

The Dynamics of Mass Media Resistance toward Google

Dinamika Perlawanan Media Massa Terhadap Google

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Abstract

The dominance of digital advertising by Google had an impact on decreasing mass media revenue. Meanwhile, Google was a search engine company on the internet that mostly relies on news content. During this decade, the mass media in America, The European Union, and Australia had demanded Google to pay for their content. The local authorities intend to create a balanced bargaining position among them. However, Google continued to refuse to pay on the grounds that it has brought heavy traffic to news publisher websites. In 2020, Google was finally willing to pay for news content by launching a News Showcase. This partnership was claimed to be profitable for publishers and readers. However, it had also been criticized because Google remained in charge of determining the terms and conditions. It also undermined The Copyright Act of European Union amendments designed to create fair negotiations between the mass media and Google.

Keywords: Digital advertising; Google; Mass media; Search engine

Abstrak

Dominasi iklan digital oleh Google berdampak pada menurunnya pendapatan media massa. Sementara Google adalah perusahaan mesin pencari di internet yang sebagian besar mengandalkan konten berita. Selama satu dekade ini media massa di Amerika, Uni Eropa, dan Australia menuntut Google untuk membayar konten mereka. Otoritas setempat juga mengupayakan terwujudnya posisi tawar-menawar yang seimbang antara media massa dan Google. Google terus menolak membayar dengan alasan telah mendatangkan kunjungan yang besar ke website penerbit berita. Pada 2020, Google akhirnya bersedia membayar konten berita dengan meluncurkan News Showcase. Kemitraan ini diklaim akan mendatangkan keuntungan bagi penerbit dan pembaca. Namun, kemitraan ini juga dikritik karena Google tetap sebagai pihak yang berkuasa menentukan syarat dan ketentuannya. Kemitraan ini juga dinilai merusak Undang-undang Hak Cipta Uni Eropa hasil amandemen yang dirancang untuk menciptakan negosiasi yang adil antara media massa dan Google.

Kata Kunci: Google; Iklan digital; Media massa; Mesin pencari

Introduction

The Chief Executive Officer of Google and Alphabet Inc., Sundar Pichai, announced his long-term support for news publishers worldwide on 1 October, 2020. Google will pay news publishers to create and curate high-quality journalistic content. The investment for the News licensing program is US\$ 1 billion. In addition, Google launched a new product is News Showcase. It is the context of its partnership with mass media for the next three years. Unlike Google News, News Showcase relies on editorial choices made by individual publishers. The mass media are given the freedom to determine the news that is displayed to the readers and how to present it. Google's paid news partnership involves 200 of the leading media outlets in Germany, Brazil, the United Kingdom, Argentina, Canada and Australia. However, for the initial stage, the digital platform will start the collaboration with the newspapers Der Spiegel and Die Zeit (Germany) as well as Folha de S. Paulo (Brazil) (Google, 2020b).

Google's decision to pay for news content belonging to the mass media is addressing a new chapter in the feud between these two involved parties. For approximately a decade, Google and Facebook have faced demands from publishers to pay for the rights to the news snippets displayed in search results and news aggregators. Mass media circles argue that journalism is something that attracts internet users to Google and Facebook sites. On account of such obvious matters, in contrary, these two American companies have unfairly used journalistic content. Stjernfelt & Lauritzen (2020) said, Google never pays for the articles offered to internet users. Meanwhile, as long as improving technology, Google is able to provide more personalized content on the internet than traditional news outlets.

Google and Facebook businesses are also increasingly dominating digital ad revenue worldwide. Google started its advertising business in 2000 using the AdWords system, where advertisers bid on keywords in real-time. The AdWords system successfully meets the needs of both markets (internet users and advertisers) better than digital competitors, including mass media. Users search for something relevant, fast, free, and also do not display annoying pop-up ads. Ads that appear on Google pages are generally concise, text-based, and distinguishable from typical search results. Meanwhile, the advertisers find an efficient and highly targeted way to reach internet users who are the target the advertisement (Moore & Tambini, 2018). To establish dominance in the advertising business, Google acquired video game advertising firm Adscape and digital advertising firm DoubleClick (Chen et al., 2009).

