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Multidimensional approaches to media and cultural frameworks of digital divide

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1. Introduction

This speech wants to focus some questions about digital divide as cultural problem. This approaches to reading phenomena doesn't want to underestimate the economic dimension of the problem, but we think that a multidimensional approach is very important nowadays overall because some scholars and strategy makers talk about digital divide simply inside a strict neo-liberist framework.

To clarify this point, let's talk about i2010. The conclusions of this document, drafted on the occasion of the European Forum on the Information Society by the UK Department of Trade and Industry, are clearly in a Blairite vein: to meet the worldwide challenges of digital innovation, Europe must equip itself with a regulatory framework that favours economic flexibility and the reduction of taxation.

We propose a focus on:

[...]

Developing solutions to problems of access and discrimination in communications markets that is focused on key bottlenecks, and which encourages initiatives from market operators rather than relying on detailed intervention³.

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³ DTI *i2010 – Responding to the challenge*, 2005, www.i2010.org.uk

According to the document, reduction of taxation can be a valid instrument for resolving problems concerning the diffusion of technologies in the information society and for reducing the digital divide.

We propose a focus on:

[...]

The diffusion of ICT technologies, recognising that diffusion will eventually reduce existing “digital divides”. Eliminating specific taxation of ICT devices and services, and funding any telecoms USO from general taxation, would increase the rate of diffusion⁴.

This approach has its own dignity and harkens back to an age-old political tradition that conceives the direct intervention of the State as potentially destabilising in relation to an economic system capable of functioning autonomously in an efficient if (not excessively) regulated manner.

The idea that, in order to work well and reduce its own internal distortions, both on the offer side (concentrations), and on the demand side (digital divide), the ICT system must be (not) governed according to free market logics, is in our view debatable.

On one hand, because the sole fact that governments and legislators decide not to intervene in a market produces in itself consequences that are just as loaded with implications as is direct intervention: the refusal to govern a phenomenon is also a way of governing it.

On the other, because the idea that the governance of the Information Society can be based on interventions that only involve the economic framework denies the evidence of a complex and multidimensional phenomenon.

Below we will seek to give an idea of this complexity and to illustrate how a non-systemic management of the Information Society is ineffective in achieving the binding objectives of economic, social and cultural development of the Network and networks.

The model that we propose here attempts to underline the plurality of the social dimensions that are active in the development and operation of media.

The paper has the purpose not only of presenting the multidimensional model, but, starting from this, of rendering explicit some critical elements in certain aspects of the phenomenon of digitisation that run the risk of developing socially, culturally and digitally divisive processes (which are opaque and therefore even more dangerous) in the glocal system.

⁴ *ibidem*

2. The notion of medium in the social sciences

The point of departure of the discourse, naturally, is the technological transformations produced by digitisation. New digital media (such as the computer or the Internet, videogames or MP3 players) and digital versions of traditional media (such as DTT, but also DAB, which correspond to it in radio broadcasting, second and third generation mobile phones, CDs, online newspapers and so on, not to mention films or audiovisuals generally distributed on DVD or DVX or online) make up a complex yet unitary context, characterised by considerable compatibility between the products in circulation (image, musical, audiovisual or data files), between the interfaces (with recurring styles) and between the various types of specialist hardware.

Yet the main characteristic that digitisation offers media as a whole is that of detaching a given medium from a specific technological platform, and vice versa. For a very long period, a medium was defined on the basis of the welding together of a certain technology, a certain language and given conditions of use. This made it possible to consider the distinguishing of the production chains and life cycles of products in some way natural. The effect was so strong as to push certain significant fractures into the background. For example, in the late seventies the Italian television system changed from the technological standpoint (the introduction of colour, the birth of the remote control), as well as the institutional (from the legally established status of the monopoly to the opening up to competition), the economic (from financing by licence fee to that exclusively through advertising) to the cultural proper (TV schedules and contents changed, languages and viewing habits changed). The phenomenon was noted, studied, catalogued (Eco coined the beautiful and appropriate term "neo-television"), but the debate continued to revolve around the idea of two different models of the same medium: an evolution, in fact.

