deliver – in future also in closer cooperation with our audiences” (11).

“Public service media is now a trusted resource where people can believe that facts that are being put out. It is interactive, dynamic and open, where public service media is closely linked to online discussions and discourse” (493).

In 2030, Public Service Media focus more on global and international cooperation than in 2020 while at the same time focusing on local issues:

“the rebooted BBC and the Open University would operate not just along national boundaries but globally. This would not be a form of rebooted colonialism, but of diverse local forms of relating all geared towards what humans do best: learning” (505).

“Compared to 2020, media is more global, unencumbered and accessible to the public. Media is truly global now. This was possible as the wide range of divides that were the characteristic of 2020 were bridged successfully. A healthy debate on the ethics of public service media in 2020 resulted in the adoption of global standards for media praxis. This has resulted in a high participation of citizens across the world in the knowledge practices and efforts for sustainability. Public service media is now free from the predatory tendencies that undermine the globality of such media” (767).

PSM “are based on partnerships with other PSM for sharing rights in international content and thus provide mutual benefits for all PSMs” (808).

3.4. Conclusion

This report presented the results of an exploratory survey that focused on the identification of ideas for Public Service Internet/Media utopias. The three main themes in the survey were communication, digital media and the Internet in an ideal world; progressive reforms of Public Service Media; and Public Service Media and the Internet in 2030.

There were a total of survey participants. Lots of interesting ideas and positive visions for the short-term, medium-term and long-term future of the media were identified. A total of 141 respondents completed the survey and provided answers.

The future of the Internet and digital media was the most commented on theme in the survey. Many users were critical of the corporate domination of the digital media economy by digital giants such as Google/Alphabet, Facebook, Apple, Amazon and Microsoft. They pointed out the need for anti-monopoly measures such as taxation, regulation, the limitation and break-up of monopolies and the creation and support of alternatives. They were also very critical of digital surveillance, state control and censorship of the Internet.

Many users envision an alternative, advertising-free, non-commercial, not-for-profit Internet, where platform co-operatives that are owned and run by users and workers as well as Internet platforms play an important role. Respondents imagined Internet platforms such as alternative video streaming services, alternative user-generated content services, alternative search engines, new debate and discussion platforms, etc. They stressed that such services should be available for everyone without time and space constraints. They also envisioned digital archives of public service content available to everyone for an unlimited period from anywhere at any time. They pointed out the potentials for international collaboration in the provision of Internet platforms.

Survey participants stressed the importance of Public Service Media for providing high-quality news, information, educational programmes, documentaries and critical reports. They pointed out the importance of Public Service Media for democracy and a vivid public sphere. Many respondents stressed the importance that Public Service Media also in the future give significant attention to fact-checking information, providing transparent information on how facts are checked, and critically scrutinising power.

Many respondents stressed that Public Service Media and Internet platforms should enable and encourage citizens to participate in the production of media content and democratic debates.

Many survey participants pointed out that they thought it was important that Public Service Media's contents, programmes and organisational structures are diverse, represent everyday people and diverse groups from all social backgrounds and realms, regions and parts of the world.

It was often mentioned that Public Service Media should focus on local life as well as global matters and that international collaboration of Public Service Media organisations is important in providing new services. Respondents also pointed out the potentials of Public Service Media co-operating with other not-for-profit organisations, especially other public organisations such as libraries, museums, archives, universities, etc as well as not-for-profit civil society organisations such as independent media, community media, citizen media/journalism, not-for-profit Internet platforms, etc.

Respondents stressed that Public Service Media should be independent from corporate and state power. They pointed out the importance of securing continued funding of Public Service Media. Many respondents welcomed the licence fee, argued for its continued existence, its further development and its complementation by new funding mechanisms.

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