The fight against Google was pioneered by two major conglomerates in the world's leading media corporations, News Corporation and a German media group, Axel Springer. Both are counted the loudest to protest against Google and voice demands that the search engine company pay for news content. In 2009, News Corporation owner Rupert Murdoch gave Google the titles "kleptomania" and "parasite" for inserting News Corporation stories into Google News without permission. One day, he threatened newspapers in his media network, including The Sun, Times, and Wall Street Journal, to block Google and remove their content from the search index (Guardian, 2009). Between 2007-2010, when the news aggregator controversy was at its peak in America, the media reported on Google emotionally. They call Google the enemy of the news industry (Chyi et al., 2016).

Facing critics from the mass media, Google has always said that search engines and aggregations drive profitable traffic to news sites. Google claims to have sent four billion clicks in 2010 to American news publishers via Google Search, Google News,

and other products (Jeon & Nasr, 2016). Recently, Google's Vice President for Australia and New Zealand, Mel Silva, in the debate about the obligation to pay for mass media content in Australia, also reiterated that Google does not steal content. Google only helps to obtain what users are looking for on the internet, linking them to other websites, including news sites. Google is also not stealing media revenue because media revenue of Australia has fallen since newspaper classifieds moved online (Google, 2020a).

Sudibyo (2019) said that the position of the mass media on new media such as Google and Facebook is often described by the term "frenemy". On the perspective of mass media, search engines, news aggregators, and social media are thereby friends as well as enemies. The presence of new media has demonstrated many simplicity for old media on production and dissemination of news. As technology continually evolves, in contrast, new media are also enemies for old media, because new media also definitely depend on the commodification of information. And therefore it can be argued that both old media and new media are struggling to maintain audiences and advertisers.

In the other case, Möller & Rimscha (2017) said the relationship between content-based media companies and search engines is complex. The mass media face a dilemma between increasing their audience reach with search engines or losing control of some digital data, thus advertising revenue. Kleis Nielsen & Ganter (2018) explained that the relationship between mass media and digital platforms is characterized by a tension between two things. First, opportunities for short-term operations. Second, the long-term concern that the mass media will become dependent on Google. They added that the relationship between mass media and digital platforms is based on the mass media's fear of being left behind, difficulties in evaluating risk, and feelings of asymmetry.

Definitely, in the end, not all mass media fight against the Silicon Valley-based technology company. Kleis Nielsen & Ganter (2018) mentioned that there are three forms of reaction shown by the news industry in the face of the rapid growth of digital intermediary companies such as Google. First, the simplest is coexistence with dominant digital intermediaries in developing products and services that sometimes restructure how information is shared, accessed, and used by users. Second, some news organizations accept collaboration offers from digital intermediaries and then take advantage of them. Through this collaboration, the media gains privileged access to several features and products of the digital platform. Third, the mass media conduct direct confrontation with digital intermediaries, which they consider unfair, as has been done by News Corporation, Axel Springer, and other media in various countries.

Interestingly, the mass media in the last category oppose Google's presence on the same model as the media resistance in the early 20th century. The well-known mass media do what Tworek & Buschow (2016) called "reactive resistance". The German publishers are not only trying to maintain their business model in the face of the new media Google and Facebook. They also push for legal regulations to prevent digital platform companies from profiting and protect their journalistic products. The regulations Tworek and Buschow are referring to are copyright law. German media are demanding additional copyrights in order to make Google pay for their content. The German News Service did the same thing in 1920 when it spread information to newspaper subscribers. The implication is that unsubscribed newspapers get commercial information for free. Finally, Germany finalized news protection rules in 1932.