Why? Because the system of shooting, transmission and reception nevertheless remained the same (with some improvement): the type of technological platform remained identical, particularly in the light of the unchanged differences with respect to other media.

Here we have it: today that error of underestimation is no longer possible, because almost no medium adheres exclusively to one technological platform. This is also the case of TV, which is present today in the analogue version over the air and in various digital versions: DTT, satellite, via broadband, via Internet (the various types of WebTV) and via mobile terminals.

Therefore, at the very least, we are in the presence of a medium on a number of platforms. Furthermore, as we have already mentioned, each of the technologies we have cited (with the exception of analogue TV, which in any case is in the process of becoming obsolete) also hosts other media: the mobile terminal or the computer connected to the Internet enable you to download

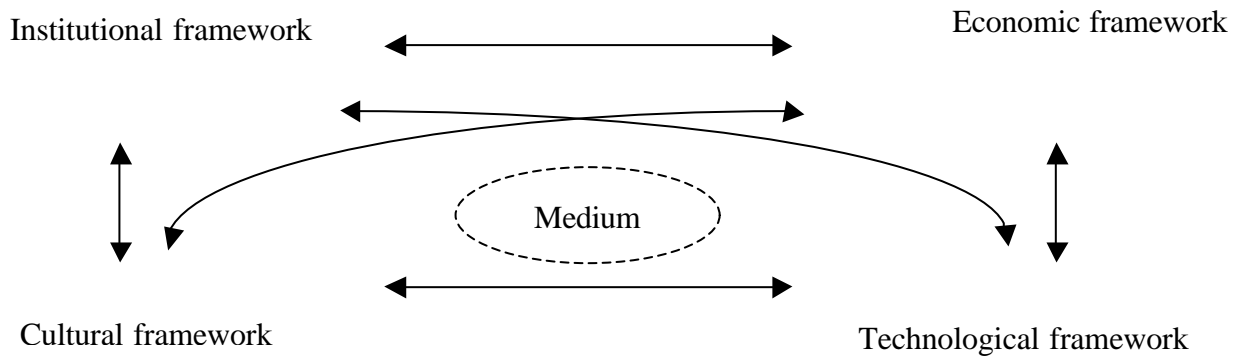
movie or music files, to listen to the radio or read a newspaper, to exchange e-mails and surf the web. And so on.

With the result (a consequence that is of great importance for the theorists, but that here we will restrict ourselves to mentioning briefly) that the definition of medium in a strict sense refers to a certain type of social use. We can perhaps hypothesise a future distinction between personal media, associated with the use of an individual, mobile and multi-purpose terminal, and social media, associated with a group use, such as the family or the wider public of a cinema. These media would have various platforms available, but it cannot be ruled out that the contents could, if not the same, at least be variations on the same.

If we start from the premise that the technological platform does not define the medium (or at least no longer defines it), we may be ready to accept the fact that another feature that does not exist is a substance for the media, that is that they are neither subjects nor stable today. We cannot, for example, assign to the media the classic definition of institutions or agencies just as it has been attributed to because the instability of the former has nothing in common with the typical evolution of the latter. For example, the shift from the monopolist, educational TV of the 1950s and 1960s in Italy to the mixed system of the 1980s and 1990s has not implied a simple transformation of state TV into something else, but has seen the birth of an unusual co-habitation of strategies (educational vs. commercial), business models (financed by TV licence fees and advertising on the one hand, and by advertising alone on the other), types of product (programme vs. public) and so on, which might cause us to speak of at least two different media, kept together by similar patterns of consumption.

Nor would it help us to think of the media as stable instruments or vehicles in terms of language, at the disposal of social, institutional and other subjects. Here too, between the theatrical, cinematographic language of the monopolist TV and a more independent one per se, although strongly dependent of the reasons and rhythms of the advertising breaks of mixed-system TV, there are more fractures than continuity.

