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Alternative Media as Critical Pedagogical Intervention Against Neoliberalism and Racism

Emil Marmol

The corporate news media serves as the primary instrument by which the ideologies of neoliberalism and racism are transmitted and solidified in the public mind. In contrast, alternative news media provides counter-hegemonic content that disrupts corporate media messages. This paper calls for a transformative and revolutionary pedagogical intervention encouraging educators to fuse alternative media content with a critical media literacy framework in their classrooms. It provides examples of how to facilitate the introduction of alternative news into the curriculum to challenge and break classist and racist frames that are reproduced by the corporate media.

Keywords: Alternative media; Critical Pedagogy; Race; Class; Neoliberalism

This paper calls for a critical pedagogical intervention, encouraging educators to fuse alternative media content with a critical media literacy framework in their classrooms. This intervention will facilitate an introduction of alternative news into the curriculum as a transformative and revolutionary pedagogy (Funk, Kellner, and Share 2015; Leban and McLaren 2010). Under the neoliberal paradigm, youth are facing a bleak world in which the state has abdicated its responsibilities to them (Giroux 2008, 2017), and where political decision-making power is exercised almost exclusively by corporations and economic elites (Gilens and Page 2014). Young people have limited economic and social opportunities. Their job prospects consist of low-paying, precarious work with little if any benefits or protections (Giroux 2008, 2017). They are saddled with crushing student debt and an education system that is being dismantled and privatized (Giroux 2008, 2017). They are subjected to surveillance and violence by increasingly militarized repressive state apparatuses, and lost to an expansive prison-industrial complex (Giroux 2008, 2017). Their health and futures are jeopardized by toxic environments and anthropocentric climate change (Giroux 2008, 2017). The critical pedagogical intervention outlined in this paper will allow for students to become familiar with and embrace oppositional, counter-hegemonic news sources that will encourage them to think critically and engage robustly as informed citizens against neoliberalism and the host of oppressions it produces. A critique of corporate and public media will be presented, followed by definitions for both alternative media and critical media literacy. The article will conclude with ideas for incorporating alternative media content into the classroom.

Corporate media function as a primary form of public pedagogy by which we come to interpret and understand the world (Bryant and Oliver 2009; Hoechsmann and Poyntz 2012; Giroux, 2011). Thoman and Jolls (2008) have declared that “media no longer just influence our culture. They *are* our culture.” Gitlin (1980, 2) states it pithily, “the mass media have become core systems for the distribution of ideology.” It is through corporate news media in particular that the political and economic project of neoliberalism and related oppressive ideologies gain legitimacy as these sources of news more often than not project the interests of ruling elites (Herman and Chomsky 2002; McChesney 2003; Parenti 1993, 2011). Corporate media reproduce and reinforce the culture-ideology of neoliberalism and the class and racial divisions that allow this politico-economic system to flourish.

However, it is not corporate media alone that serves a hegemonic function. News provided by public broadcasters should be considered a priori no more reliable than corporate news in serving the public interest. The BBC, considered to be among the world’s most trusted public broadcasters (Kearney 2017; Plunkett 2016), regularly serves as diligent protector of the status quo (Doherty 2005; Mills 2016). During the lead up to the 2003 Iraq war, the BBC was more pro-war than domestic corporate rivals and even some American corporate news outlets (Doherty 2005; Lewis 2003). National Public Radio, a privately and publicly funded, non-profit media organization in the US is consistently under scrutiny by media watchdog Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting for its routine, pro-establishment, status quo bent (www.fair.org). Recently we have witnessed corporate, as well as public broadcast news, aggressively and unabashedly work against left-leaning, progressive politicians and their supporters such as Bernie Sanders in the US (Patterson 2016; Goodman and Moynihan 2016) and Jeremy Corbyn in the UK (www.medialens.org; Schlosberg 2016; Cammaerts et al. 2016).