The present study will also refer to the concept "reactive resistance" pioneered by Tworek and Buschow (2016) as the researcher's attempt to illustrate the resistance of

the mass media to Google. The case presented the resistance of the mass media in America, the European Union, and Australia. In these three countries and regions, the fight against Google's dominance by the press companies as well as the government is fierce. Relevant studies on the integrated resistance of mass media to Google in the three countries and regions have never been conducted. This study is important to demonstrate the global nature of the problem of the dominance of digital advertising and news aggregation by Google. In line with the resistance carried out by the mass media against the dominance of search engine companies. It is not limited to the media in particular countries but includes media in various parts of the world. The mass media's resistance to Google shows different dynamics and progress in each country or region, which will be further elaborated in this research.

In addition, there is still little research covering recent developments on this topic of contention between the mass media and Google. Chyi et al., (2016) specialize in examining how the media framed news about Google during the time when the mass media's confrontation with the search engine peaked in America in 2007-2010. Tworek & Buschow (2016) also focused on examining how the media in Germany fought back by pushing for copyright laws that regulate Google's obligations in that country. Then, Majó-Vázquez et al., (2017) investigate the effect of imposing a link tax on Google on media in Spain and the audience fragmentation created by the policy. The media reaction to Google in Europe has been described in detail by Kleis Nielsen & Ganter (2018). However, the point is the pragmatic attitude of the mass media in facing this new competitor. The media use search engines to increase their audience reach and revenue. Nevertheless, the wealth of data contained in these previous studies is very meaningful for this study.

This research will also explore the views that criticize the News Showcase. When news publishers are signing up for the partnership, News Showcase was turned down by a number of well-known news publishers, including Axel Springer. There is still suspicion against Google behind the digital platform's willingness to pay for news content. In addition, small-scale publishers have concerns that advertising revenue from Google will be eroded by News Showcase. Therefore, the problem in this research can be explained. First, the extent to which publishers in America, the European Union, and Australia have made reactive resistance by urging the authorities in each country and region to impose content payment rules against Google. Second, how do the relevant authorities accommodate the publisher's demands and efforts to create a balanced position between the mass media and Google work? Third, why has Google's News Showcase partnership program drawn criticism and obstacles in some countries in the world?

Method

This study uses a critical paradigm. The critical paradigm in social science is to reveal hidden things to liberate society and empower society (Neuman, 2014). This study uses a qualitative approach. Bogdan dan Taylor (in Moleong, 2019) revealed that the research procedure produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observable behavior. In qualitative approach, data collection is carried out by the researchers themselves as the main instrument in collecting research data (Creswell, 2009).

The method used in this research is literature study. According to Zed (2004), a literature study is a research method that utilizes library sources to obtain research data.

Literature studies have characteristics. First, researchers deal with texts and not with direct knowledge from the field. Second, library data is ready to use. Third, library data is generally secondary data, but to a certain extent, it can be a primary source. Fourth, the condition of library data is not limited by space and time. Researchers are dealing with static information. In the other hand, the data cannot be changed back.

This study utilizes data sources from books and journals that have studied the conflict between the mass media and the search engine company Google in the countries and regions of the research's object. In addition, researchers also examined data from various documents related to the object under study. The documents include official reports on government investigations into the dominance of Google's digital advertising, official Google statements, statements by press organizations, mass media reports, and other documents.

All the data collected is then reviewed, processed, understood, and organized into themes covering all data sources (Creswell, 2009). The present study explored an array of narrative data analysis techniques. The description of data discovered in this research-based paper was then assembled in such a way into a story. With regard to the validity of data, the researcher was therefore necessary to employ triangulation technique according to the method described by Patton (1987). Several data sources were examined for their degree of trust through the same method (in Moleong, 2019)

Results and Discussion

Google Ads Domination

Search engines have grown since the web 2.0 eras in the 2000s. However, not many companies are able to survive in this search engine business. Hargittai (2007) says, the search engine market is shrinking a few big players in it. Now, it is undeniable that Google is the most superior search engine compared to other competitors such as Bing, Baidu, Yahoo, DuckDuckGo, and Yandex RU. From data released by Statistica in August 2020, Google has led the way as the search engine company with the most access to internet users in the past decade (Statistica, 2020b).