Our proposal is therefore to consider a single medium in a given historical period as a momentary equilibrium between a multiplicity of social dimensions that go beyond the medium itself, but which also shape it and are in turn moved by it. Such a configuration might be shown as follows:



2.1. The technological framework

We would like to begin with the technological framework, with which digitisation clearly has a close connection. The framework concerns invention, the development of technological objects, in the hardware and software dimension, the drawing up of standards, their life cycle; the technological mix at the disposal of families and more generally the technological panorama of a country and of the whole global scene. The technological framework is both a point of departure and a boundary line.

2.2 The economic framework

Now we have the economic framework. By this we mean both the economic philosophies of reference in production and consumer behaviour and business models, market dynamics, financing mechanisms and production organisation.

The Italian market shows, for example, a strong propensity towards verticality in the production chain and concentrations of property and distribution.

This tendency is not only typical of the television system: telecommunications too, with the substantially dominant position of the former monopoly holder in the management of the offer of ADSL and of fixed and mobile telephones.

2.3 The institutional framework

Let us now move on, then, to the institutional regulatory framework, which includes the principles, the laws, but also the parties and the real power relations in a given sphere, and sees the increasing interaction of supranational institutions, such as the European one, and national ones.

The subject was recently tackled with his customary clarity by R. Silverstone (2004), who suggests that there should be a general rethink of the role of governance in the development of media. The point is naturally made all the more dramatic by a comparison between the single national

legislations (and the single apparatuses for control and legitimacy: see for example Galperin 2004) and Community legislation and institutions.

2.4 The cultural framework

And so we arrive at the cultural framework (Thomas, Haddon, Gilligan, Heinzmann, de Gournay, 2004). This concerns the forms of transmission and the faith in these; the preferential contents considered socially relevant. For example, it is difficult to evaluate the current Italian television system without taking account of the fact that in the culture of users the awareness is growing of a kind of clear-cut division between what we could call a premium television and a basic television. The first includes all the contents of Sky satellite TV, some contents of pay-per-view digital terrestrial (particularly sport and movies) and some contents of free-to-air mainstream TV (such as nationally produced drama and some investigative programming). The second the residual content of free-to-air mainstream TV, prominent in which for their success are the reality shows.

Premium contents have value in themselves, as they perform a function of contact with reality or full-blown acculturation. The social discourses on these start from the need to manifest your interests to your own group of affiliation. In contrast, the basic contents have no cultural value attributed to them. They exist as opportunities for social discourses that are useful for entertaining relationships, as happens with gossip.

3 The interconnections between the four frameworks

So far we have attempted to describe the four frameworks that contribute to the defining of medium. The interconnections between these frameworks remain to be identified. It is a matter of attempting to give account of a multidimensional model to represent the dynamism of the media "object", at the centre of equilibria of forces that are born and develop in society.

Media between institutions and economy

It is unthinkable to reflect on media without thinking about the capacity of institutions to mould the dynamics of the market, and vice versa.

This double movement is extremely evident in Italy, where legislation on media has heavily influenced the structure of the market and business models. An influence, that of the legislation, that has existed both in terms of presence and above all of absence. We are thinking of the development of analogue broadcasting: in Italy the absence of clear legislation and truly effective instruments of regulatory control during the '70s and '80s caused a full-blown frequency war in both television and

radio broadcasting. This led to a situation of saturation and occupation of the frequency spectrum that made the market congested and extremely concentrated. The makeup of the market subsequently influenced and moulded the capacities of intervention of institutions, which found themselves having to live for decades with a radio and TV system de facto always on the verge of illegality. The regulating of the digital changeover has also suffered from the historical characteristics of the market, demonstrating that it becomes a priority for operators (public and private) to preserve what, in a poorly regulated television system, remains a major certainty: the possession of installations and frequencies.

Media between economy and technology

It seems to us to be extremely useful to understand the dynamics - which are not always completely rational (but at times equally profitable) - that prompt the market to choose to back a given technology and given standards.

Media between technology and culture

The dynamics associated with this point take up the aspects connected with the willingness to accept technological innovation and resistance to it, the interest in the contents it conveys, the ease and methods of adaptation: the capacity of technology to enter into a dialogue with the society that welcomes it and shapes it proves decisive.

