ANTHROPOLOGY OF MEDIA

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Summary

Simultaneous with the rise of agriculture and the development of cities came human efforts to use technology to fix, extend and elaborate on human communication. From impressing cuneiform signs into clay tablets to the acoustical designs of structures to aid speaking, humans developed a vast array of mediational spaces, artifacts and practices. These tools and the practices associated with them entered into every aspect of human life and transformed those lives. Each new technology for symbolic communication led to new social institutions and new ways of sharing cultural models of the social and cosmological orders. Media are, therefore, a fundamental aspect of human life and a necessary subject for anthropological inquiry. However, only since the establishment of the printing press, and the subsequent invention of broadcast, then digital communications technologies, have cultural and social anthropologists begun to seriously study processes of mediation.

1. Introduction

1.1. Definition

The anthropology of media is the study of human use of technologies to generate, extend and transform—that is, to mediate - modes of human communication. While the study of media anthropology should thus extend from the earliest systems of writing, in practice media anthropology tends to focus on technologies such as print, film,

broadcast and digital media that extend human communication from dyads and small groups to mass audiences. Media anthropology has strong links to and overlaps with linguistic anthropology, visual anthropology and symbolic anthropology, as well as to such disciplines as media studies, film studies, cultural studies and science and technology studies.

But media anthropology should be seen not simply as an inquiry into communication technologies and their contents but as the study of the broader processes of mediation. Mediation refers to the material frameworks (including human bodies) humans use to enable and constrain communicative action within and across multiple social orders.

1.2. Contributions

Although a relative latecomer to the study of mass media among social sciences, the anthropology of media offers a number of interesting and important contributions to the study of media:

Ethnographic sensibility. Anthropologists of media usually conduct relatively extended, open-ended fieldwork which focuses not on media content or media technologies, as do many other disciplines, but on the everyday practices of people, and the ways media production, distribution and consumption are parts of larger institutional systems.

Holistic perspective. Media anthropologists focus on media practices, technologies and artifacts not as a separate social domain but as one part of a broader range of social worlds under study.

Global breadth. Media anthropologists are as likely to work in remote corners of the global South as they are in metropolitan areas of Europe or North America. This wide geographical scope allows them to broaden the media research agenda from its traditional North Atlantic heartland and to avoid the common trap of taking European or American media practices as normative or predictive of media uses elsewhere.

Theoretical complexity. Because they focus primarily on human users of media rather than technologies or media content, media anthropologists bring to the study of media a long disciplinary history of grappling with sociocultural complexity through interconnected theories of exchange, social formation and cultural representations. This allows anthropology to move beyond simple models of communication and textual analysis that dominated many other approaches to media studies.

Evolutionary perspective. While they tend to be extremely skeptical of theories that ascribe particular social transformative capacities to specific technologies, anthropologists are increasingly interested in understanding the roles media plays in sociocultural change.

2. History of Media Anthropology

Anecdotal interest in media by anthropologists dates back at least to Franz Boas's remarks on Native American newspapers in the *Handbook of American Indian Languages*. Serious interest in the topic came in the 1930s with ethnographic approaches to contemporary US cities, such as Robert and Helen Lynd's Middletown studies (Lynd & Lynd, 1929; Lynd, 1937) and William Lloyd Warner's Yankee City project (Warner & Lunt, 1941; Warner & Lunt, 1942; Warner & Srole, 1945; Warner & Low, 1947; Warner, 1959). Although important, and influential at the time they were produced, these works began what became an unfortunate trend in anthropology for nearly fifty years: print, film, and electronic media were included in most studies of Western European and North American societies but ignored among non-Western societies (for an important exception, see Powdermaker's *Coppertown*).

Written within the structural-functionalist paradigm that dominated social theory at the time, most early works by anthropologists on media were concerned with how media enabled and constrained the flow of information within a social structure, how media content expressed (and shaped) cultural norms and values, and how people incorporated ideas and practices from media into their lives. Perhaps the most widely read of these early works was Hortense Powdermaker's *Hollywood: The Dream Factory* (1950), which remains the only substantive anthropological study of the US film industry.

During the Second World War anthropologists in the U.S. were cut off from their field areas by the conflict. Drawing on the Boasian notion that culture could be conceptualized as a coherently patterned and bounded social unit, anthropologists sought to perform 'culture at a distance' (Mead and Metraux 1954) by analyzing literature, films, music and other types of expressive culture as what Malinowski (1922) had called 'documents of native mentality' and Geertz (1973) would later describe as 'stories we tell ourselves about ourselves'. Analysis of media was often contextualized by interviews with migrants and refugees from the places being studied. Institutionalized first by the US Office of Naval Intelligence, and after the war at the Center for Research in Contemporary Cultures, the goal was to elicit high-order "themes" that recur in multiple cultural expressions across a range of materials and which could be clustered to offer broad assessments of "national cultures." While always subject to criticism within anthropology (even by its practitioners), it produced some highly regarded work, most notably Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*.

Another important trend in the anthropology of media was the emergence of development media. This had its roots in the "modernization" studies that emerged in American anthropology just prior to the Second World War and became increasingly prominent in the post-war period. The global trend in urbanization did not escape anthropologists, and the cultural relationships and potential for innovation created by movements of people between cities and "traditional" villages became an increasingly interesting project of study. In a series of influential works, Robert Redfield and Milton Singer proposed an "urban-folk" continuum, arguing that urban intellectuals—including media professionals but also religious leaders, political propagandists, educators and many others—drew on "folk" symbols, which were appropriated, rationalized and

incorporated into "Great Traditions"— cultural systems at a national level. In turn, new ideas, cosmologies and social practices from these national cultures made their way back into local communities and were incorporated into everyday life. Local communities thus served as sources of authenticity, creativity and innovation, while urban centers served to fuse local traditions into a shared civilizational culture that could serve as a basis for national identity without seeming too alien (Redfield & Singer, 1954; Singer, 1960).