Google makes a profit from a variety of business sectors, including selling hardware and email services, browsers, blogs, and video-sharing sites. Almost all of Google's revenue comes from advertising. In 2007, Google earned revenue of US \$ 16.59 billion and 99% of all revenue comes from advertising. Approximately 64% of Google's revenue is associated with advertisements placed on its own products and services (Google Search, Gmail, and Google Earth) and the rest is from its cooperating partners (Chen et al., 2009). Hence, Google is more accurately referred to as an advertising company (Graham, 2017).

Search engine with ads makes sense because the number of visits to Google is very high (Halavais, 2017). The problem that later sparked a dispute between Google and the mass media, as stated by Bogatin & Sullivan (in Halavais, 2017), is that Google's main source of income is selling ads based on the content they do not have.

One of the biggest content that appears on Google pages is mass media news. However, instead of distributing profits to news publishers proportionally, Google dominates digital advertising in almost the entire world. In 2018, global advertising turnover reached US\$ 237 billion. Publishers get a small amount from those. Half of the \$237 billion in advertising on search engines, with Google being almost without competition in the segment. While tens of thousands of publishers only get US\$46 billion, and it is absorbed again by advertising technology companies, including Google

(Geradin & Katsifis, 2019). Meanwhile, Statista (2020a) noted, in 2019, Google earned revenues of US\$160.74 billion, where US\$134.8 billion came from advertising.

In America, according to Pew Research analysis, newspaper revenues declined from nearly \$50 billion in 2007 to \$18 billion in 2016. According to e-Marketer, Google and Facebook control 53% of digital advertising in America. Google and Facebook are estimated to have controlled 80% of advertising growth (Usatoday, 2017). In the UK, ad spend in 2017 was dominated by paid search ads on Google, Bing, and others, amounting to £5.8 billion. The second rank is occupied by display ads on various social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn. The display ads in the form of banners and videos in the mass media are in third place (Sudibyo, 2019).

The research entitled “The Cairncross Review, a Sustainable Future for Journalism” published in 2019, says that Google’s advertising dominance in the UK is carried out through two foundations. First, the company’s dominance across all lines and phases of the digital advertising supply chain. In this regard, the embodiment of digital advertising, programmatic advertising developed by Google has become increasingly complex supply chain, full of mystery, and is only understood by Google itself. Second, Google’s control on user behavior data. In this respect, Google collects and processes user behavior data in larger and faster amounts than the mass media (Sudibyo, 2019).

An investigation titled “Digital Platform Inquiry” conducted by the Australian Business Competition and Consumer Commission (ACCC) for eight months in 2019 also found the same facts. The digital advertising market in Australia, which is dominated by Google and Facebook, operates less transparently. It also seems unclear how Google conducts ranking within news content and displays ads on its search pages. Google and Facebook also have the ability to protect by putting their own business of the advertisers who use their platforms (ACCC, 2019).

Google’s dominance in digital advertising in Australia was also revealed in the ACCC investigation. Commercial media in Australia, particularly print media, have seen significant revenue declines since classified ads were separated from newspapers and shown online. During the period 2001-2016, there was a decrease in advertising turnover from AU\$ 2 billion to AU\$ 200 million. The sharp decline in publishers’ print ad revenue was accompanied by an increase in digital advertising spending. Digital platforms such as Google and Facebook accounted for the majority of digital advertising revenue during 2014-2018 (ACCC, 2019).

