

Mediated Ideologies

Nordic Views on the History of the Press and Media
Cultures

Edited by

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Introduction: Ideologies in Nordic media history

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Ideologies interested communication scholars, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, but they have not been a focus of interest in the field of humanities and social sciences in recent decades. Such phenomena as ubiquitous capitalism—especially concerning the ideological formation of neoliberalism¹—and the comeback of propaganda have, however, meant rethinking the power of ideologies in the media sphere. According to one of the most influential scholars in the field, Marxist structuralist Louis Althusser, media are one of the “ideological state apparatuses” and, according to cultural theoretician Stuart Hall, the mass media are crucial in producing, reproducing and molding ideologies, not just something that reflects them.² Both scholars were engaged with the Marxian tradition in which ideology was characterized as the ruling class’s ideas, the hegemonic tool of class domination.³

Besides economics and politics, the importance of culture has become an essential component in the critiques of ideology in Western Marxism since the 1920s. Most importantly, the Frankfurt School developed the critical theory of ideology as they aimed to analyze how dominant ideologies served to maintain social structures and control individuals. Theodor Adorno and associates were particularly interested in understanding how ideology could perpetuate oppression and alienation. The media was a part of the “culture industry.” The philosophers of the Frankfurt School argued that mass media, culture, and entertainment industries were producing standardized, mass-produced cultural

¹ See e.g., Jan Rehmann, *Theories of Ideology: The Powers of Alienation and Subjection* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 271–300.

² Louis Althusser, *Positions, 1964–1975* (Paris: Éditions sociales, 1976); Stuart Hall, “Ideology and Communication Theory,” in *Rethinking Communication. Volume 1: Paradigm Issues*, ed. Brenda Dervin (Newbury Park: Sage, 1989).

³ Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology* (Moscow: Progress, 1976).

products that reinforced conformity and a passive, consumerist society. This analysis helped reveal how ideology could be propagated through popular culture.⁴

British cultural studies in particular adapted ideology studies as the central concept in their studies on culture and society, and particularly media.⁵ According to cultural studies, mass media are important in shaping our perceptions of the world, interpreting things on our behalf, and helping us classify the world into different categories. Media discourse is often based on “common sense,” and for this reason, it is very ideological in nature. For example, they present a capitalist society and its consumerist values as natural.⁶

Cultural studies also revitalized the ideas of hegemony introduced by Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci in the 1940s. The concept of hegemony refers to the dominance or control that a ruling class or group exercises over a society. Ideology plays a crucial role in maintaining hegemony. In the same way as the media, hegemony is a continuous historical process that is constantly changing and is not static or systematic in its forms. The mass media also help to shape the dominant consensus in society at any given time.⁷ Concerning the concept of hegemony, Hall emphasizes that it is wrong to assume that the media simply reflects the consensus prevailing in society. Instead, media institutions actually create consensus.⁸

In the forming of the *worldview* of an individual, ideology is located in its reflected, active dimension, namely in the first place *a philosophy of life*. In media, this is most apparent when individuals or a group of people establish a cultural periodical, or further their political agenda on different platforms of social media, for instance. However, *ideology* is different from a philosophy of life as it is always intended for several individuals, whereas a philosophy of life can also be understood on an individual level. On the other hand, media also operate on the “passive,” subconscious side of a worldview, namely the *mentality*, when they present and represent ideologically loaded formations of

⁴ See e.g., Andrew Edgar and Peter Sedgwick, eds. *Cultural Theory: The Key Concepts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 150–55.

⁵ Douglas Kellner, *Media Culture: Cultural Studies, Identity and Politics between the Modern and the Postmodern* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 57.

⁶ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power* (London and New York: Longman, 1989), 66–67.

⁷ Chantal Mouffe, “Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci,” in *Culture, Ideology and Social Process: A Reader*, eds. Tony Bennet, Graham Martin, Colin Mercer and Janet Woollacott (London: The Open University Press, 1985), 219–34; Nick Stevenson, *Understanding Media Cultures: Social Theory and Mass Communication* (London: Sage, 1995), 17.

⁸ Stuart Hall, “The rediscovery of ‘Ideology’: Return of the Repressed in Media Studies,” in *Culture, Society and the Media*, 56–90, eds. Michael Gurevich, Tony Bennet, James Curran and Janet Woollacott (London: Methuen, 1982), 87.

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