

# **INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION**

**M.A. Journalism and Mass Communication**

1st Semester, Paper-IV

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M.A. Journalisam and Mass Communication : International Communication

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## **104JM21 -INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION**

**Unit 1:** Definition, Nature and Scope of International Communication - Characteristics – political, economic and cultural dimensions of international communication. Communication and information as too of equity and exploitation- International news flow, imbalances and disparities.

**Unit 2:** Transnational News Agencies – Origin and growth of AP, UPI, AFP, REUTERS, TASS ITAR etc. – Origin and growth of The New York Times - International Propaganda – Disinformation- New Communication Technology - World Patterns of Elite Media

**Unit 3** Dimensions of International Communication – Policies – News Systems - Non Aligned News Agencies Pool (NAM POOL) - UNESCO – New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) – Mac Bride Commission – Impact of new communication technology on news flow

**Unit 4** Globalization and Mass Media – Different phases of globalization – Global Village – Emergence of STAR TV, CNN – Globalization and ICT – Communication Satellites

**Unit5** Media organizations – International Press Institute (IPI) – International Telecommunication Union (ITCU) – British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) – Voice of America (VOA) – European Broadcasting Union (EBU)– Asia Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development (APIBD)

### **Suggested reading :**

1. International Communication : V.S.Gupta
2. International Communication : H.D.Fischer and J.C.Merril
3. The Politics of World Communication : CeesHamelink
4. National Sovereignty and International Communication : Nerbert Schiller
5. Communication and Third World : Robertson
6. International and Development Communication: Bella Mody Sage Publications

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**M.A. JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION, II YEAR,  
DEGREE EXAMINATION, JUNE 2010.**

**Paper IX — INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION**

**Time : Three hours**

**Maximum : 100 marks**

**Answer any FIVE questions.**

**All questions carry equal marks.**

1. Discuss the role of transnational agencies.
2. How do you understand 'flow of world news'?
3. Explain types of international news.
4. Discuss the world patterns of elite media.
5. "Access to information is an international problem" comment.
6. Discuss the role of NAM pool in information flow.
7. Give a detailed note on "two way free flow".
8. Comment on 'Communication of international power'.
9. What are the major recommendations of Mc. Bride commission report?
10. Write short note on any TWO of the following :
  - (a) Cultural imperialism.
  - (b) Computer culture
  - (c) New communication technology
  - (d) Control ethical aspects.

**M.A. JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION, SECOND YEAR,  
DEGREE EXAMINATION, DECEMBER 2010.**

**Paper IX — INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION**

**Time : Three hours**

**Maximum : 100 marks**

**Answer any FIVE questions.**

**All questions carry equal marks.**

1. Discuss the nature and role of the international information agencies.
2. Explain the concept of imbalance in the flow of information between the “developed” and “developing” countries.
3. Examine types of international news.
4. Analyse the problems and prospects of establishing the News World Information and Communication Order (NWICO).
5. Bring out the impact of the satellite and cable televisions on the audience of developing countries like India.
6. Elucidate communication as international power.
7. Evaluate New Communication Technology.
8. What do you know about NAM Pool?
9. Describe the advantages and disadvantages of computer culture.
10. Write short notes on any TWO of the following :
  - (a) Cultural imperialism.
  - (b) New resistance to international propaganda.
  - (c) Content of international communication.
  - (d) South-South cooperation.

(DJ 24)

**M.A. JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION, SECOND YEAR,**

**DEGREE EXAMINATION, MAY 2011.**

**PAPER IX — INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION**

**Time : Three hours**

**Maximum : 100 marks**

**Answer any FIVE of the following.**

**All questions carry equal marks.**

- 1.Examine the working of transnational news agencies.
- 2.Describe the forms of international communication.
- 3.What are the features of different kinds of international news?
- 4.Discuss the science information in international communication propaganda.
- 5.Describe the new technology employed in international communication.
- 6.Bring out the new resistance to international propaganda.
- 7.Explain the access to information as a problem in international communication.
- 8.How does economic interference control international communication?
- 9.Describe the effect of computer culture on international communication.
- 10.Examine the functioning of international press institute.

**M.A. DEGREE EXAMINATION, DECEMBER 2011.**

**Second Year**

**Journalism and Mass Communication**

**Paper IX — INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION**

**Time : Three hours**

**Maximum : 100 marks**

**Answer any FIVE questions.**

**All questions carry equal marks.**

1. Explain about form and content of international communication.
2. Examine the role of transnational news agencies in promoting international communication.
3. Explain about the imbalances in news flow.
4. Explain about the types of international news.
5. Access to information is an international problem - Discuss.
6. Discuss about the features of new world information and communication order.
7. Explain the role of SAARC in reducing regional imbalances in information flow.
8. Write about the functions of UNESCO.
9. Communication is an international power - Elaborate.
10. Write short notes on any TWO of the following :
  - (a) IPI
  - (b) NAMPOOL
  - (c) Elite media.
  - (d) Disinformation.



**Lesson-1****NATURE AND SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION****1.0 Objectives**

After reading the lesson, the student, will be conversant with

- Meaning of international communication
- Need for international communication
- Consequence of international communication

**STRUCTURE****1.1 Introduction****1.2 Meaning of International Communication****1.3 Need for International communication****1.4 Summary****1.5 Self Assessment Questions****1.6 Reference Books****1.1 Introduction**

International Communication deals with the macro-level information exchange between the nations." International communication is the study of heterophilous mass-mediated communication between two or more countries or among various countries with differing backgrounds. The communicating countries may differ ideologically, culturally, in level of economic development, and in language. The primary unit of analysis in international communication is the interaction of two or more societies/nations that are linked by mass media communication. So international communication takes place at the societal level. It is a type of mass-mediated communication (i.e., few-to-many communication mediated by technologies such as radio, television and computer networks).

**1.2 Meaning of international communication**

Defined as 'communication that occurs across international borders' the analysis of international communication has been traditionally concerned with government-to-government information exchanges, in which a few powerful states dictated the communication agenda. Advances in communication and information technologies in the late twentieth century have greatly enhanced the scope of international communication-going beyond government-to-government and including business-to-business and people-to-people interactions at a global level and at speeds unimaginable even a decade ago. Apart from nation-states, many non-state international actors are increasingly shaping international communication. The growing global

importance of international non-governmental bodies-Public Interest Organization (PINGOs), such as Amnesty International, Greenpeace and the International Olympic Committee; Business Interest Organizations (BINGOs), such as GE, News Corporation and AT&T, and International Organizations (IGOs), such as the European Union, NATO, ASEAN-is indicative of this trend." "International communication, then, is about sharing knowledge, ideas and beliefs among the various people of the world, and therefore it can be a contributing factor in resolving global conflict and promoting mutual understanding among nations. However, more often channels of international communication have been used not for such lofty ideals but to promote the economic and political interests of the world's powerful nations, who control the means of global communication."

### 1.3 Need for International communication

International communication is a concept of moving beyond the boundaries of communication at wide context among different nations and countries. Countries history reflects an impact of objection, complexity, rivalry and dismemberment with different objectives and sometimes revenge. International communication proved to be the mediator to open the gate of dialogue and discussion over several unresolved on long standing issue. Nations misfortune was less contact and long misquotes and misconception. But the idea of INC to foster the sustained contact at all level grass root to strategic level. It fosters freedom there is no censorship of freedom of press, speech, writing and expression at diverse level in society. Nations are getting closer and ties mutual interest in form of relations, business, and religions, culture, information etc. It has promoted the international brotherhood and fraternity. It provided a sense of oneness among nations. Nation has deep roots in society. INC role is inevitable in the diverse cultural with different background history, philosophy, races, belief and taboos, ethnic and religious back ground so therefore nations always require a platform to get enacted with each other by sharing knowledge, removing misunderstanding, adaptabilities of multi cultures. The globalization is credited to have been considered the active partner for nations to come get closer through international communication and contact. International communication is reflection of thought of multiculturalism. It has opened the gates of liberty and freedom. People can go and come across the world map. INC has changed the global scenario and map. Now the country strategic people can foster their business investment in any country of the world. Global economy is for all. The advent of the global economy is changing the fundamental nature of our governments, businesses, organizations and populations. In short, we are no longer constrained by state boundaries but have all become part of an interdependent international network.

Through we have freedom to adopt in different things

- Freedom of reflection and development of cultural competency.
- We are free to analyze different cultural freedom.
- We are free to mobilize at any country and find the strategies for adapting.
- We can solve problem in communication barriers.

INC has also foster the Cross cultural communication because people are thinking and acting globally. Their thinking approach and objectives are not limited. They are moving beyond the boundaries by investing in business internationally, learning diverse languages and cultures. This is the core concept of INC because it is pre-requisite of today era to adopt such things for the better survival through acculturation and diffusion. One of the key changes this has triggered is the need to communicate effectively with different people in different languages and from different cultures.

#### **1.4 Summary**

International Communication deals with the more macro-level information exchange between the nations." International communication is the study of heterophilous mass-mediated communication between two or more countries or among various countries with differing backgrounds. The communicating countries may differ ideologically, culturally, in level of economic development, and in language. The primary unit of analysis in international communication is the interaction of two or more societies/nations that are linked by mass media communication. So international communication takes place at the societal level. It is a type of mass-mediated communication (i.e., few-to-many communication mediated by technologies such as radio, television and computer networks).

#### **1.5 Self Assessment Questions**

1. What is the meaning of International Communication?
2. Explain the need of International Communication in the global era.