This notion of fusing authentic local traditions with innovation to make them palatable served as one of several theoretical bases for the creation of development communication. During the Cold War between the US and USSR, US anthropologists were often enlisted in efforts to "develop" non-Western societies. Many development theories were rooted in a teleological model of social evolution that assumed all societies passed through a series of stages from "primitive" (indicated by kin-based social organization and dominated by non-market systems of exchange) to "advanced" (marked by industrialization and market economies). Traditional cultures become, in this model, impediments to advancement. Development theorists advocated using print, radio, film, television and other media to promote new values and norms that would assist societies in adapting to industrialization, wage labor, market exchange, commodification, bureaucratic systems of government, and other forms of modernity. Anthropologists were often employed not only to develop culturally appropriate forms of symbolic content for such media, but also to assist in creating culturally appropriate modes of media communication (for example, should men and women watch films together? Were separate screenings necessary for different age sets? And so forth). Ultimately, efforts to harness media as a "magic bullet" to transform societies failed to yield the kinds of results development projects sought, and many development theories came under severe criticism by anthropologists.

In the 1960s, media anthropology began to increasingly focus on media content as forms of expressive culture in industrialized, technological societies. This approach to media as expressive culture was strongly influenced by the structural anthropology of Claude Levi-Strauss, and the symbolic and interpretive anthropological approaches advanced by Mary Douglas, Victor and Edith Turner, and Clifford Geertz. These anthropologists sought to make broad generalizations about the cultural messages encoded in media, especially value systems, moral codes and cosmological order (Claus, 1976; Karp, 1976).

Interpretive and symbolic approaches received a significant boost with the advent of the field of cultural studies in the UK during the 1970s. To the study of symbolic expression, cultural studies added an important focus on power. Instead of dealing with broadly conceived cultural orders, cultural studies dealt with such traditional anthropological foci as class structures, national formations, ethnicity, age race, gender and other forms of social classification, asking how popular media might express, reinforce or contest ideologies that support inequalities within these social forms. Cultural studies drew attention to the ways social forms and identities were represented in popular culture forms—primarily media texts—and asked how consuming such media created opportunities for media consumers to reinforce, negotiate or resist their own identities and social formations. Several anthropologists published nuanced

readings of American films in mainstream anthropology journals, and many anthropologists studying media found ideas in the cultural studies literature far more useful than theory generated in mainstream anthropology. Elizabeth Traube's *Dreaming Identities* (1992) is perhaps the most notable example.

Although strongly influenced by cultural studies, most media anthropologists did not fully embrace the cultural studies movement for a number of reasons. First, cultural studies was primarily focused on analyzing the social positions inscribed in texts rather than ethnographically engaging with the actual text consumers occupying those social positions. Second, although much of the theory in cultural studies was predicated on a critical stance toward capitalist culture industries, there was little or no direct interest in ethnographic research into the workings of media production institutions and practices. Third, the strong emphasis in cultural studies on how media consumption is inflected by race, gender and class, produced what was for many anthropologists an ethnocentric bias toward North American and European cultural categories, as opposed to categories like caste, religious community, language community, age set, or other identity distinctions that may be equally or more salient in non-Western settings. Works like Purnima Mankekar's Screening Culture (1999) demonstrate the power of ethnographic engagement with text consumers within an approach influenced by cultural studies, while Barry Dornfeld's *Producing Public Television*, *Producing Public Culture* (1998) and William Mazzarella's Shoveling Smoke (2003) demonstrate the necessity of more nuanced approaches to cultural production both in North America and elsewhere in the world.

Beginning in the mid-1980s anthropology experienced an upsurge in media anthropology, driven largely by a recognition that media were globally ubiquitous and anthropology could no longer ignore their presence as part of the everyday lives of the peoples they studied. Anthropological studies of media practices proliferated, initially focusing on broadcast and distributed media like film, television, news and magazines. The emergence of digital media, and of convergent technologies like personal computers, cell phones and tablets, significantly expanded interest in, and breadth and intensity of, media anthropology.

While many anthropologists of media initially found themselves on the margins of the discipline, with few venues in which to teach and publish their research, this has significantly changed. The launch of the journal *Public Culture* in 1985, the Media Anthropology workshop at the University of Hamburg in 1999, the founding of the Media Anthropology Network within the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA) in 2003, and the establishment of media anthropology degree programs at universities such as the Free University of Berlin, Harvard, New York University, and SOAS, University of London, as well as the inclusion of media topics in many cultural anthropology textbooks, attest to the growing institutionalization of media anthropology within the broader discipline.

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Biographical Sketches

John Postill holds an MA in Social Anthropology from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, and a PhD in Anthropology from University College London (UCL). He is a currently a Senior Lecturer in Communication at RMIT University, in Melbourne. Formerly he was a Vice-Chancellor's Senior Research Fellow at RMIT and a Digital Anthropology Fellow at UCL. His publications include *Localizing the Internet* (2011), *Media and Nation Building* (2006) and the co-edited volume *Theorising Media and Practice* (2010, with Birgit Bräuchler). Presently he is completing a book titled *The Rise of Nerd Politics* (London: Pluto), and the co-edited volume *Theorising Media and Conflict* (with Philipp Budka and Birgit Bräuchler). From 2018 he will be working on an anthropological history of modern media and communication provisionally titled *The Cultural Effects of Media*. He blogs at media/anthropology.

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