The news is a particularly potent form of media as it is often perceived as an objective and accurate representation of facts pertaining to actual events in the world. News media wields a distinct ability to influence our thoughts, beliefs and actions as it provides the primary factual basis through which we perceive the world, how it functions, and our place within it (Gabriele and Lynch 2011). The news media have a long history of acting to misrepresent, malign, and attack racialized groups (Campbell et al. 2013; Dixon 2008; Larson 2006) and the working class (Kendall 2011; Heider 2004), as well as to silence or render invisible their histories and voices. It sets the public agenda and acts as gatekeeper by determining what is and is not news, in a way that privileges dominant groups over others. It presumes and often constructs or is constitutive of a white audience with middle-class values in a framework where middle-

class values are aspirant towards values that represent expressions of capitalist class fractions like entrepreneurialism, investment, finance, real estate, consumerism, private property, and private goods. The news media, due to the constitutive role it plays in informing the political and social actions of the population, perpetuates and buttresses governance, legislation, and policy that benefits dominant groups, while negatively impacting marginalized groups.

Neoliberalism, as an economic, political, and social project, is fundamentally classist and racist at its core (Giroux 2008; Springer, Birch and MacLeavy 2016). The central aim of its architects, namely economic and political elites, was to bolster their class power by siphoning wealth from the middle and working classes (Harvey 2007). This has been achieved through various methods such as the dismantling of labour unions, one of the primary means by which the working class protect their interests; taxation codes that favour the wealthy; the dismantling of the welfare state; and the privatization of public goods and services upon which workers and the middle class depend (Ibid). These factors have contributed to historic levels of wealth and income inequality in the US and elsewhere (Piketty and Goldhammer 2014; Springer, Birch and MacLeavy 2016). Racialized minorities have been disproportionately affected by neoliberalism as they make up a sizeable segment of the working class. Crises both natural and manufactured have been exploited to enhance or initiate neoliberalizing policies, especially so in areas where working class and racialized people reside (Klein 2007). Working class and racialized groups rendered disposable by neoliberalism find themselves trapped in an increasingly privatized prison-industrial complex (Giroux 2008, 2017). This is all facilitated by a corporate media that constructs and presents the working class and racialized groups in ways that conform to the ideological and material imperatives of neoliberalism (Roberts 2016). Given that corporate media is owned and controlled by economic elites, it is unsurprising that social movements representing the interests of working class and racialized groups such as Fight for \$15 and Black Lives Matter are disparaged, as they pose direct challenges to neoliberalism.

News media exclude and stereotype racialized minorities. Stereotyping and excluding racial and ethnic minorities comprises the racist dynamics that constitute the reproduction of a dominant ideology. Racial minorities are excluded from the news as subjects, and as sources to interpret events or issues (Campbell et al. 2013; Larson 2006). When they are covered in the news, the purpose is typically to emphasize difference or to inculcate negative stereotypes that dichotomize minorities into “good” and “bad” or “desirable” and “undesirable” categories (Campbell et al. 2013; Dixon 2008; Larson 2006). Minorities are often blamed as individuals for their own plight, while larger institutional and structural factors are ignored (Campbell et al. 2013; Larson 2006). When blacks and Latinos, for instance, are framed as idle members of society or as criminals, it has detrimental effects on the dominant group’s perception of them both collectively and as individuals. This effect on public perceptions affects policy related to social entitlements and criminal justice in ways that continue to harm these groups.

A central concern regarding the representation of class in the news is the way that stories of wrongdoing are framed when committed by members of elite classes as compared to how they are framed when they are committed by middle and working classes, or poor and powerless people. Overwhelmingly the poor and homeless are described unflatteringly, as bearing the blame and being the cause of their own woes, while the wealthy are celebrated and held up as role models and charitable contributors to society who act in the interests of the less fortunate. This serves to reinforce stereotypes and thereby justify class-based inequalities upon which neoliberalism thrives. Audiences are given dumbed down, schematized, and sanitized reports regarding issues of poverty, obfuscating the underlying historical and structural roots of economic immiseration. Stereotyping and the justification of inequalities in the broader framework of news reporting represents the dynamism of dominant ideological expression.

In contrast and opposition to corporate media, there is a lesser known history of alternative and radical, minority and working class news media spanning 200 years to the present. These alternative media seek to counter the false and/or dearth of representation of their communities and the world, as well as to

expose the economic and social conditions by which they are oppressed (Forde 2011; González and Torres 2011; McChesney 2004). The alternative press has historically played a pivotal role in liberatory and emancipatory social movements, and in presenting the views of those who are omitted or misrepresented in corporate media sources (Fuchs 2010; Furness 2007; González and Torres 2011).