Media between culture and institutions

The dynamics that describe the intersection between culture and institution passing through media revisit the role of the communication media as agency but also the attitude towards the institutions and the laws, the level of trust in them, the participation. What emerges from these interconnections is not only the media statute (Is it more socially relevant to have access to the Internet or to digital television? Which medium best performs the task of being a channel to communicate programmes of public utility: an Internet portal or an interactive programme on DTT?), but also the role the institutions must have in the “management” of the media system. Let us take the idea of public service: the idea that the community, through the licence fee, has a duty to contribute to the financing of one or more public networks is directly connected to the theme of faith in institutions but also in the statute of the communication media to be a conveyor and agency of sociable behaviour and citizenship.

Media between institutions and technologies

According to the naïve and deterministic conception, technologies advance on independent tracks, speeding up and slowing down in relation to the internal characteristics of innovation: in reality, in this race towards the diffusion of a technology, the regulatory and institutional dimension often intervenes decisively, favouring or discriminating against a technology.

Media between economy and culture

The dynamics that, in media, describe the intersection between economy and culture concern the framing of economic behaviours in the cultural frame of reference.

An example of culturally “framed” economic behaviour is the phenomena of *filesharing* by Internet, that is *framed* in a different economic cultural-behaviour from the capitalist one. Thanks to the diffusion of Internet broadband, gift economy seems to threaten capitalist economy of content⁵.

3. ICT and inequalities

The model presented thus far attempts to account for the difficulty in constructing a definition of media, so interwoven with nodes and networks of actions and meanings. Furthermore, it seeks to give some idea of the difficulty in managing a system that rests on the relationship between heterogeneous nodes and frames with parties from diverging positions and with conflicting instruments of intervention.

We believe that the need to regulate the system, so essential in order to prevent the distortions typical of a market with oligopolistic tendencies, becomes dramatically pressing in order to deal with the problems of access to the Information Society.

In our view, there are three problems posed by ICT in terms of inequalities: the unequal diffusion of technologies, the concept of property and the theme of privacy.

3.1 The unequal diffusion of technologies and computerisation

The term “computerisation” can be used to indicate two processes that are very different, even if they have in common the centrality of computer science/I.T. understood as both science and technology.

The first process (which we will call the “intensive dimension”) consists in the transformation of traditional techniques and practices into I.T. techniques and practices. The most elementary of examples is provided by calculation instruments, with respect to which the computer affords an improvement in the quality and speed of calculations, allowing the use of highly

⁵ See §3.2

sophisticated algorithms in very limited periods of time. Algorithms are a typically mathematical problem, but computerisation enables them to work within much more acceptable timescales than the mind or an electromechanical calculator would allow, for example.

The electronic control units that run the operation of electrical appliances, cars and so on are very efficient replacements for previous instruments. Finally, the computerisation of certain company practices (such as the management of warehouse stock, payroll and contributions) optimises similar practices prior to the availability of computers, and the same can be said in general for every use of the Net by businesses, which, using the Internet, Intranet and e-mail, or creating websites, improve routines and the results of internal and external communication.

The second process, on the other hand, (which we could define as the “extensive dimension”), concerns the diffusion of I.T. in the various geographical areas of individual countries and the whole globe. In this case, we are faced not with the problem of the quality of technology, but with its availability, an issue that reveals clear differences, and may constitute an element of discrimination between the "haves" and the "have nots". Today governments and international institutions consider computerisation the cornerstone of any technological development, and this ensures that its diffusion is placed at the centre of policies for the conversion and regeneration of the poorest areas.

The interesting aspect of the double value of the term is the possibility of rendering palpable one of the contradictions of our age. Research makes it possible to improve the performance of computers exponentially (and therefore to accelerate computerisation in the key meaning of its *intensive* dimension); this requires major investment and occurs in the richest areas of the planet. As a consequence, the progressive computerisation of many practices (from medicine to military activity) and techniques (from diagnostic instruments to the control of ever more sophisticated weapons) brings with it an increasing divide between rich countries and poor countries in terms of possibilities. Therefore the intensive growth in computerisation ends up making its extensive diffusion increasingly difficult (at least in its most up-to-date forms).