Google Aggregation Manners

Google relies on content from the internet with the largest amount of mass media. For example, between 8-14% of search results on Google in Australia that rank in the top search rankings are mass media reports, publications, or special blogs (ACCC, 2019). However, search engines and aggregators have become the main references for newsreaders compared to the mass media itself. Citing Outsel’s 2009 report, Jeon & Nasr (2016) wrote that 57% of news readers in America switched from newspapers to digital sources. Furthermore, they tend to switch to news aggregators (31%) compared to newspapers (8%) or online media (18%). In 2015, the Reuters Institute reported that news aggregators (Google News, Yahoo! News, MSN, BuzzFeed, and Huffington Post) attract 80% of news traffic in America.

In Australia, algorithm-based digital platforms are also one of the most popular journalism sources for news consumers. Based on the University of Canberra’s research entitled “Digital News Report: Australia 2019”, it is known that 33% of the population

of the Kangaroo country accesses news through social media, 25% through search engines, 20% percent uses search engines to find certain news, and 30% percent accesses content through news aggregators. Although Google and Facebook have the biggest role in news consumption in Australia, other platforms such as Apple News, Twitter and Instagram are also their references (ACCC, 2019).

News aggregation generally involves a combination of algorithms and editors collating disparate information from various news sites and rearranging it for presentation on a single site. Google's emphasis is on aggregation automation (Chyi et al., 2016). Google News uses a constant algorithm since its launch in 2002, called PageRank. Cohan (in Chyi et al., 2016) explains, Google News filters, sorts, and evaluates more than 25,000 news sites and presents them in the form of snippets (summaries or excerpts) and hyperlinks to the original content. The news index is organized by subject. Newsworthiness and placement are based on an algorithm that assesses several factors, including source authority and keywords in the news.

According to Xalabarder (in van Loon, 2012), news aggregation has copyright implications. Aggregation improves the accessibility of information over the internet. However, most of the content collected by aggregators comes from mass media news, broadcasting, and intellectual property such as articles, photos, and recordings that are protected by copyright. Due to the lack of clarity about copyright answers in various laws, news aggregators are being sued in several countries. Google has also been sued for copyright infringement because it has indexed mass media news into search results and on Google News.

The research entitled "The Cairncross Review" states that the method of loading news headlines, excerpts, and images by Google in Google News and Google Search in the UK has never been disclosed to the mass media. Google also does not provide an explanation to the mass media about how its algorithmic method works to collect and to employ ranking within Google News and Google Search pages. Most importantly, news aggregation is carried out by Google without providing compensation to content site owners, the mass media. In fact, the high number of visitors to Google brings enormous economic benefits. It was only recently that Google notified publishers of its latest algorithm change to give breaking news priority (Sudibyo, 2019).

In addition, digital platforms do not need to obey the journalistic code of ethics as publishers do. In fact, by displaying news snippets of search results, Google also practices old media activities, called disseminating information that has an impact on people's lives (Sudibyo, 2019). Recently, there has been increasing concern about fake news in digital media. However, when the media in America have high anticipation for the spread of fake news after the 2016 election, the responsibility of search engine companies is still being questioned and debated (Tavani, 2012).

According to ACCC (2019), Google is an important source of internet traffic for news publishers. The media risk losing a significant source of revenue if they prevent Google from providing links to their news sites. In fact, some media are very dependent on Google. However, the ACCC investigation finds that Google has become more important to the mass media than vice versa. In addition, the ACC sees the inability of news publishers to negotiate the terms of Google's use of their content. This indicates an imbalance in the bargaining power of media-Google.

Mass Media Resistance in America

Newspapers in America have struggled with audiences and advertising in the digital era. However, they also have to keep up with news aggregator sites, which

quickly compile news stories, and take up the bulk of digital advertising. The 2000s were anti-aggregator spirit grew in America and reached its peak in 2007-2010 (Chyi et al., 2016). The success of news aggregators has given rise to the heated debate about its effect on newspaper incentives to produce high-quality news (Jeon & Nasr, 2016).