#### **1.6 Reference Books:**

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

**Lesson-2****HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION****2.0 Objective**

After reading the lesson, the student, will be conversant about

- Evolution of international communication

**STRUCTURE****2.1 Introduction****2.2 Global communication in the world of today****2.3 Revisiting the term 'international' in international communication****2.4 Theorising international communication****2.5 The free flow of information****2.6 Theories of the information society****2.7 Globalisation****2.8 Summary****2.9 Self Assessment Questions****2.10 Reference Books****2.1 Introduction**

The terms 'international,' 'transnational' and 'global' communication not only stand for different definitions of an expanding communication space but also reflect the history of worldwide communication as well as its diversity. Global communication gives us an eyewitness view of events in remotest locations. We participate in political discourses of global, regional or even local relevance. These global processes, in which knowledge, values and ethics, aesthetics, lifestyles are exchanged, is becoming autonomous, a 'third culture', a 'generative frame of unity within which diversity can take place. Such a 'global world culture' is shaped by - communication. International communication has its own history. News have already been 'internationalized' in the fifteenth century: the wheat traders of Venice, the silver traders of Antwerp, the merchants of Nuremberg and their trading partners shared economic newsletters and created common values and beliefs in the rights of capital. The commercialization of mass print media (due to steam engine technology) has led to internationally operating news agencies (Reuters, Associated Press, AFP) in the nineteenth century. World wire and cable systems allowed international communication between France, Germany and Great Britain to their colonies in

Africa and Asia. Transnational media organisations such as Intelsat, Eurovision, founded in the middle of the 20th century were the starting point for a new idea of international communication. It was the establishment of internationally operating media systems, such as CNN and MTV by individual companies which have finally inaugurated a new age of global communication by distributing the same program "around the world in thirty minutes" (as a CNN slogan states) - across nations and cultures. It was the advancement and diversification of satellite technology, from the 'Early Bird' to DBS and unlimited bandwidth capacities provided the architecture for a new programming strategy, targeting not inter-national but trans-national audience - along special interest channels. This development had a tremendous influence in a variety of world regions on the national/statist public sphere by extending political news and information beyond national borders. The influence of CNN which has internationally role of a global authority has been widely underestimated! The Internet, as an icon of a globalized media world, with around 200 million people globally 'being online' seems to finally speed up this development. It is the push- pull (Internet) technology - the paradigm change from (mass- or narrow-) distribution to network technology, which finally shifts the dialectics of global/local dualism to the one of universalism/particularism, without reference to local authenticity and has formatted a new global public sphere. Whereas the modern public sphere spaces required citizens, forming 'rational' political opinions, the global public sphere is a multi-discursive political space, a sphere of mediation, this new type has no centre, nor periphery, the agenda setting, con-texts are shaped - mediated - by autonomously operating media systems, not only by big news authorities, such as CNN, but also by drudge.com, yahoo, chat- rooms and 'authentic' reports. In such an environment, 'the international information order' conventional patterns of international communication (of North/South, developing and developed, central and peripheral nations) are becoming obsolete. International communication theory, model in the age of modernization (mainly around push technologies) reveals the imbalance in global media images and portrayals, analyses media imperialism of global conglomerates, investigates cultural effects of 'mainstreaming' through internationally transmitted media productions, analyses the varying role played by news media in times of international crisis. Only a few, very recent approaches in cultural studies and sociology, interpret global media flow by a new globalized perspective which interprets arising new communication segments within the global context of inter-relating communication structures and options, highlighting a new relativistic 'intersexuality' with effects on a diversified global culture. The strategy of international communication theory should be to develop a methodology for the understanding of 'particular' interpretations, meanings, relevance of the global public sphere, to detect the specifics of this communication space for different world regions - in times of peace and times of crisis.

## **2.2 Global communication in the world of today**

International communication as a phenomenon is probably as old as human society itself and has occurred ever since people organised themselves into communities and began to exchange ideas and products (Mowlana 1996; Schoonraad, Bornman & Lesame 2001). However, the phenomenon of global communication as we know it today is essentially the result of technological advances. It probably started with the development of advanced transport technology such as the steam engine and the internal combustion engine (Frederick 1993). Currently it is primarily driven by the worldwide proliferation of advanced information and communication technologies (ICTs). The developments that gave rise to global communication

as we know it in the first decade of the 21st century started to evolve in the period between the two world wars (Mowlana 1996). During this period global connectedness was enhanced by the development of ICTs such as the telegraph and telephone; the laying of submarine cables between Europe and the USA; the expansion of railroads and the development of modern navigation with the help of newly developed radio technology. Global communication was further promoted by the commercialisation of the radio in the USA and the development and growth of the film industry. This period also saw the growth of major international news agencies in Europe and the United States, as well as the establishment, integration and transnationalisation of global institutions such as the International Telecommunication Union, the Universal Postal Union and the League of Nations. The period was further characterised by the hegemony of the great European powers that used the developing communication technologies, media and international news agencies not only to enhance their powers globally and to acquire colonies and manage empires, but also to foster Westernisation and Europeanization around the world. Growing industrialisation as well as the newly developed 'modern' institutions associated with the press, media and communication technologies furthermore contributed to the spread of ideologies associated with Westernisation, modernisation and secularisation in numerous Africa, Asian, Latin American and Arab societies. The great world powers also started to realise the impact and importance of public opinion and the value of propaganda (especially in times of war) as well as the potential of the developing media (such as the radio) in this regard. The spread of contending ideologies such as liberalism, communism, fascism and a number of Islamic movements furthermore led to the increasing use of fast-developing media, press and communication technologies to organise the transnational activities of revolutionary movements.

International communication: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest 13

However, it was in the period after World War II that the growth in global communication really accelerated (ibid). This acceleration was mainly driven by the continued development and expansion of media such as television and, most importantly, the rapid development, improvement and widespread proliferation of ICTs such as satellites, computers and Integrated Services Digital Networks (ISDN). The global expansion of entertainment media as an import–export industry and the concomitant issues of copyright, intellectual property rights and privacy contributed to the spread of Westernisation. The rise and increasing internationalisation and integration of multinational institutions associated with the production and distribution of information as well as the creation of international communications organisations such as the International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium (INTELSAT) and International Maritime Satellite Organization (INMARSAT) further contributed to the growth in international information flows. The rise of democracy and the attainment of independence by many former colonies of the great European powers also led to an increase in the number of nation states which participated in the political, cultural and socioeconomic aspects of international communication (ibid). During this period the USA emerged as the dominant political power and increasingly employed the media, as well as ICTs, not only for purposes of economic and military domination, but also culturally. Of particular importance was the Cold War period that once again served to emphasise the importance of international political communication such as propaganda. International political and cultural organisations such as the United Nations (UN) and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) further contributed to international debates on communication issues, while revolutionary movements around the world mobilised global communication networks to achieve their goals. Whereas international communication was mainly an East–West issue in the period immediately following World War II, by the 1960s

shifts in global power structures – characterised by the growing roles of the newly independent states within Africa and Asia – had brought the Third World to the forefront of debates on international communication (Ayish 2001). Global communication was initially perceived as a vehicle for establishing social change and economic growth – ‘modernisation’ in other words – in the so-called less industrialised and developing countries of the world (Mowlana 1996; Mowlana & Wilson 1990). Driven by their frustration with decades of Western-oriented development models, Third World nations began to see the Western dominance of international economic and communication systems as causing their ‘underdevelopment’. These frustrations resulted in calls for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) and the establishment of the MacBride Commission as well as the entry of international organisations such as UNESCO into discourses on international communication. 14 Lucky Madikiza & Elirea Bornman The acceleration of international conferences; the international expansion of educational institutions, congresses and seminars; the exchange of students between countries; the popularisation of international travel and the expansion of international sport further increased contact and communication between the peoples of the world (Mowlana 1996). If global communication grew exponentially in the period after World War II, this growth accelerated even more in the period after the Cold War (Ayish 2001). The widespread diffusion of new technological innovations was incited by the increasingly liberalised free-market-oriented international environment of the post-Cold War order, where the borders between East and West had withered away. In this competitive world with its revolving economic and communication giants, the globe has since been transformed into a global electronic village and information has emerged as a primary commodity and resource. The conclusion can be drawn that global communication is in a continuous state of ferment and evolution (Mowlana 1996; Tehranian n.d.). It not only takes a prominent place in virtually all aspects of contemporary global, national and local systems, but has also introduced to the world formerly unknown contradictions and uncertainties, some of which will be pointed out in the next section.

### **Some consequences and effects of global communication on the current world order**

The effects of developments on global communication as we know it at the start of the 21st century are manifold, diverse, wide-ranging and far reaching (Tehranian n.d.). Economically, emerging communication networks have played a major role in the increasing internationalisation and liberalisation of economic activities (Bornman & Schoonraad 2001). Due to the rapid development of ICTs, geographical boundaries and temporal disparities no longer form barriers to international trade, capital flow and other economic activities. A global trans-border or virtual market has emerged. Global communication networks are furthermore enabling transnational corporations (TNCs) to conduct their activities in virtually every corner of the world. Transactions within the emerging global market have also become increasingly dependent on international information flows facilitated by modern ICTs. Thus, as already mentioned, information has become a paramount commodity and access to information – and consequently also to modern ICTs – plays a major role in economic advancement and growth. Politically, global communications are not only challenging the legitimacy, sovereignty and authority of the nation state, but also have far-reaching implications for international communication: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest 15 relations (Bornman 2003; Bornman & Schoonraad 2001; Tehranian n.d.). The borders of nation states have become porous as the globalisation of technology has made it virtually impossible for governments to regulate