Furness (2007, 189) describes alternative news as, “a vibrant spectrum of dissent against consolidated media power” that is non-corporate and “driven by content, as opposed to profit.” Fuchs (2010, 178) defines alternative media as critical media that is counter hegemonic and challenges “dominant capitalist forms of media production, media structures, content, distribution, and reception.” Fuchs (Ibid, 182) identifies the championing of the oppressed as a key quality of alternative media and quotes Marx’s support of the press playing this role: It should act as “the public watchdog, the tireless denouncer of those in power, the omnipresent eye, the omnipresent mouthpiece of the people’s spirit that jealously guards its freedom...it is the duty of the press to come forward on behalf of the oppressed in its immediate neighbourhood”, the “first duty of the press now is to undermine all the foundations of the existing political state of affairs.” Uzelman (2012) calls for an autonomous media by which he means not only separation from capitalism, commercialism, government, corporations, existing bureaucracies and establishment institutions, but also from standard journalistic practices, professionalized forms of media production, formal organization, hierarchical structures, and other forms of domination that exist both in mass and alternative media production.

Drawing from the literature, this paper defines an ideal type for alternative media as those media whose 1) content is counter-hegemonic, critical, oppositional, and dissident; 2) is not corporate owned or controlled; 3) does not rely on advertising or corporate sponsorship, funding, or underwriting; 4) is democratic in governance, organization, structure, and production; and 5) speaks for the population and in their interests, particularly the marginalized (Atton 2015; Bolton 2006; Furness 2007; Kozolanka, Mazepa and Skinner 2012; Lievrouw 2011; Sandoval and Fuchs 2010).

Alternative media can be used synergistically within a critical media literacy pedagogy. Critical media literacy has as one of its core goals the ability to challenge “commonsense” assumptions, criticize dominant values and ideologies, and identify hidden agendas. It aims to disrupt the dominance of corporate media with counter hegemonic messages and representations. Some of the leading scholars and proponents of critical media literacy have identified the utility of incorporating alternative media into their work:

Critical media literacy as understood here includes three dimensions:

1. The development of a critical understanding of how corporate for-profit media work, driven by their political and economic vested interests
2. The search for and support of alternative, non-profit media
3. The characterization of the role of teachers in helping students and their parents to become media literate users and supporters of alternative media (Torres and Mercado 2007, 537)

(continued)

The major purposes of critical media literacy [are]:

1. To function as an intellectual self-defence

2. To discover and support the increase in number and in power of independent non-profit media
3. To develop alternative media networks among special interest groups using the new advanced media and multimedia technologies and to make information available on the democratic premise of education for all (Ibid, 554).

Critical media literacy involves cultivating skills in analyzing media codes and conventions, abilities to criticize stereotypes, dominant values, and ideologies, and competencies to interpret the multiple meanings and messages generated by media texts. Media literacy helps people to use media intelligently, to discriminate and evaluate media content, to critically dissect media forms, to investigate media effects and uses, and to construct alternative media (Kellner and Share 2005).

Scholars that incorporate alternative news in the classroom (Garcia, Seglem, and Share 2013; Orłowski 2006) have tended to focus on corporate media more generally, rather than explicitly drawing upon alternative news as a direct, and moreover comparative, instrument through which critical media literacy can be taught. Skinner (2014) argues that a useful and empowering activity that helps one to see the differences in content and form between corporate and alternative media is to read both to understand the difference in the way topics of social, cultural, and political import are covered by each. With this in mind, I am proposing a critical media literacy that centers on the use of alternative news media as the primary focus of study. This method offers advantages beyond those that exclusively use corporate news sources for comparative analysis of current events as it will bring the counterhegemonic, radical content of alternative media to the fore.

Educators should begin by familiarizing themselves with alternative media. This is an important first step as Rauch (2015) has demonstrated there is confusion as to what exactly constitutes alternative media. In the appendices of this paper is a document created by Project Censored and Action Coalition for Media Education that lists the different types of media and examples of each. Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting has a list which can be found at <http://fair.org/take-action-now/online-news-sources/>, while Simon Fraser University keeps a list at <http://www.lib.sfu.ca/help/research-assistance/format-type/alternative-news>. Alternative media, while lesser known, is abundant and these sources should not be considered exhaustive catalogues. However, these sources are a starting point through which educators can ground themselves within a framework of alternative media sources.