From this point of view, it seems to us to be useful to highlight that, faced with an interest in the theme of the digital divide that has never died down, the attention of the academic world is shifting from the mere diffusion of ICT as a fundamental infrastructure of knowledge to focusing on the importance of the contents conveyed and the uses of technology and on the idea that it is not enough *to have or not to have* but also *to use and not to know how to use* the technological instruments, *to take in or not to take in* the meanings and contents proposed.

It is a matter, therefore, of a process that not only concerns the substitution of analogue technologies with digital ones: taking our model, the data on the speed of substitution, which seem

to be data to be associated simply at the level of the technological or economic framework (in the most classical sense of the digital divide as economic affordability) also interacts considerably with the cultural framework.

The phenomenon of “computerisation” in fact has both a quantitative dimension of diffusion and a qualitative depth of substitution. The latter has to do with real practices of use, with the intensity of use of the technology. From this point of view we cannot fail to note with particular favour the development of lines of research that aim to combine the reflection on the digital divide with concepts of media literacy and domestication.

Regarding the former, we can highlight the attention to development (or non-development) on the part of the users of digital skills and updating of software and hardware, but also people's capacity to become producers of digital media contents⁶.

Regarding the latter, the literature on *domestication*⁷ reflects on the forms of cultural definition of technological artefacts, in the tension in the negotiation between production and consumption: a negotiation that may not always be successful and distort (or simply interpret) the meanings of a technology.

3.2 Concept of property

In the complexity of the phenomenon of the governance of ICT, we believe it is appropriate to insert our reflections on the modifications under way to the concept of property.

Once again it is not a matter of factors that only affect the economic dimension, or simply the regulatory framework: we are faced with a tension between conflicting cultural conceptions of the value of individual and collective property, underlined by a technological framework that has changed profoundly with the digital revolution.

An exemplary reflection on the theme is that by Lessig (2004) on the question of contents and usability. This gives rise of problems associated with copyright and copyleft, but above all as regards the fair use of the contents themselves.

The legislation currently in discussion – essentially driven by a violent reaction to the free circulation of contents – has so far been restricted to the network. This because Open Source on one hand and Peer-to-peer on the other have made clear, and from a certain perspective more “regulable”, the contradictions between legislation and cultural conceptions of the idea of property (and in a certain sense also of *theft* and cultural production). That is, a change in the technological framework and a modification in the economic framework have brought to light certain issues and reflections typical of the cultural framework that have remained buried in the *analogue age*.

⁶ Cf. Pasquali (2005). On mediactivism, see also Galli (2006).

⁷ Cf. Silverstone (1994).

We are thinking of the theme of piracy, copyright and filesharing: p2p systems have made it technically possible to distribute worldwide both contents that are protected and those that are not protected by copyright laws. The potential of filesharing, as is known, frightens the industry of contents (economic framework), who are at war with p2p (technological framework), thanks to the support of governments and judicial institutions (institutional framework). Lessig - and we with him - points out that underlying the battle to suppress piracy waged by the copyright warriors there is a clash over the very idea of culture, of liberty, of property. A clash that certainly came about before the Internet, but that with the advent of the Web has succeeded in imposing itself as a priority on the agendas of governments and majors, thanks to the increased strength (economic and from political pressure) of the oligopolists of the world culture industry and to the greater control that the Web allows, compared with off-line exchange circuits. The risk is that the war on piracy will become a battle of lobbying of the contents industries, attacking *unfair* competition from the non-commercial free cultural circuits, which ride on the online sharing of protected and non-protected contents.

We are thinking of the exchange of music files (punishable as piracy) that are outside catalogues but protected by copyright: the book and used disk markets do not meet with the same tolerance on the Web.

*We must take affirmative steps to secure a kind of freedom that was passively provided before*⁸

The risk is of finding ourselves with a governance of copyright on the Web (but also offline) that crushes piracy, but at the same time dramatically reduces the creative possibilities of non-commercial culture, which shares, transforms and creates cultural products and objects.