and control the trans-border flow of information and communication. In this way global communication is increasingly undermining the authority and legitimacy of nation states. Global communication is also empowering marginalised and often forgotten groups and voices in the international community, which furthermore presents a challenge to the authority of the nation states within whose boundaries they live. The many interactive forms of global communication have also created immense new moral spaces for exploring new and/or alternative communities of affinity and identity. Vicinity – often presented by the nation state or region where an individual or group lives – is consequently no longer the only viable context for identity formation. Global communication is furthermore increasingly changing the rules of international relations (Tehrani n.d.). Firstly, modern ICTs are facilitating the transfer of science, technology, information and ideas from the centres to the peripheries of power. Foreign relations through diplomacy have been enhanced as well as undermined by global communication. The emergence of a global civil society, presented by a multitude of non-state actors and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) together with intergovernmental organisations (IGOs), TNCs and transnational media corporations (TMCs), are increasingly complicating the context of international relations and diplomacy. TNCs are furthermore changing economic infrastructures, trade relations as well as internal and political relationships which has implications for national security, the conduct and deterrence of war, intelligence collection, analyses and dissemination as well as for the conduct and deterrence of terrorism. A further complicating factor is the resurgence and revitalisation of ethnicity that has resulted in the emergence of international politics of identity and difference related to religious, ethnic and/or racial fetishisms. Global media systems have introduced propaganda and public diplomacy as important factors in international relations. Thus global communication is radically redefining the nature of both hard and soft power in international relations. Socially integrated global communication networks have, to a certain extent, resulted in the realisation of McLuhan's (1964) notion of the 'global village' with the emergence of, among others, global interconnectedness, global consciousness and global cooperation between NGOs in widely different areas such as human rights, women's rights and environmental protection. Social relations are no longer restricted to a particular space or locality, but are dispersed globally and spatially as ICTs create and maintain social relations irrespective of time and space. Culturally, emerging patterns of global communication are creating a new global 'Coca-Colonised' consumer culture of 'commodity fetishism' that is supported by the global advertising and entertainment industries (Tehrani n.d., par 2). In its human dimension, 16 Lucky Madikiza & Elire Bornman the altered social, political and economic environment has led to increased interaction with and confrontation between one culture and another (Mowlana 1996). In doing so, international communication is changing the nature and problems associated with intercultural communication. However, one of the most important consequences is probably the blurring of the boundaries between the technological, economic, political, social and cultural domains (Tehrani n.d.). Both traditional media (such as print, photography, film, radio, television and video) as well as the fast-developing new information and communication technologies (ICTs such as telephone and telegraphy, satellites and computers) which initially developed fairly independently are now merging into a global digital telecommunications network. Within the economic sector, the separate industries associated with each of these technologies are also combining through a series of corporate mergers and alliances to serve the new multimedia environment.



### 2.3 Revisiting the term 'international' in international communication

Within this tumultuous and continuously changing landscape of global communication, the (sub)discipline of communication science, dedicated to the phenomena related to global communication, is commonly known as 'international communication'. However, from previous discussions it should be clear that the term 'international' no longer reflects the full scope of global communication as we currently know it. Prominent authors in the field, such as Mowlana (1996, 1997) and Thussu (2000), consequently raise the question of whether the term is still appropriate. The *Collins English Dictionary* (2006: 417) defines the term 'international' as '1.) of or involving two or more nations; 2.) Controlling or legislating for several nations'. Thus the classic understanding of 'international' refers to that which exists, involves or is carried across or takes place between two or more nation states. According to this definition, the field of international communication should be understood to focus mainly on interactions between and among nation states. International communication as a field of study has indeed developed from the study of international relations (Mowlana 1996, 1997). Thus analyses of international communication have traditionally been associated with inter-state and inter-governmental interactions such as diplomacy and government propaganda, in which powerful states dictate the communication agenda (ibid). However, vast developments in the media and ICTs during the late 20th century have resulted in a radical expansion of the scope of international communication. Currently International communication: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest 17 communication across national borders has expanded to a large diversity of business-to-business and people-to-people interactions on a global level. Furthermore, not only the representatives of nation states, but also a variety of non-state actors such as international non-governmental bodies, social movements as well as ordinary individuals is increasingly shaping the nature of transnational communication (Mowlana 1996). Mowlana (1997) consequently proposes a shift from the classical view of international communication to a vision of global communication in order to reflect the full scope of communication between nation states, institutions, groups and individuals across national, geographical and cultural borders. The term 'global communication' is also reflected in the titles of books such as *Global communication in the 21st century* (Stevenson 1994) and *Global communication and world politics* (Tehrani 1999). Hamelink (1994: 2) prefers to employ the term 'world communication', as it is more inclusive of both state and non-state actors. In accordance with the expanding scope of international communication, Thussu (2000: 1) defines international communication simply as communication that occurs across international borders. According to the Massachusetts Institute's Centre for International Studies (MIT center), words, acts or attitudes can be defined as international communication whenever they impinge – intentionally or unintentionally – upon the minds of private individuals, officials or groups from other countries (in Mowlana 1996: 9). These definitions not only broaden the scope of international communication beyond the ambit of inter-stately and inter-governmental communication, but also deviate from a mere technological focus by acknowledging the human and social dimensions of global communication within a complex process of manifold interchanges by means of signs and symbols. Thanks to these definitions, international communication is depicted as an extremely broad field involving social conditions, attitudes and institutions that have an effect on the production and/or reception of various forms of communication among

people. Thus, international communication as a field of study recognises not only the media and technologies through which impulses pass, but also the attitudes and social circumstances of the sources, the predisposition of receivers, as well as the effects and impact of the contents. Although we fully acknowledge the expanding scope of the field, we will continue to use the term ‘international’ when referring to the field of study – not only because the field and related phenomena are more commonly known by this term. However, we use the terms ‘global communication’ and ‘world communication’ interchangeably with ‘international communication’ when referring to the multitude of processes and phenomena related to the field.

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## **2.4 Theorizing international communication**

There can be little doubt that a body of theory with testable propositions is essential not only to conceptualise and explain the multiple phenomena associated with global communication (Mowlana 1996; Stevenson 1992). In practice, international communication has borrowed and/or adapted theories and paradigms from (sub) disciplines such as international relations and media studies and applies these to discourses related to global communication. The following sections give a critical overview of the shifting theoretical frameworks, paradigms and foci of interest:

## **2.5 The free flow of information**

Discourses on the notion of the ‘free flow of information’ emerged during the Cold War when the international community was characterised by the bipolar division between capitalism and socialism (Ayish 2001; Thusssu 2000, 2005). In initial debates on international communication, the free-flow principle was associated with, on the one hand, the antipathy of Western liberalism and capitalism to state regulation and censorship of the media, and their demands for an unrestrained flow of information (including – according to Thusssu (2000) – Western propaganda). Marxists, on the other hand, argued for greater state regulation to control the flow of news and broadcasting materials into their societies. The free-flow discourse is deeply embedded in discourses on democracy (Ayish 2001). In a democracy, the role of the mass media is believed to be to inform the electorate on public issues, to enlarge the base of participation in the political process and to watch over government behaviour. Proponents of a free flow of information base their arguments on the liberal discourse of the rights of individuals to freedom of opinion and expression. Systems of freedom of expression and information are regarded as central tenets of democracy and preconditions for the media to promote democracy. Debates on the freedom of information during the Cold War consequently focused largely on the international flow of news and broadcast materials. During the 1940s and 1950s the principles of the ‘free marketplace of ideas’ and the ‘free flow of information’ not only became central components of US foreign policy, but were also endorsed in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and other related UNESCO declarations. However, whereas free-flow debates were predominantly an East–West issue in the period immediately following World War II, the 1960s saw a change in global power structures as the newly independent African and Asian nation states entered debates on international communication (ibid). Third World countries came to believe that Western dominance of their economic and communication systems was to blame for their ‘underdevelopment’. They proposed International communication: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest 19 that international information

systems perpetuated existing inequalities and the dependence of the Third World on the developed North for both hardware and software in the communication sector (Ayish 2001; Thussu 2005). Imbalances in the flow of communication and information were furthermore believed to pose threats to their political independence and national sovereignty, cultural values and socioeconomic development. These allegations were supported by empirical data that indicated that communication with the Third World was indeed a one-way flow from the developed centres – unbalanced and distorted, it tended to focus on ‘negative’ instead of ‘development’ news. In his call for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), Masmoudi (1979) comments in this regard that the principle of freedom to information became the freedom of the informing agent, and as such an instrument of domination in the hands of those who control the media. Scholars also note that the West – the United States in particular – has indeed benefited from notions such as ‘the free marketplace of ideas’ and ‘the free flow of information’, and that these concepts evolved internationally in conjunction with global American and Western economic expansion and served to justify this expansion (Ayish 2001; Thussu 2000, 2005). As the bulk of the world’s media resources were concentrated in the West, the governments of Western countries and Western private enterprise had most to gain from an absence of restrictions to communication flow. Media and communication related organisations used the free-flow principle to argue against trade barriers to the international distribution of their products and services, as well as against attempts to hinder news gathering within the territories of other countries. Western businesses, in turn, have been benefiting from the concomitant advertising and marketing of their products and services in foreign markets. The Western information and entertainment industries have furthermore served to champion the Western way of life as well as the values of capitalism and liberalism on the international stage. Thus the free-flow principle not only helped strengthen and consolidate the influence of the West in its ideological battle with the Soviet Union during the Cold War. In general, it has served to spread the Western doctrine – in particular that of the United States – to the international community and also to Third World countries. In campaigning for greater equality and balance in news and communication flows, Third World nations’ calls for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) resulted in the Brandt and MacBride Commissions and their respective reports (Ayish 2001, 2005; Preston 2005; Thussu 2005). The MacBride report in particular, entitled *many voices, one world*, published in October 1980 by UNESCO’s International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, generated wide-ranging debates on transnational media flows; norms and ethics within the communication professions; the role of communication technologies; and the social, cultural and democratic impact of the media. The most far-reaching of the 82 recommendations of the report dealt with the democratisation of communication. The Commission acknowledged that the 20 Lucky Madikiza & Elirea Bornman democratisation of communication is hindered by undemocratic systems of governance (involving, among others, excessive bureaucracy) as well as by a lack of appropriate technologies and illiteracy. In order to create a more balanced and equal international communication environment, the Commission proposed the participation of the public and their representatives in media management as well as the fostering of horizontal communication and counter information. It also propagated three forms of alternative communication: radical opposition, local or community media movements, as well as trade unions. It furthermore coupled press freedom and the right to self-expression with the rights to communicate and receive information, the rights to reply and make correction, as well as the social and cultural rights of communities. A central theme of the report – as reflected in the title – is that the media