Once familiar with the various sources of alternative media, educators from across disciplines are encouraged to incorporate alternative news media into their course content. Articles and information from alternative media can be incorporated into lecture notes and presentations, or assigned directly to students. Doing this will not only expand the range of information on any given subject and provide fresh and new angles of debate and reflection, but it also holds the possibility of rekindling and rebuilding interest among young adults with issues of social, political, and economic import. As a critical pedagogical intervention, students should be able to engage in society as informed, active citizens and not simply as consumers.

Finally, for educators seeking a more pointed tool of analyses and critique, I have developed an exercise that can be transformative for students, and assist in accelerating critical pedagogical interventions. Students are asked to search for a current or recent event of political, social, environmental, or cultural import. Students then read two accounts of the same story from alternative news sources and two accounts from corporate news sources for a total of four articles on the same current event. The final form of this assignment can take the shape of an open conversation in the classroom or a reflection paper

written by an individual or groups of students. The questions addressed in either the conversation or paper could be informed by the following:

- 1) How does the framing of the story differ between the alternative and corporate news pieces you chose?
- 2) Do you detect bias? How and what kind?
- 3) Who are the experts or individuals contributing to the content of the story and how might this affect the content? Who is being asked to tell the story?
- 4) How does the use of language, wording and imagery differ between news pieces?
- 5) Do you feel that ownership of the news source, or the advertising found within, might affect the content of the story?
- 6) How do the news pieces differ in their presentation of context, history, and empirical facts related to the content and telling of the story? Are we getting a holistic or surface analysis?
- 7) From whose perspective is the story written? Whose interests are being served? Are any perspectives being ignored?
- 8) Are you being persuaded to believe or act in a certain way?
- 9) If there are pictures in the article, how are they used to make you feel or think about the content or people featured in the story?
- 10) Are there any issues concerning the mis/un/representation of class, race, gender or ideology?
- 11) Which type of news (alternative vs. corporate) do you find to be more plausible, legitimate, and valid? Why?

The content of news impacts the quality of discourse within the public sphere. It has a direct effect on the extent of democratic engagement. As citizens, we make decisions impacting ourselves and others from the information we gather from the news. We are living in a time of political, military, cultural, economic, and environmental crises. Corporate and public news media have demonstrated their stalwart support of the status quo. Their coverage of issues of race, class, and social movements is generally dismissive, incomplete or nonexistent. Imagining and creating a better future requires lively public debate with access to diverse viewpoints. The public requires information that is holistic, historically and contextually rich, and provides the perspectives and voices of those wishing to bring progressive or radical change to our world. Utilizing alternative news media in the classroom will bring awareness to students and others that such a media exists, is available to them, and is a missing but fundamental addition to a robust media sphere and democratic society. Sharing alternative news sources with students has the added benefit of spreading these sources reach and size. It is crucial to foster an alternative media that can reach large audiences, otherwise its impact and effects within the public sphere will be limited and, in turn, will limit our democracy.

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Appendix A

NEWS AND MEDIA CRITICISM OUTLETS

The following is a list of news and news analysis outlets. Neither Project Censored or ACME universally endorses every outlet on this list.

Media Criticism and Resources

Abyz News Links
 Adbusters
 Center for Media and Democracy's PR Watch
 Center for Investigative Reporting.
 Crooks and Liars
 The Daily Howler
 Freedom Forum
 Fairness and Accuracy In Reporting
 Index on Censorship
 Institute for Public Accuracy
 Jim Romenesko
 JournalismNet
 Media Bistro
 Media Channel
 Media Matters
 This Modern World
 TomPaine.com
 TV News Archive

Independent/Publicly Funded News

1st Headlines
 ACLU's Free Future
 Activist Post
 Africa Files
 Africa Focus
 AllAfrica
 AllGov
 AlterNet
 Blacklisted News
 BoingBoing
 Breaking News
 Bulletin of Atomic Scientists
 Bureau of Investigative Journalism
 CATO Institute
 CBC - The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
 Common Dreams
 Corbett Report
 Counter Punch s
 Crooks and Liars
 Cryptogon
 Cryptome
 Danger Room
 Democracy Now!
 Drudge Report
 EFF Deeplinks
 Electronic Privacy Information Center
 Enviro Newsnet
 Eschaton
 EurekAlert!
 Foreign Policy's Killer Apps
 Free Press
 Free Speech TV
 Fukushima Facts
 Global Post
 Global Research
 Good News Agency
 Government Security News Magazine