Equally meaningful is the debate on Open Source Software, which, like filesharing, seems to share the idea of a different notion of economy from the capitalist one. Faced with a regulatory and economic framework dedicated to the market economy, Open Source and p2p are enclaves where the gift economy prevails, where commercial value is contrasted with the value of use and where the carrier of relations between parties is exchange (and giving rather than what is received) and not goods.

But just as the development of ICT did not invent piracy and the quarrel over copyright, so digital did not invent Open Source, which is similar to the age-old tradition of rewriting other people's intellectual work. In the I.T. field too, free software has early roots and was wholly normal

⁸ Lessig (2004), pag. 278

practice at least until the eighties, when the economy in the I.T. field changed its way of doing business and aimed at the control of the programme code by companies. And precisely in response to this erosion of liberty, in 1984 Richard Stallman, a researcher at MIT, embarked on the project to construct a free operating system: GNU. In this case too the true clash is not only about economic and creative freedom or technological choice, but about freedom of expression pure and simple. And this complicates things even further, creating complex networks and short-circuits between the dimensions and frameworks of our model.

An other good example to understand the complex relations between frameworks and dimensions (and the myopia of a strict economic analysis of media phenomena) is a paper about Gnutella, a filesharing system.

Eytan Adar e Bernardo A. Huberman, in their analysis of the interaction between the users of Gnutella, draw dramatic conclusions about the future of filesharing systems:

There is a significant amount of free riding in the system. Specifically, we found that nearly 70% of Gnutella users share no files, and nearly 50% of all responses are returned by the top 1% of sharing hosts. [...] These findings have serious implications for the future development of Gnutella and its many variants. In order for distributed systems with no central monitoring to succeed, a large amount of voluntary cooperation is required, a requirement that is very hard to fulfill in systems with large user populations that remain anonymous. [...]

We argue that free riding leads to degradation of the system performance and adds vulnerability to the system. If this trend continues copyright issues might become moot compared to the possible collapse of such systems⁹.

The paper was written in the 2000 and the researchers mistook the prophecy: the users still think that the gift economy is convenient for both donor and receiver. The filesharing still exists (and rises) because it is based on an *other idea* of economy, where are accepted the differences between big donor and little donor and not between rich buyer and poor buyer.

3.3 The theme of privacy

On the theme of ICT and the problem of inequality, it seems to us to be useful to consider a third question: that of privacy and its protection, faced with the growing controllability of the consumption and manners of use that digital media enable and will enable increasingly in the future.

⁹ Adar-Huberman (2000), pag.19

Digital technology makes it possible to have on the one hand unprecedented and extensive knowledge concerning audience numbers, and on the other a marked and intensive knowledge of the single navigations or single styles of navigation and use of interactions offered.

Once again the theme of control did not arise with the Internet, but working off-line guaranteed greater privacy thanks to the difficulty in finding people's details and characteristics. With the advent of the Internet, everything became much simpler:

A change in technology now forces those who believe in privacy to affirmatively act where, before, privacy was given by default¹⁰.

Put this way, privacy seems to be a problem closely tied to the technological framework: the diffusion of online digital technologies has accentuated the possibility of accumulating data on individuals, their economic transactions, their movements and their communications.

In reality it is useful to extend the theme of privacy to the institutional framework, associating it with the theme of social control: media are always linked with the question of control, but in two different forms. The first, that able to organise social life and consumption in advance, belongs to the field of the mass communication media (newspapers and cinema) and above all instant ones (radio and TV); the second, that consisting in the *a posteriori* reconstruction of the identity and behaviour of the individual, becomes prevalent with the new media and appears to be largely dominant today.

The theme of social control is strongly associated with the thought of Foucault¹¹: modern society is born as a disciplinary society and social control is not at all a deviation of power, but rather its modern form. Freedom and control are welded together in the individual as a specific form of power, in the sense that he asks for rights through the authorisation for control over himself.