should serve social and cultural development and contribute to cultural and social understanding. Thus the notion of diversity is emphasised as a prerequisite for a more balanced and culturally fulfilling international communication environment. However, the report points out that, in order to promote dialogue between equals in which all nations and people participate, opportunities and resources should be spread more equally. Whilst the MacBride report was hailed by Third World nations as the first document to bring world communication problems to the fore, it was denounced by Western-based media institutions for its criticism of private media and communication ownership, and the social problems that result from advertising. Western nations, led by the USA, perceived the NWICO as an attempt to propagate state regulation of the media – a notion perceived to be in conflict with liberal Western values and the principle of the free flow of information. The NWICO was furthermore blamed for curtailing media freedom and the freedom of speech while promoting the reinforcement of authoritarian political censorship. In essence, Western opposition to the NWICO reflected a need to ensure that government-controlled public media would not be promoted at the expense of the private media sector. The USA demonstrated its opposition by withdrawing its aid from the UNESCO-supported International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) culminating, finally, in its withdrawal from UNESCO itself – a move followed by the United Kingdom a year later. Thussu (2005) points to the fact that the emphasis on the primacy of the private sector reflects a deeper ideological shift emanating from the US and other Western governments at the time. It represents a shift away from the public service-oriented view of media and communication to an emphasis on a privatised and deregulated industry. The free-market doctrine was fuelled by the end of the Cold War, which fundamentally transformed the bipolar world that had dominated free flow debates for decades into a unipolar universe dominated by the world's only remaining superpower. This superpower, the USA, deployed all its power and influence to champion market solutions for the world's communication problems. Privatisation became the new mantra and resulted in the deregulation, privatisation and liberalisation of the broadcasting and telecommunications sectors. International communication: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest 21 Although debates on the NWICO have become rather quiescent in recent years, Ayish (2001) holds that the free flow of information remains a controversial issue in international communication. Currently discourses are influenced by two important global trends, namely the worldwide proliferation of newly developing ICTs and the worldwide democratisation of political systems in the aftermath of the demise of the Soviet Union – a traditional supporter of the NWICO. The techno democratic revolution brought about by these developments has lowered the significance and validity of the ideological underpinnings of the debate, in favour of focusing attention on information as a central component of the world economy. Terms such as 'informatics' and 'telemetric' have been developed to indicate the importance of the emerging global order, in which information plays a central role. The shift in emphasis from the mass media to information furthermore signifies the rising importance of economic aspects of communication at the expense of cultural and political aspects. The demise of the Soviet Union, the shift from state-regulated to market-oriented policies, as well as the establishment of transnational institutions such as the World Trade Union (WTO) and the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) have furthermore created a global market for information and communication. A strong communication infrastructure has become a prerequisite for participation in the global economy, while the dismantling of barriers to the free flow of information is perceived to be essential for economic growth and development. Thus the free-flow doctrine has been extended to include both the contents of communication as well as

the infrastructure that enables the flow of communication and information. In terms of these developments, conceptions of information solely in terms of news and broadcasting have become archaic (Ayish 2001). However, the question of the proliferation of technologies has been introduced at NWICO and other debates on international communication since the 1960s (ibid). Third World nations have been concerned that, if news and broadcasting materials could have far-reaching effects on their societies, the effects of powerful communication satellites, trans-border data flows and digitalised and interactive computer-related communication could be even more serious for their national sovereignty and indigenous cultures. Even more importantly, existing imbalances and widening gaps in the proliferation of new ICTs between them and Western developed countries could hinder social and economic development in Third World countries (ibid). Most scholars agree that it is quite misleading to speak about a free flow of information and the participation of Third World countries in international communication in light of current imbalances in telecommunications infrastructures. The governments of Third World countries consequently have not only called for policies to guard against the uncritical transfer of technologies and the potential negative effects of the international flow of information, but also against the potentially adverse effects of imbalances in the spread of ICT infrastructure. 22 Lucky Madikiza & Elirea Bornman However, in accordance with its general approach to the free flow of information, the West still supports a liberalised, free-market approach to the proliferation of ICTs (ibid). This viewpoint is currently largely based on the notion of 'market technical's' which views market competition as the engine for the development and proliferation of ICTs that will be conducive to the free flow of information and wider participation in democratic processes and will, ultimately, also redress inequality in information flows. Ayish (2001) points at another shift in debates on the free flow of information. The breaking tide of democratisation in the Third World has forced governments of developing countries to revisit their radically negative views on the free flow of information. This is particularly true in the post-Cold War order, where the political weight of Third World countries has decreased and they have been forced into political realism in order to ensure that their perspectives keep the attention focused on the international agenda. Although Western notions of the free flow of information – and a free press in particular – are still criticised as being over-liberal, self-centred and anti-state, Third World governments have become more willing to tone down their opposition to the free flow principle in return for greater Western appreciation for their employment of mass media for development purposes. Challenges to the liberal conceptions of free flow are consequently no longer based on authoritarian and Marxist ideologies, but rather on perspectives of social responsibility. This rather libertarian idea, based on the emphasis of social needs and social responsibility, serves to justify certain restrictions to the free flow of information. It has also shifted international debates from the radical 'free versus controlled' dichotomy to 'responsible versus unrestrained' perspectives on the free flow of information. Ayish (ibid) draws the conclusion that the changing nature of discourses on the free flow of information reflects the changing nature of global politics and the global economy. It serves to illustrate the close relationship between international relations and global communication.

### **Modernization theory**

Complementary to discourses on the benefits of the free flow of information in the years after World War II were views on the key role of international communication in the process of

modernising and developing the Third World (Thussu 2000). The modernisation theory emerged during a period when it was very important for the West to bring the newly independent nations of Asia, the Middle East and Africa into the sphere of capitalism (Ayish 2005; Thussu 2000). The paradigm is founded on the notion that international mass communication should become the vehicle for spreading the message of modernity, transferring Western economic and political models and transforming and modernising traditional societies. Modernisation (or 'development International communication: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest 23 theory' as this pro-media bias is called) has been highly influential. Research based on the paradigm has not only served to shape university communication programmes and research centres, but has also been generously supported by UNESCO and other international organisations. The modernisation paradigm is based on the premise that as nations emerge from colonialism, there would be a natural development of the previously colonised countries along the same route or stages followed by Western countries (Thussu 2000). The developed Western societies consequently served as models for the less developed societies to strive for. It was widely accepted that the mass media would serve as a bridge to a wider world and would be instrumental in spreading education, transferring essential skills, fostering social unity, and – most importantly – creating the desire to 'modernise'. This top-down, one-way approach to communication via the mass media was regarded as a panacea for the transformation of the Third World. The level of media development of a country consequently served as an indicator of general societal development. One of the earliest exponents of the theory was Daniel Lerner (1958) who believed that the mass media could break the hold of traditional cultures on societies and make them aspire to a modern way of life. Similar viewpoints were held by other important modernisation theorists such as Wilbur Schramm (1964) and Everett Rogers (1962) with his 'diffusion of innovations' theory. Major shortcomings in the modernisation theory have been pointed out (Thussu 2000). First, measuring a country's level of development according to its Gross National Product (GNP) fails to recognise that the creation of wealth on its own is not sufficient and that the welfare of a population at large depends also on the equitable distribution of wealth and its use for the public good. It thus happened that social and economic disparities widened in many Third World countries, despite them showing signs of economic growth. The modernisation theory furthermore neglects to take the political, social or cultural dimensions of development into account and fails to ask questions such as: Development for whom? and Who would gain? The consequence was that in many Third World countries economic and political power remained restricted to small elites, and the media served to legitimise their power. The media were also regarded as a neutral force, thus ignoring the fact that all media products are shaped by social, cultural, political and economic factors. Questions regarding whether the audience could receive the message (television penetration in developing countries was, for instance, minimal), understand it and whether they might respond by showing some form of resistance, were also neglected. Another major shortcoming is the dismissive view regarding traditional cultures and the assumption that modern and traditional lifestyles are mutually exclusive (ibid). Thus developing countries criticised the theory for its ethnocentric Western orientation, a historicity (failure to take the history and culture of local communities into account), linearity 24 Lucky Madikiza & Elirea Bornman (holding a simple linear view of development) and for advancing solutions that, in reality, reinforce the dependency of the Third World on developed countries (Ayish 2005). Since modernisation programmes did little to alleviate the plight of the poor in the Third World, critics increasingly started to question the validity of the premises of the paradigm and focused on issues which they felt had been left out,

namely the relationship between communication, power and knowledge, and the ideological role of international organisations and institutional structures (Thussu 2000). Prominent in this regard was the work of Latin American scholars such as Paolo Freire with his *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (1974). Western scholars also began to recognise that the modernisation paradigm needed to be reviewed. Alternative paradigms, such as that of participatory development, have since emerged. However, in a revised version of the modernisation paradigm, blind faith in the mass media has been replaced by similar beliefs in the potential of ICTs to help developing countries 'leapfrog' stages of development. Within this model, the dissemination of information is often perceived to be the panacea to foster development (Castells 1998; Thussu 2000). According to Nulens and Van Audenhove (1998) this idealistic approach – also known as the *technophilic* view – assumes that ICTs have largely positive effects on society, such as an increase in job opportunities, increased efficiency in both private and public sectors, social harmony and the deepening of democracy. However, critics of this view – the so-called *technophobes* – point to the fact that ICTs could also hold serious negative effects for developing countries (Van Dijk 1999; Mansell & Wehn 1998). Whereas the discourse on the assumed benefits of ICTs is continuing, increasing frustration among developing countries gave rise to critical paradigms regarding the role of international communication in national development.