Intercept
 Labor Notes
 Lawfare
 Left Business Observer
 Lew Rockwell
 Long War Journal
 Media Monarchy
 MediaChannel.org
 Mother Jones
 Mother Jones
 Mountain West News
 Newsmax
 NPR
 OneWorld Online
 Open Secrets
 Outside the Beltway
 PBS
 Policy Pointers
 ProPublica
 Public Intelligence
 Rabble.ca
 Raw Story
 Real News Network
 Reason
 Rank and File
 Russia Today (RT)
 Sam Smith's Progressive Review
 Small Wars Journal
 Source Watch
 Talking Points Memo
 TalkLeft.com
 TechDirt
 The Advocate
 The American Prospect
 The Aviationist
 The Bureau of Investigative Journalism
 The Daily Bail
 The International Human Press
 The Nation
 The People's Voice
 The Progressive
 The Volokh Conspiracy
 Truth Dig
 Truth Out
 UCY.TV
 Uncover the News
 USA Watchdog
 Utne Reader
 UWire.com
 Village Voice
 VOA News
 Voice of Russia
 Washington's Blog
 Who What Why
 Women's E-News
 World Socialist Web Site
 Yes! Magazine
 ZNet

Corporate News

ABC
 Baltimore Sun
 BBC World News
 CBS
 Chicago Tribune
 CNN
 Entertainment Weekly
 ESPN
 Fortune
 FOX
 Google News
 Hartford Courant
 Huffington Post
 Le Monde Diplomatique
 MSNBC
 National Review
 NBC
 New York Post
 Newsweek
 One America News Network
 Press Association
 Reuters
 Salon Magazine
 Slate Magazine
 Sunday Times
 The Hearld
 The Independent
 The Los Angeles Times
 The New York Times
 The Sun
 The Sunday Times
 The Times
 The Wall Street Journal
 The Washington Post
 TIME
 U.S. News & World Report
 USA Today
 World Press Review

HiliconValley
In These Times
IndyMedia.org
Institute for Public Accuracy
Inter Press Service

OVERVIEW & INTRO TO MEDIA SOURCES:

The following list is by no means complete. It is intended to act as a starting point for classroom discussions about media sources.

LEFT, Progressive, and Liberal moderate

<http://www.commondreams.org/>
<http://www.counterpunch.com/>
<http://www.buzzflash.com/>
<http://www.truthdig.com/>
<http://www.truthout.com/>
<http://www.thenation.com/>
<http://inthesetimes.org/>
<http://progressive.org/>
<http://kpfa.org/>
<http://thinkprogress.org/>
<http://faireconomy.org/>
<https://firstlook.org/theintercept/>
<http://www.wsws.org/>
<http://www.takimag.com>

Corporate Media

<http://www.cnn.com>
<http://foxnews.com/>
<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/>
<http://www.nytimes.com/>
<http://online.wsj.com/public/us>
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/front.html>
(and the networks ABC, CBS, NBC, etc...)

International

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/>
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/>
<http://www.independent.co.uk/>
<http://www.mirror.co.uk/>
<http://www.ft.com/home/us>
<https://www.rt.com/>
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/>
<http://www.afp.com/en/home/>
http://america.aljazeera.com/?utm_source=aje&utm_medium=redirect

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Project Censored: <http://www.projectcensored.org/>
Daily Censored Blog at: <http://dailycensored.com/>
Independent Media Listing: <http://www.projectcensored.org/news-sources/>
Action Coalition Media Education: <http://smartmediaeducation.net>

RIGHT, Conservative, and Libertarian

<http://www.nationalreview.com/>
<http://www.frontpagemag.com/>
<http://www.newsmax.com/>
<http://www.townhall.com/>
<http://www.theconservativevoice.com/>
<http://freerepublic.com>
<http://www.amconmag.com/>
<http://www.aei.org/>
<http://www.newamericancentury.org/>
<http://www.hoover.org/>
<http://www.heritage.org/about/>
<http://www.cato.org/>
<http://www.mises.org>
<http://www.lewrockwell.com>
<http://www.breitbart.com>
<http://www.infowars.com>

PUBLIC

<http://www.pbs.org/>
<http://www.npr.org>
<http://www.c-span.org/>

MEDIA watchdogs

<http://www.fair.org/>
<http://mediamatters.org/>
<http://mediawatch.com/new.html>
<http://www.aim.org/index>
<http://www.medialens.org>