In addition to News Corporation, the media in America are emotionally involved in a war of words with Google. News executives accused Google of stealing their content and profiting unfairly for their hard work. If Rupert Murdoch calls Google a “kleptomaniac”, New York Times executive editor Bill Keller has likened news aggregators to Somali pirates. This anti-aggregator spirit then spread from America to Brazil and countries in Europe (Chyi et al., 2016).

In July 2017, The News Media Alliance asked the US Congress to allow publishers to negotiate collectively with Google and Facebook. The News Media Alliance is a group of 2,000 news organizations in America. Leading media such as the New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, and The Washington Post, are included. According to the alliance, the Antitrust Act in America was drafted to address the losses incurred by monopolistic companies. However, when it comes to the media, the law apparently prevents news organizations from jointly negotiating with certain companies (The News Media Alliance, 2017).

Negotiations with Google and Facebook aim to secure journalism’s long-term presence in America. The Alliance argues that consumer demand for fast and reliable information has increased sharply. However, the online distribution system has distorted the economic value derived from good journalistic coverage. Google and Facebook have dominated the online news stream and made up the bulk of digital advertising revenue. By the duopoly, publishers are forced to submit content and play by their rules of how news information is presented, prioritized, and monetized. (The News Media Alliance, 2017).

News Media Alliance chief executive David Chavern said sarcastically that Google does not hire reporters, sends correspondents to war, and does not dig into public records to expose corruption. Google and Facebook expect the news industry, which is economically squeezed, to do these expensive things (Usatoday, 2017). Suing the Google and Facebook duopoly is an extreme measure with a long way to go. However, it is worth trying given that, in the view of the alliance, Google and Facebook carry a very large economic threat besides President Donald Trump (New York Times, 2017).

Mass Media Resistance in the European Union

In the 2002 Google’s presence in Europe, it was immediately greeted with hostility. The French news agency, *Agence France-Presse*, sued Google for copyright violation. Then, discussions about potential rules to force Google to pay for content began in 2009 in Germany. According to Buschow (in Tworek & Buschow, 2016), the mass media believed that the practice of aggregators had exceeded the limits of reasonableness. The media began to advocate for copyright law in the public and political spheres. The rhetoric that is rolled out is news theft carried out by Google. Previously, publishers had negotiated content discounts with Google, but Google continued to oppose the idea of paying for aggregated content.

In 2013, Germany and several European Union countries implemented additional copyrights for publishers in addition to the European Union Copyright Act 2001. Under these additional copyright laws, Google is required to obtain confirmation from publishers if it wishes to pull news content onto its search pages or Google News. The

application of this additional copyright stems from the encouragement of publishers in Germany, Spain, and France to force Google to pay licenses for their news that appears on search engines and aggregations.

In Germany, a group of publishers formed a consortium called VG Media to take on Google. Led by Axel Springer, the consortium consists of 200 publishers. They expressly stated that Google News should no longer publish their news. Axel Springer himself restricts Google's use of news from its four best-selling media: welt.de, cumputerbild.de, sportbild.de, and autobild.de. Reuters (2014) reported that Axel Springer decided to unblock Google in two weeks as restrictions on Google's access to publications have reduced traffic visits by 40 percent and 80 percent on Google News.

Chief Executive of Axel Springer's and Matias Doepfner said the dramatic drop in traffic was a testament to Google's incredible strength in the search engine market. He asked parliament, courts, and competition regulators to take action against Google. Matias also sent an open letter to Google CEO Eric Schmidt expressing concern that Google's dominance is causing companies large and small to continue to fear Google (Stjernfelt & Lauritzen, 2020). Google applauds Axel Springer's move. Google claims to have contributed to the economic success of publishers in Germany. The search engine company also brings more than half a billion of traffic to news sites in Germany every month. They also revealed that they had paid more than 1 billion Euros in advertising fees to publishers over the previous three years (Reuters, 2014).