### **Dependency theory**

The dependency paradigm emerged as the most prominent theoretical framework questioning the modernisation paradigm (Ayish 2005). The dependency theory had its origins in Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s, during a period when countries of the Third World realised that the developmental approach to international communication had failed to deliver (Thussu 2000). Although it is rooted in the neo-Marxist political economy approach (see page 30), the dependency perspective represents an important shift away from the nation state as unit of analysis, to a predominantly international level of analysis (Servaes, Jacobson & White 1996). Thus it emphasises global structures and interrelationships that influence Third World development and postulates that post International communication: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest 25 independence dynamics keep Third World countries locked in former colonial power structures (Ayish 2005). For the dependents, the world should be analysed in terms of a 'centre' – comprising mainly Western countries such as the USA and Western Europe – and the 'periphery' which encompasses the poor countries of the world, such as those from Africa who have recently emerged from colonialism, but remain 'dependent' in various ways on the rich Western countries. The lack of development of the periphery is ascribed to historical and current forms of colonialism and exploitation through institutions and companies – especially transnational companies (TNCs) – in the centre. TNCs, with the support of their respective governments, are believed to exercise control over developing countries by determining the terms of global trade and the structure of global markets. Development is conducted in such a way that it strengthens dominance over countries on the periphery and maintains them in a position of dependence. Such development attempts are typified as 'dependent development' or 'the development of underdevelopment' (Frank in Thussu 2000: 61). In contrast, 'true' development is conceived as an autonomous, self-chosen path drawing from indigenous cultures (Ayish 2005). The dependents argue that the domination of the periphery by the centre occurs through a combination of power components, for example through the military, economics, politics and culture (Servaes, Jacobson & White 1996: 34). Countries on the periphery, for

example, come to depend on Western-developed technology and investment and the demand for media products – television programmes in particular – necessitates large imports from centre countries. These imports serve to promote, albeit indirectly, the Western–American lifestyle as well as Western goods and products. The result is a so called electronic invasion that threatens the cultures of countries on the periphery and promotes a consumer lifestyle at the expense of community values. The term ‘cultural imperialism’ is used in this regard to argue that international media flows of both media hardware and software serve to strengthen dependency and hinder true development (Ayish 2005). Closely related to cultural imperialism is the concept of ‘media imperialism’ which emphasises more specifically media inequalities between the centre and the periphery, and how these inequalities reflect broader issues of dependency, exploitation and hegemony especially with regard to Western-dominated international media such as news agencies, magazines, films, radio and television (Boyd-Barrett 1977). Also related is the concept of ‘electronic colonialism’ that refers to inequalities in ICT infrastructure and hardware and the role of MNCs in this regard (McPhail 1981). There are, however, also many critics of the dependency theory (Thussu 2000) who point out that it lacks clear definitions of key terms such as ‘imperialism’ and has failed to present empirical evidence to support the main arguments of the theory. It is also criticised by cultural theorists in particular for neglecting the form and contents of the 26 Lucky Madikiza & Elirea Bornman media and the role of the audience. Media audiences are perceived to be passive receivers of media contents – a type of ‘hypodermic needle’ approach. Cultural theory, in contrast, assumes that media texts are mostly polysemic in nature and could be interpreted in various ways by audiences who are not passive consumers, but active participants in negotiating meaning. The cultural imperialism thesis is furthermore criticised for being totalitarian for not taking into account how the meaning of global media contexts is negotiated in various national and local contexts, and for ignoring local patterns of media consumption. Despite its shortcomings, the dependency perspective is nevertheless important as it heralded the beginning of a critical tradition in international communication. Prior to its advent theorising and research largely focused on the preservation and promotion of the objectives of powerful nation states, thus supporting the status quo. The dependents also played a prominent role in the NWICO as well as in the Non-Aligned Movement, which made their impact felt in international fora (Servaes, Jacobson & White 1996). With the shift from discourses in international communication to issues of privatisation and liberalisation in the 1990s, theories of media and cultural dependency have moved to the background. However, Boyd-Barrett (in Thussu 2000: 64) declares that the concept of imperialism remains a useful tool to analyse the so-called ‘colonisation’ of communication space. The notion of cultural imperialism has, indeed, moved to the forefront again in discourses on cultural globalisation – one of the latest paradigms of theory and research (see page 37).

### **Structural theory of imperialism**

Galtung’s (1971) structural theory of imperialism can be regarded as an expansion and refinement of the dependency theory. It not only offers explanations for existing inequalities *between* regions, nation states and collectives, but also emphasises the possibility of the existence of inequalities *within* a particular region, nation state and/or collectivity. Galtung points to the fact that there are elites in peripheral countries whose interests coincide with those of elites in the centre. These ‘cores’ or ‘centres’ within peripheral states provide a bridgehead through which the centre can enact its dominance of the periphery. In terms of culture, values



and attitudes, elites in the periphery are often nearer to elites in the centre than to the people in their own country (Thussu 2000). Galtung (1971) attempts to define the concept of 'imperialism' more precisely by distinguishing between interaction relationships and interaction structures that result in imperialism. He holds the reason for interaction between nation states or collectivises as the fact that they dispose of different complementary resources which creates the need for exchange. For example, one nation state could have the resources essential International communication: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest 27 for the production of a particular product, while another might have the factories and skills to produce the product. Both parties are changed when resources are exchanged. In an imperialistic relationship, a gap is created and/or widened when the exchange is cumulatively unequal or asymmetric as regards the benefits for each party. The factors which determine whether exchanges are equal or unequal are the nature of the value exchange between the two parties, as well as the positive or negative consequences for each. Imperialistic interaction structures are characterised by vertical and feudal forms of interaction (Galtung 1971; Thussu 2000). The principle of vertical interaction maintains that relationships are asymmetrical and that the flow of power is vertical from the centre to the periphery. Feudal interaction implies that interaction is monopolised by the centre and follows the spokes of a wheel, that is from the periphery to the centre and vice versa, while there is little or no interaction along the rim, in other words between peripheries. The result is that peripheries become dependent on the centre(s). Galtung (1971) distinguishes five forms of imperialism, depending on the nature of exchange relationships: economic, political, military, communication and cultural. Together these forms of imperialism constitute a syndrome of imperialism and reinforce (through various channels) the dominance of the centre over the periphery. Communication imperialism is, among others, related to media imperialism, disparities in the flow of news as well as inequalities in access to ICT infrastructure which ultimately results in cultural imperialism. Information flows from the centre to the periphery and back again. For example, regions, nation states and collectivises in the Third World receive news from the Northern countries via transnational news agencies, but little information from other countries in the Third World. Third World societies consequently have little information about neighbouring countries that has not been filtered through the media systems of the North (Thussu 2000). Galtung's (1971) theory of cultural imperialism bears a stark similarity to cultural imperialism – as distinguished in dependency theory – as both hold that the political and economic dominance of the centre over the periphery changes the value systems of societies on the periphery (Thussu 2000). Research on media and information flows also confirms a dependency relationship between the centre and the periphery, that is a predominantly one-way flow of information, values, ideas, methods, skills and resources from the North to the South. Both imperialism and dependency theory are being criticised for focusing mainly on the role of external forces in the social and economic development of countries on the periphery, while neglecting the role of internal class, gender, ethnic and power relations (Thussu 2000). Galtung responded to this criticism by doing research on the elites of peripheral countries and found that they, indeed, benefited from the dependency 28 Lucky Madikiza & Elirea Bornman syndrome. However; although the worldwide proliferation of ICTs and the emphasis on cultural hybridisation (rather than imperialism) have made theories of imperialism less fashionable, Thussu notes that the structural inequalities in international communication deem the recognition of their continued relevance in discourses on dependency and imperialism within the field of international communication to be vital.

## World system theory

World system theory is regarded as an expansion of dependency theory and imperialism theory (Chase-Dunn & Hall 1993; Shannon 1996). However, one of the most important contributions of the theory is the fact that – instead of focusing predominantly on relationships between the centre and the periphery – it acknowledges the emergence of a new social system, namely a global or world system, in the current world order. Wallerstein (in Chase-Dunn & Hall 1993: 854) defines the world system as a multicultural network for the exchange of ‘essential goods’. The term ‘world system’ indicates the social context in which people in the modern era live. However, not all interactions are necessarily of a global nature. The systemic character of the world system is rather situated in the fact that events in one part of the globe have important consequences for events, interactions and social structures in other parts of the world. It also indicates that – due to the worldwide proliferation of ICTs – various smaller systems are connected to form a global system. The reference to multicultural networks indicates that the networks connect people, groups and societies that differ culturally, speak different languages and have different normative institutions. Chase-Dunn and Hall (1993) furthermore recommend that the definition not only focus on cultural groups organised in nation states, but also on smaller units such as cultural minorities, so-called ‘stateless’ groups as well as organisations and individuals. They consequently prefer the term ‘composite units’ to ‘societies’ or ‘states’. Whereas Wallerstein initially refers to essential goods purely in terms of food and raw materials necessary for the fulfilment of material needs, Chase-Dunn and Hall (1993) broaden this view by including all social and other forms of interaction worldwide that serve to uphold or change internal structures. It consequently also refers to forms of interaction such as wars, diplomacy, intermarriages, and – most importantly – the exchange of information. Thus economic, political, cultural and scientific forms of interaction all form part of the world system. World system theorists also acknowledge inequality or hierarchy – as they prefer to call it – in the structure of interactions within the world system (Chase-Dunn & Hall 1993; Shannon 1996). Shannon adds another level to the twofold distinction between centre International communications: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest 29 and periphery. He defines a third zone – the semi-periphery – which refers to nation states and regions that can compete with the centre in certain aspects, but in other aspects resemble the periphery. Brazil and Argentina are mentioned as examples of states on the semi-periphery. The principle of hierarchy indicates political, economic and ideological dominance between composite units that is the consequence of political dominance, inequalities in exchange and interaction relationships and the exploitation of resources. However, world system theorists differ from dependency and imperialism theorists in that they do not necessarily assume that all relationships and forms of interaction between the centre and periphery are necessarily unequal, but also make provision for the existence of equal relationships between various levels. They furthermore point to the possibility that dominance can also exist between units on the same level. In order to account for inequality in a particular case, it is consequently necessary to analyse the complexity of relationships and interactions. The fact that world system theory acknowledges both equal and unequal relationships makes it a useful theoretical framework for empirical research into the flow of capital, international relationships, media contents and information in the new global order. However, the theory can

be criticised for the fact that it gives little attention to the causes and consequences of inequality, dominance and hierarchy in the world system.