This is why, paradoxically we cannot talk about privacy and control without talking about freedom. The transparency of the person on the Net is in fact tied to the possibility of accessing the Web: the only way of not being totally controlled is *to exclude yourself or be excluded*. Those who lie outside the Net have greater possibilities of not being controlled and not having their privacy attacked, but, precisely because they are *exiled*, the people concerned (and the more disadvantaged populations, the least fortunate nations) risk being less free. Only in integration, in fact, is there the possibility of participating in the opportunities of the Network Society, but at the same time it is necessary to live with the awareness of not being able to be isolated parties.

¹⁰ Lessig (2004) pag. 279.

¹¹ Foucault (1975).

True freedom does not lie, then, in not being totally controlled, but rather in the possibility of negotiating the spaces of freedom and control, in the power to choose to enter and exit the Net. In substance, it is a matter of having the possibility of being both node and atom; of being both objects and subjects of communication and culture.

Once again the technological, institutional, economic and cultural frameworks interact, making definitions fleeting and the management and resolution of the problems of inequality complex.

4 . Conclusion

In this contribution we have attempted to underline how the plurality of social dimensions active in the development and operation of the (new) media make the object of study increasingly difficult to grasp and, at the same time, increasingly fascinating. In describing the operation of the model shown here we have attempted to offer examples to explain the dynamism of the phenomena that we have the privilege of experiencing and studying.

Precisely the dynamism that the model takes on seeks to relate together not only the differences/similarities of European and world scenarios, of economic, cultural, regulatory and technological characteristics, but attempts to understand the reasons for the various paths that the phenomena of digitisation are taking (or have taken) in the old continent and throughout the world. It is a model, therefore, that is never able to close itself with a definitive affirmation, but can represent a compass for finding bearings when faced with the development of coming phenomena.

In particular, the contribution that we have offered is useful for us to understand how a real policy of governance of (new) media cannot be implemented without understanding the multidimensional nature of the system of the communication media. Thinking of building an effective new media policy simply through legislative-regulatory instruments, for example with the objective of reducing the risks of formation of pockets of “technological depression” (risks that no country can afford to underestimate as things stand), without having a clear idea of the relations between the economic, cultural and technological dimension, means falling into the trap of naïve dirigisme.

To focus exclusively on one of the dimensions described here means running the risk of producing ineffective and self-defeating actions for the people who put them into effect: this applies not only to the regulators and legislators, often involved in good faith in processes that in reality they govern only partially, but also for the productive-economic world, still permeated with elements of deterministic culture.

We believe it is appropriate to understand that it is only possible to react to a complex situation through structured solutions: probably only governments and supranational authorities possess the legislative and regulatory instruments (but, we hope, also the training and, perhaps, the courage) to intervene in the governance of a phenomenon that is becoming increasingly complicated. The governing of change becomes a challenge that must pass through all four dimensions of our model: we are extremely sceptical about the desire to govern the development of ICT by only having recourse to the economic framework (through liberalisation, reduced taxation, incentives and subsidies) without dwelling on the value of management of the system. At the start we cited the i2010 document, which sustains that there has been (and will be) innovation where there has been a free market approach, under-regulation and flexibility. In reality we cannot help but underline that the most advanced rates of innovation are recorded in the Scandinavian countries, young countries with an advanced welfare system. And at the same time we cannot avoid condemning government actions that drive the diffusion of technologies through financing and state incentives (as has happened in Italy for the diffusion of digital terrestrial) as vetero-dirigisme.

The hope is that an attentive analysis of the dimensions and interconnections of the frameworks analysed here will also allow the development of a new digital media policy in the glocal world that is capable of protecting countries from the risk of opening a gap between citizens that have (skills, economic and cultural resources, curiosity) and those that do not have (money, education, the capacity to understand that it is increasingly necessary to have skills).

All through a governance of the development of media that takes account of the specificities of the single contexts (local and national) but that does not make the mistake of thinking that those who are born into poverty can remain on the margins of the digital world without any consequences.

Or the mistake of thinking that being born in a rich country means not running in any way the risk of have dramatic problems with the social and cultural divide.

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