The purpose of additional copyright is also supported by the media in Spain. First, the Spanish Congress approved the Intellectual Property Law Reform (IPL) to regulate online content creation. Then, a law introducing copyright fees to content created by newspapers and publishers was passed a year later. Citing Ministerio Education (2014) and Xalabarder (2014), Majó-Vázquez, et al., (2017) declared that the law regulates any activity that relies on hyperlinks to online news content but does not apply to social media such as Facebook and Twitter. Google's reaction to the "link tax" was to immediately shut down Google News and remove the Spanish media outlet from their Google News service.

In France, publishers also continue to push the government to apply additional copyright. They say that Google receives advertising revenue from searches conducted on the news is unfair. French daily news says their revenues have declined as customers and advertisements have turned to websites, including search engines. However, Google threatened to block French media if copyright provisions were rolled out. Google says it has brought four billion clicks to publishers in France (BBC, 2012).

Then, France was listed as the first country to incorporate the EU Copyright Law amendments into its national legislation to resolve conflicts between publishers and Google. The amendments to the EU Copyright Act were indeed approved and passed by the European Union Parliament in 2019. The law provides assurance to art workers and news publishers about their rights. The new Copyright Act requires social media platforms such as Facebook and Youtube to ensure that their content does not infringe copyright. Google News is also required to pay publishers for news snippets that appear in the aggregated results. After the European Parliament approves this law, member states are given two years to implement it in their national legislation (dw, 2019).

In April 2020, publishers in France, including the Alliance de la Press d'Information Générale (APIG) and l'Agence France Presse (AFP), had a few wins. Agency of Local Competition Control has ordered Google to negotiate with publishers over payment for news licenses under the new rules. Instead, Google is alleged to have

abused its dominant position and brought serious and direct damage to the press sector. Negotiations in good faith should take place within three months. Google is appealing the lawsuit (EPC, 2020). The court dismissed the appeal and ordered Google to return to the negotiating table. Then, Google signed copyright agreements with six French newspapers and magazines on 19 November, 2020 (Reuters, 2020b).

Mass Media Resistance in Australia

The Australian media has long lobbied hard for the government to force Google to the negotiating table amid declining revenues. Not surprisingly, it shows that nearly a third of AU\$100 paid for digital advertising goes to Google and Facebook. As media revenues flow to these two digital platforms, around 3,000 journalism-related jobs have been lost in the last ten years (Reuters, 2020a).

ACCC (2019) also noted that the decline in the number of mass media editorial crews resulted in a significant decrease in the forms of public interest journalism reporting. The public interest journalism plays an important role in ensuring the functioning of democracy at all levels of government and society. The ACCC said the number of news articles related to local government, courts, health, and science had decreased in the last 15 years. In addition, 106 local and regional newspapers in Australia were no longer operating in 2008-2018.

Therefore, based on the results of its investigation, the ACCC made recommendations so the balanced bargaining power between the mass media and Google can be realized. Digital platforms are required to provide a voluntary code of conduct to the Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA). The code of ethics aims to regulate the commercial relationship of digital platforms with news media businesses. ACMA determined any platform to create the code of ethics. The code of ethics must be submitted by each digital platform within nine months.

However, there was no progress in the process, and the ACCC concluded that the issue of content payments could not be resolved by a voluntary process. In July 2020, the ACCC announced creating a code of conduct requiring Google and Facebook to pay publishers in Australia. Payment is made through negotiations between the two parties. International arbitration is an option if an agreement is not reached. In paying for media, digital platforms are also required to notify the mass media about algorithm changes that may affect referral traffic to the news. Google and Facebook must also share user data of news content on their platforms with the mass media (ACCC, 2020).