### **Hegemony**

Theorising regarding the process of hegemony has had a major influence on critical theorists as well as cultural critics (see pp. 31 and 35). The theory of hegemony is based on the work of the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937), who died in prison under the Fascist regime in Italy (Thussu 2000). In accordance with Marxist viewpoints, *society* is perceived as the site of struggle among interests through the domination of one ideology over others (Littlejohn & Foss 2005). *Hegemony* refers to the process of domination where one set of ideas subverts, co-opts or dominates another. According to Gramsci (in Thussu 2000: 68), a dominant group in society has the capacity to exercise intellectual and moral control over society at large, with the support of a system of social alliances. Military force is not regarded as the only or most effective force to retain power. The building of consent by means of the ideological control of cultural production and distribution is a much more efficient instrument in wielding power. Such a system exists when a dominant class exerts moral and intellectual dominance over a subordinate class by means of institutions such as schools, government institutions, religious bodies and the mass media. In international communication, the concept of hegemony is often employed to refer to the political, social and cultural functions of the media (Thussu 2000). The international mass media are regarded as key players in propagating and maintaining the ideologies of dominant forces within the global system. Even if and when the media are free from direct governmental control, they nevertheless act as agents to legitimise the dominant ideology. Gramsci's ideas on hegemony are also the foundation stones of political economy and critical theory, which are discussed in the following sections.

### **Political economy**

Thussu (2000) regards the political economy approach as an umbrella theory that encompasses many of the other theories of international communication, such as dependency and hegemony. In contrast to cultural analyses (see p. 35), it primarily concerns itself with underlying structures of political and economic power. Central to Marx's interpretation of international communication is the question of power which is perceived as an instrument the ruling classes use to control the masses (Thussu 2000). According to this view, the class with the means of material production simultaneously controls the means of mental production. In other words, the ruling class regulates both the production and distribution of the ideas of its age. In international communication, much of the critical research with regard to political economy has been related to patterns of ownership and production in the media and communications industries (ibid). These have been analysed within the overall context of national and transnational social and economic power relations. One of the central themes of research has been the commodification of communication hardware and software and its impact on inequalities in access to the media and communication. One of the important themes within the critical political economy approach in international communication is the transition from American post-war hegemony to a global order where world communication is dominated by transnational and multinational corporations supported by their national governments, which are

linked to an integrated in global structures (ibid). Researchers mainly focus on corporate and state power, especially with regard to patterns of ownership in media and communication industries worldwide. In particular, attention is given to vertical integration (of companies controlling a specific sector) as well as horizontal integration (across sectors as well as companies within and outside media and communication industries). Scholars such as Hamelink (1979, 1983, 1994) have been campaigning for information and communication equality and have introduced human rights issues to debates on international communication. Critics of the dominant market-based approach, on the other hand, have been advancing the public-service approach of state-regulated media and communications, where public interest concerns are given preference to governmental regulatory and policy bodies at national, regional and international levels (see Fourie 2003). International communication: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest 31 In the 21st century, Thussu (2000) and Preston (2005) have pleaded for a revival of research into the political economy of international communication if the (sub)discipline wants to claim relevance with regard to pressing social and political issues. In doing so, significant contributions can also be made to the wider scene, such as international relations in the world of today. Important themes for analysis are the role of transnational media and communication corporations, as well as international organisations such as the WTO and the ITU in the increasingly market-driven international environment. In this regard Thussu (2005) mentions the extensive control that Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation exercises globally, over both information hardware (such as delivery systems) and software (such as programme content). Another important topic is the influence new ICTs, such as the Internet, have on the international communication environment. These need to be studied against the background of the challenges presented by events in the global order, such as the demise of the Soviet Union, the introduction of market socialism in China and the rightward shift of the left in Europe and Third World nations. It can therefore be predicted that the critical political economy approach will remain an important paradigm within international communication research – it can play a vital role in our understanding of the expansion, acceleration and consolidation of global media and communication industries.

### **Critical theory**

Critical theory is yet another theoretical tradition with its roots in Marxism. It holds that the means of production in society – that is the economic structures – determine the nature of society (Littlejohn & Foss 2005). Researchers at the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt – known as the Frankfurt School, with prominent researchers such as Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse – played a leading role in the development of the theory. With the rise of Nazism in Germany, the scholars of the Frankfurt School emigrated to the USA where they established the Institute for Social Research at Columbia University. Here they devoted their attention to the impact of the mass media and the international production of cultural goods (films, radio programmes, music and magazines) on societies. Within the critical tradition, mass media structures are predominantly perceived as structures of oppression (Thussu 2000). It is argued that in capitalist society's culture is commoditised, as cultural products have assumed an exchange value that has largely replaced their intrinsic value. Management practices, technological rationality and organisational structures similar to those involved in the production and exchange of commodities such as, for example, cars, are also employed in the production of cultural products. Cultural products are furthermore sold to consumers in the marketplace just as

other commodities whose value is not determined by their intrinsic worth, but rather by their entertainment value and ability to satisfy psychological needs. This 'assembly-line 32 Lucky Madikiza & Elirea Bornman character' of cultural production results in standardisation bearing an industrial stamp. The standardisation and commodification of culture is furthermore aggravated by the concentration of the ownership of production of cultural products in a few producers and countries of the world. According to cultural theorists, the resultant mediated 'mass culture' that thrives on market rules of demand and supply, has various negative effects (ibid). It firstly leads to the deterioration of the philosophical role of culture. Furthermore, it undermines the ability of the masses to critically engage with important socio-political issues and leads to politically passive behaviour and the subordination of the masses to the ruling elite. It also serves to incorporate and immerse the working classes into the structures of capitalism, thus limiting their political and economic horizons as they no longer seek to challenge these structures. Within international communication, critical theories have stimulated debate on the international flow of information (ibid). Issues regarding the commodification of culture have furthermore become central in discourses on the role of the multinational film, television, book and music industries. The issue was also taken up in a 1982 UNESCO report in which the organisation voiced its concern about the increasing carpotisation of cultural industries and the global spread of mainly Western cultural products. The report concluded that these processes have led to the gradual marginalisation of cultural messages that do not take the form of marketable commodities. Critical theory is criticised for its emphasis on reason, and the ownership and control of the means of cultural production as the main factors that determine the activities of artists. Writers and artists have argued that creativity and cultural consumption can thrive simultaneously and independently, and that the production process is not as organised according to rigidly standardised procedures as propagated by the theorists of the Frankfurt School (Littlejohn & Foss 2005; Thussu 2000).

### **The public sphere**

Theories of the public sphere have been a major issue in media studies in particular (Duvenhage 2005; Thussu 2000). The concept of a 'public sphere' was developed by the German sociologist, Jürgen Habermas. As an exponent of the school of critical theorists, he also bemoans the standardisation, massification and automisation of the masses due to the manipulation of public discourse by bureaucratic and economic interests such as advertising, marketing and public relations. The central concept of this theory, the public sphere, is defined as an arena where a community of individuals is drawn together by participating in rational–critical International communication: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest 33 debates (Duvenhage 2005; Thussu 2000). It developed from the representative public sphere during the feudal era, to the bourgeois public sphere in the modern era. These developments happened against the background of the developing capitalist economy and the establishment of the bourgeois constitutional state, and reflect the changing power relations between the monarch and his/her subjects due to the democratisation of the state and the growth of capitalism. Society became separated from the ruler and/or the state and the private realm was separated from the public. The public sphere became the arena of contestation of the interests of the bourgeois civil society on the one hand, and the state on the other hand. It is here that the rules of exchange of social goods and ideas are debated and public opinion is formed. Habermas regards the modern public sphere as an institutional location where the formal claims of democracy are debated.

Furthermore, participants also develop rational–critical practices through which reasonable citizens can critically challenge the norms of the state and its monopoly on interpretation and institutions. The press, political parties and parliament became the main vehicles of this public discourse. The theory furthermore gives prominence to the role of information in the public discourse (Thussu 2000). Greater freedom of the press, the wider availability of printing facilities and the development of new technologies that reduce the production costs of printed material have all served to stimulate rational–critical debate. Habermas’s idealised vision of the public sphere involves greater accessibility to information and an open debate independent of capitalist interests and/or state apparatus – rational argument should be the sole arbiter of any issue. However, Habermas has identified a decline in the bourgeois public sphere due to historical and economic developments since the 19th century. Especially in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the growing power of information management and the manipulation of public opinion through public relations, lobbying and advertising firms have resulted in contemporary debates becoming ‘faked versions’ of the true public sphere (Thussu 2000). Free and critical debate within the public sphere has also been undermined by intervention on the part of the state and other powerful interest groups, which manipulate public discourse and the social engineering of public opinion and cultural consumption (Duvenage 2005). The commercialised mass media (such as radio, television and the press) become the main instruments of manipulation due to the fact that they speak directly to consumers and ignore and sidestep the critical rational debate within the public sphere. Habermas identifies these changes as the ‘refeudalisation’ of the public sphere, where the public space has become a location for power displays – similar to those in medieval courts – rather than a space for critical debate. Habermas also perceives refeudalisation in the commercialisation of mass media systems, which has resulted in mass media organisations becoming monopolistic, capitalistic institutions that promote capitalist interests only and no longer promote debate within the public sphere (Thussu 2000). Within the market-driven economy, the main concern of the mass media is to produce artefacts that appeal to the widest possible audience and generate maximum advertising revenue. Mass media products are consequently diluted to meet the lowest common denominator, such as sensationalist sex, scandals and celebrity gossip and action adventures, thus reinforcing the public’s compulsion with constant consumption. The concept of the public sphere has also proved to be useful in theorising the role of communication processes in democratisation, identity-related processes and globalisation (Bornman 2003; Thussu 2000). According to Habermas (2001), there is a close relationship between the public sphere created by the mass media (and the national press and public broadcasting in particular) and feelings of national consciousness and identification within the modern, democratised nation state. He perceives national consciousness as a modern form of social solidarity in contrast to so-called ‘pre-modern’ forms of social allegiance based on descent, culture, language and history. National consciousness and national identification are regarded as products of new forms of communication. In recent years, due to the decline of the nation state, the formation of supra-national units (such as the European Union) and increasing globalisation, the idea of the public sphere has been expanded to find appropriate forms of political and social integration within a changing world order. Habermas (2001) envisions the formation of a European identity in a similar way that national consciousness has been forged in the traditional nation state. Communication plays a central role in this vision of European integration. Habermas regards it as necessary to create a Europe-wide public sphere embedded in a freedom-valuing culture supported by a liberal civil society. This view involves public communication that transcends the

borders of nation states. However, rather than the establishment of a European public broadcaster, Habermas foresees the emergence of a European public sphere from existing national spheres opening to one another, yielding to the interpenetration of international communication. An important step would be for national media to cover controversial issues in other countries in order for various national public opinions to converge on the same set of issues. Such a 'discursive' democracy or identity would not be located in any single nation state or ethnic or cultural community, but in the discursive spaces of civil society. Habermas (1999) furthermore foresees one or other form of global political unit or cosmopolitan government as a solution for the multitude of problems associated with globalisation (see p. 37). He believes that, as is the case with supranational units like the European Union, global integration requires a global political culture shared by all world citizens. Thussu (2000) points to the fact that the globalisation of the media and of communication has indeed given rise to a so-called global public sphere, where issues of international importance – such as environmental degradation, human rights and gender equality – are articulated in the global media. International communication: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest 35 Theories of the public sphere have also met with criticism (Duvenhage 2005; Thussu 2000). Firstly, they are criticised for their overriding male, European and bourgeois emphases. The thesis of the refeudalisation of the public sphere has also been criticised for being one-sided and presenting an overly pessimistic view of modern society. The mediatization of modern culture can also not be regarded as refeudalisation. In contrast, the development of the media and ICTs has created new opportunities for the production and diffusion of images and messages – that is information – on an international scale. The refeudalisation theory also treats media users as passive consumers who are manipulated by clever techniques and numbed into the acquiescent consumption of mass media content. The emphasis on rational-critical debate and the neutralising effects of national consciousness, as well as European and global identities, furthermore points to the avoidance of and/or inability to deal with identity politics and concerns of difference. The public sphere has nevertheless proved to be a useful concept to explain and understand the effects of both national and international communication.

### **Cultural studies**

A cultural study is another theoretical tradition closely related to the critical tradition of the Frankfurt School, as well as to Gramsci's theory of hegemony (Littlejohn & Foss 2005; Thussu 2000). The tradition had its origins at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham, England, with Stuart Hall as its leading scholar. Preston (2005) views the cultural studies approach as a reaction against the holistic focus of structural and production-oriented analyses of political and economic power relationships, as represented in debates regarding the MacBride report, dependency theory, political economy and similar approaches. Instead of focusing on either the media or the audience, cultural studies tend to focus on communication as a cultural process. Broader issues of culture – instead of media or ICTs, institutions or power relations – are therefore the main foci of interest. This multidisciplinary enterprise is therefore mainly interested in the ideologies that dominate a culture and has been focusing on cultural change on the basis of culture itself (Rantanen 2005; Thussu 2000). It is consequently predominantly populist in nature, in contrast to the intellectualism of the critical school. The main interests of cultural theorists have been the textual analysis of media texts – especially television texts – as well as ethnographic research. Of particular importance is Hall's model of

the encoding and decoding of media messages and how these messages can be interpreted in different ways – from accepting the dominant meaning, negotiating with the encoding message or opposing or resisting the dominant viewpoint as embedded in the media text. An important contribution of cultural theorists is the fact that they have created the possibility of studying all kinds of issues and subcultures that were excluded from earlier theories of international communication (Thussu 2000). Marginalised topics and 36 Lucky Madikiza & Elirea Bornman politics of identity and difference related to race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality have consequently entered into the discourse. The emphasis on the marginalised, ordinary and popular has also provided an essential balance, with theories that focus on structural issues of power. However, a major shortcoming of the work of cultural theorists is the fact it has an overriding British, European and/or Western perspective (ibid). Perceptions of the ‘global’ is often based on the study of migrant populations in Western countries. The cultural approach is also criticised from a Marxist perspective for its lack of class based analyses, despite its emphasis on the ‘popular’. Despite its shortcomings, the cultural approach has grown in importance and with its new-found interest in the ‘global–popular’, cultural studies represents a fast internationalising trend in theory and research.

## 2.6 Theories of the information society

One of the most recent theoretical strands to develop is that of the ‘information society’. The term emerged in the 1990s to coincide with the explosive development and global expansion of ICTs and the Internet in particular (Van Audenhove 2003; Thussu 2000). Proponents of the idea of an information society believe that new possibilities for the processing, storage and transmission of information have created an international information society that will, in the end, digitally link every home, office and business via the Internet – the network of all networks. These networks are the information highways that represent the infrastructure of the information society. Central to theories on the information society is the conceptualisation of information in economic terms (Jimba 1998; Thussu 2000). Information is regarded as a commodity that represents a key strategic resource in the international economy. The power, status and level of development of nation states, organisations, collectivises and individuals are largely determined by their access to and ability to control and/or dominate information highways. Economic growth is furthermore perceived as a function of the spread of information technologies throughout the economy and society (Van Audenhove 2003). The growing informatisation and interconnectedness of economies have furthermore contributed to the integration of national and regional economies, thereby resulting in the creation of a global economy. Thus information has created both a new social and economic order. Researchers and analysts such as Daniel Bell, Wilson Dizard, John Naisbitt and Alvin Toffler hold that society has moved through three stages, namely the agricultural age, the industrial age and, finally, the information age – the so-called ‘third wave’ (Straubhaar & La Rose 1997). Bell (1973) argues that the information age is not merely characterised by the use of more information, but that a qualitatively different type of International communication: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest 37 Information has become available (Thussu 2000). The trilogy *the information age* by the Spanish theorist, Manuel Castells, represents a further significant input in theorising the Information society (Castells 1996, 1997, 1998). Castells uses the term ‘network society’ where information technology forms the core driver of a new information technology paradigm, and argues that informational capitalism is increasingly operating on a global basis through exchanges by means



of electronic linkages between circuits (linking local, regional and national information systems). These linkages bypass the authorities of nation states and play a central role in establishing regional and supranational units. Thus a new kind of relationship between economy, state and society is emerging. Most proponents assume that the processes associated with the global spread of ICTs and the creation of an information society will have positive social and economic consequences as they will, among others, raise productivity; spread information and promote knowledge; foster the democratisation of society; and in general enhance quality of life (Van Audenhove 2003; Webster 1995). However, current theoretical contributions on the information society are criticised on various accounts. They are, among others, accused of simplistic technological determinism that tends to ignore the social, economic and political dimensions of technological innovation. Another contentious issue in discourses on the information society is the so-called 'digital divide' or the information-rich versus information-poor debates (Arunachalam 1999). Disparities between the centre and the periphery with regard to access to ICTs (and therefore also to information highways) are believed to have far-reaching implications for developing countries and make it more difficult for them to compete with the developed world on various levels, and to participate in the information society. Thus the North–South disparity remains a central focus in debates on international communication (Hamelink 1994).

## 2.7 Globalization

The discourse on globalisation is one of the latest – and probably most important and wide-ranging – theoretical debates to have emerged in international communication. According to Rantanen (2005), studies on globalisation started to emerge in the early 1900s – initially within the fields of geography and social science – from where the concept spread to other disciplines and, among others, also to media studies and international communication. Some theorists hold 'globalisation' to be the key concept when it comes to understanding changes within human society going into the third millennium (Thussu 2000). Giddens (in Rantanen 2005) identifies three phases in discourses on globalisation. In the first phase the main point of contestation was whether or not globalisation exists. In 38 Lucky Madikiza & Elireia Bornman the second phase it was no longer a question of whether or not globalisation exists, but rather what its consequences are. Currently we are entering a third stage, where debates address the responses necessary to counteract the negative consequences of globalisation. However, Rantanen (2005) points to the fact that considerations of the consequences of globalisation have already been imbedded in even the earliest conceptualisations of the concept. Despite its popularity, 'globalisation' remains a contested topic. A review of some of the well-known general definitions reveals that theorists do indeed integrate the phenomenon with its consequences (Rantanen 2005). For example, Giddens (1990) refers to the intensification of social relations on a global scale and the fact that local events are influenced by what happens in distant locations. Thompson (1995) emphasises the growing interconnectedness of parts of the world that gives rise to complex forms of interaction and interdependency; while for Robertson (1992) globalisation means the intensification of an awareness of the world as a whole. The idea of complexity, as indicated by Thompson (1995), is also emphasised by Servaes, Lie and Terzis (2000) and Tehranian and Tehranian (1997) who distinguish vertical and horizontal dimensions of globalisation. The horizontal dimension refers to the progressive compression of =temporal and spatial disparities culminating in the world becoming a single system. The vertical dimension involves the apparently contradictory trends towards homogeneity, synchronisation,