Google was not against the code of ethics governing industrial relations between Google itself and the mass media in Australia. However, Google objected to the draft rules, such as the price negotiation process, making the mass media make unreasonable requests to Google. The obligation to notify algorithm changes means that the mass media will be treated more favorably than other Australians who have blogs and websites on the internet. Meanwhile, the obligation to provide user data for news content to the mass media can raise concerns about the misuse of the data. Google wants all of that to be done fairly and in a limited way (Google, 2020a). Due to differences of opinion about the draft code of conduct, Google has finally postponed the planned launch of the Google News Showcase in Australia (Bloomberg, 2020).

Criticism of News Showcase

News Showcase has been created by Google in response to demands from publishers around the world. However, not all parties considerably view such cooperation neither as a benefit to the media nor as sustaining high-quality journalism.

The Executive Director of the European Publishing Council, Angela Mills Wade, is one of the figures who remain critical of Google's new policies. According to Angela, many are quite cynical about Google with News Showcase because the platform can still determine terms and conditions for publishers. In the previous contract that was sent to the publisher to participate in the paid license agreement, there was a limitation clause to the publisher. Google may terminate the agreement if the publisher initiates a legal complaint regarding the use of news content by Google and its affiliates. Angela added that the partnership between Google and the publisher could undermine a law designed to create conditions for fair negotiations, namely the amended European Union Copyright Act (EPC, 2020).

News Showcase is not expected to be a satisfactory agreement for the parties, especially between Google and publishers. The program does not close their dispute. Economic magazine journalist, Fortune, David Meyer, on 1 October 2020, wrote a news story entitled "Why Google \$1 billion deal with news publishers isn't the end of their war". Countries in Europe are required to implement amendments to the EU Copyright Act in 2021 in their respective country laws. Some media outlets in Europe, including Axel Springer, who in 2013 pushed for the law, prefer to wait for the adoption of copyright laws in German law. That is why Axel Springer refuses to engage in cooperation with Google (Fortune, 2020).

Conclusion

The dominance of Google's digital advertising and the practice of news aggregation by the digital platform company has been met with a confrontational response by some of the mass media in the world. Leading news publishers in the United States, European Union, and Australia are suing Google to pay for the rights to news content that appears on search pages and on the Google News aggregator site. The mass media show aggressive-reactive resistance toward Google for more than a decade. As a result, the mass media are urging governments in each country and region to draft laws that force Google to pay for journalistic content. On the other hand, the government is also trying to create a balanced bargaining position between the mass media and Google.

In America, an alliance of leading news publishers has appealed to Congress to be allowed to negotiate jointly against Google. Mass media consortia in the European Union are pushing for additional copyright laws that require Google to pay for their news content. The demand against Google was finally strengthened by the passage of an amendment to the European Union Copyright Law in 2019. As for Australia, the insistence that Google pay publishers was manifested by a local competition commission in the form of a code of ethics. However, in all countries and regions where the mass media take a role, Google continued to reject demands for payment of content on the grounds. In fact, its search engine had brought huge visitor traffic to publishers' websites.

In 2020, Google softened and was willing to pay for news content with a US\$1 billion investment. Through the News Showcase launched for the partnership, Google claims it will bring benefits to publishers and readers. Publishers will be given the freedom to determine which news deserves to be known by the public. However, News Showcase also received a critical response. Google remains the party that determines the terms and conditions that publishers must comply with. The cooperation is also considered to damage the EU Copyright Act as a result of the amendments. The law was

designed to create fairer negotiations between the mass media and Google. Implementation of the News Showcase also faces challenges as Australia prepares a code of conduct to demand Google payments.

In Indonesia, the topic of unequal relations and tensions between the mass media and Google received very little attention, both among academics, government, and the press itself. Therefore, this research is expected to discuss the material on this topic. This discourse is essential because this phenomenon may occur in Indonesia in the future. The media landscape is constantly changing with all the positive and negative impacts that the mass media must face. In Indonesia, Google has collaborated with a number of media in the form of funding for media and training for individual journalists. However, it is undeniable that the media in Indonesia has also experienced a decline in advertising revenue. As a result, some have closed their operations. More than that, high-quality journalism is something that must be continuously maintained.

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