integration and universalism versus the propensity for localisation, heterogeneity, diversity and particularism (Bornman & Schoonraad 2001). Many analysts prefer, on the other hand, to divide conceptualisations and theories of globalisation into economic, political and cultural globalisation (Rantanen 2005). Economic globalisation is often regarded as the driving force behind the entire globalisation process (Waters 1995). Within a liberal context, it is interpreted as the development and fostering of international economic integration and the spread of global capitalism – pan-capitalism, as some commentators have labelled it (Tehrani 1999; Thussu 2000). This conception denotes a qualitative shift from a largely national to a globalised economy where the economies of nation states are largely subordinate to transnational processes and transactions, and markets play a key role at the expense of nation states. The demise of the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc, the shift from public to private sector capitalism and the international trend towards liberalisation and privatisation have all contributed to the acceptance of the capitalist market as the global economic system (Thussu 2000). Closely related to conceptions of economic globalisation are theories on political globalisation that focus largely on the changing position and role of the nation state (Bauman 1998; Waters 1995). Due to the internationalisation of global economic activities and other transnational processes, the authority, legitimacy and sovereignty of the nation state are believed to be under constant threat from free flow of capital and information is furthermore progressively being exempted from the authority of the nation state, while global forces beyond its reach and control are imposing their laws and precepts on the planet. The nation state is furthermore being threatened by the formation of supranational units (such as the European Union and African Union), while ideas regarding some form of global government are frequently mentioned in order to address the consequences of globalisation (Habermas 1999). The nation state is consequently no longer the only viable political context for people to live in. With regard to cultural globalisation, Bornman and Schoonraad (2001) distinguish between globalisation on the social and cultural terrains. Social globalisation is associated with the realisation – at least to a certain extent – of McLuhan's (1964) concept of the 'global village', in other words with the emergence of a borderless, non-spatial community. Although McLuhan's ideas are often criticised for being over idealistic (globalisation has not resulted in the disappearance of racial, cultural and other differences, as he prophesied) the reality of social globalisation is, among others, signified by the emergence of a 'global consciousness' and a global civil society which – as mentioned before – promotes worldwide cooperation to address global issues such as human rights, women's rights and environmental conservation (Thussu 2000). Cultural globalisation is often perceived as just a new version of Western cultural imperialism, namely cultural homogenising due to the worldwide spread of the Western– American lifestyle, values and consumer goods (ibid). A major consequence of the cultural levelling process is perceived to be that the spaces in which local communities can experience and live out their culture, become smaller and smaller. However, Appadurai (1990) argues that the effects of the multitude of forces that influence cultural globalisation are not simply homogenising, but rather they create new differences, contradictions and counter-tendencies as they encounter the different ideologies and cultural traditions of the world. A further consequence of these globalising forces is the weakening of the cultural coherence of nation states – yet another factor that threatens their authority and legitimacy. Whereas the MacBride report calls for the realisation of one world with many voices, Ayish (2005) points out that the dominance of American/ Western culture, combined with the revitalisation of ethnicity in the globalising world, is, in contrast, creating many worlds with only one dominant voice. There can be little doubt that the (global) media and the worldwide spread

of ICTs have made global interconnectedness – and thus globalisation – possible (Rantanen 2005; Tehranian 1999; Thussu 2000). It is therefore rather ironic that media and communication scholars have not been at the forefront of theorising globalisation. Most definitions and theories are extremely vague or do not mention the role of the media and communications at all. Media scholars furthermore tend to focus on national or local issues and therefore tend to miss the bigger picture of global interconnectedness and contribute little to the academic discourse on globalisation. When globalisation theorists do consider the role of the media and ICTs, they usually refer only to cultural globalisation. However, Rantanen (2005) objects to the tendency to limit the role of communication. He deems it necessary to acknowledge the role of the media and Communications in general theories of globalisation, as well as in discussions of all the various domains – economic, political, social as well as cultural. As already indicated, discourses and research on globalisation within international communication have been dominated by debates within the structuralism approach. These focus on whether the nature of the international flow of media and cultural products can be regarded as strictly one-way traffic and therefore as Western domination – in other words cultural imperialism (Thussu 2000). Post-structuralism, on the other hand, argue that counter-flow from the centre to the periphery, and between geocultural regions does exist. Moreover, cultural interactions are much more complex than proposed by imperialism and structuralism theories, with cultural flows moving in multiple directions and creating complex outcomes with regard to both homogenisation and heterogenisation (Hannerz 1997). Rantanen (2005) points to some other interesting areas of theorising to highlight the role of communication in all spheres of globalisation. The first is the role, effects and far reaching consequences of mediated communication on all levels of society – locally as well as globally. Thompson (1995) points out that the development of global media and ICT networks have not merely created new networks for the dissemination of information across spatial boundaries, but have established new forms of action, interaction and social relations that are different from the face-to-face interactions which characterised human societies through the centuries. This is typified as ‘mediated interaction’, where the term ‘mediation’ can be defined as an active process of establishing relations between different kinds of being and consciousness that are invariably mediated (Williams 1977). Rantanen (2005: 8) presents the following alternative definition for globalisation, which takes into account the role of mediated communication in all domains: ‘Globalization is a process in which worldwide economic, political, cultural and social relations have increasingly become mediated across time and space.’ Tomlinson (1994) also emphasises the different forms of experience that characterise globalisation. People experience the global in their everyday situated lives within the local sphere or, as stated by Giddens (1991), the local sphere is penetrated and influenced by distant events. Thus the nature of structures in the local sphere is not only a presentation of what is visible on the scene, but also reflects so-called ‘distanciated’ relations. Social relations are consequently disembodied from local contexts of interaction and stretch across time and spatial boundaries. According to Tomlinson there is a distinct difference between mass-mediated and non-mass-mediated experience: due to the establishment International communication: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest of global media networks, mass-mediated experience is often global and distanciated, whereas non-mass-mediated experiences concern the local sphere. Rantanen (2005) draws the conclusion that globalisation changes people’s lives and human society by introducing new forms of interaction and experience. Communication scientists can make a unique and invaluable contribution by theorising and researching the impact and consequences of these changes. In doing so, they

should not restrict themselves to the cultural domain, but should explore the role of (international) communication on globalisation on all levels.

## 2.8 Summary

International communication has its own history. News have already been 'internationalized' in the fifteenth century: the wheat traders of Venice, the silver traders of Antwerp, the merchants of Nuremberg and their trading partners shared economic newsletters and created common values and beliefs in the rights of capital. The commercialization of mass print media (due to steam engine technology) has led to internationally operating news agencies (Reuters, Associated Press, AFP) in the nineteenth century. World wire and cable systems allowed international communication between France, Germany and Great Britain to their colonies in Africa and Asia. Transnational media organisations such as Intelsat, Eurovision, founded in the middle of the 20th century were the starting point for a new idea of international communication. It was the establishment of internationally operating media systems, such as CNN and MTV by individual companies which have finally inaugurated a new age of global communication by distributing the same program "around the world in thirty minutes" (as a CNN slogan states) - across nations and cultures.

## 2.9 Self Assessment Question

1. Elaborate the evolution of International Communication.

## 2.10 Reference Books:

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

### Lesson-3

## TYPES AND CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION AND EMERGENCE OF LONG DISTANCE COMMUNICATION

### 3.0 Objectives

After reading the lesson, the student, will be conversant about

- Types of communication
- Traditional forms of communication
- Maps as channels of communication

### STRUCTURE

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Types of Communication
- 3.3 Traditional forms of Communication
- 3.4 Post traditional forms of Communication
- 3.5 Maps as international communication channels
- 3.6 Travel as Communication
- 3.7 Summary
- 3.8 Self Assessment Questions
- 3.9 Reference Books

### 3.1 Introduction

When it comes to normal human communication we can find two main parts of communication channels. One is verbal communication and the other is nonverbal communication. If we think of communication based on style and purpose we can categorize it into two main parts, formal and informal communication. We can categorize communication on many other forms and bases as well.

### 3.2 Types of communication

There are two main parts of channel communication. Verbal communication can be categorized into two parts, oral communication and written communication. Oral communication is when two or more parties communicate verbally with words. The conversation can be short range or long range. Spoken conversation is of a short range and communicating through a telephone or voice chat over the internet. The other type is written communication. Written communication can happen through normal mail, e-mail, or any other form of documented writing. Non-verbal communication is mostly body language. It is possible to understand what a person is trying to say or how he/she is feeling. It is also possible to tell the mood of a person by

bodily and facial expressions. Facial expressions are very important as well. Facial expressions give out what the person is feeling. The face is the first thing we notice in a person and the facial muscles give out most of the human expressions. Pictures, sign boards and photographs are also a part of non-verbal communication. When we consider style and purpose we can divide it into two sub groups, formal communication and informal communication. Formal communication includes all forms of formal exchanges of information. Business communication and corporate communication are some of the formal communication methods. For an example office meetings, writing memos and official letters are some of the formal communication methods. The basic difference is that all communication under this category is very official and precise. Informal communication is the opposite of the above. It is a form of casual conversation or exchange of communication. This type of communication happens out side of the business or corporate community or between freely understanding parties. The two or more parties in concern should understand a common language or method of communication. There are no strong rules or guidelines; the only rule is that all the parties should be able to understand each other. This kind of communication does not require a certain topic. It is just normal conversation between known people. There are other types of communication as well, such as vertical and horizontal communication. This is the kind of communication that happens between seniors and subordinates. Personal communication is a situation of mutual communication and impersonal communication is the exchange of information without personal communication. Instrumental communication is the kind of communication required for jobs. Expressive communication is unofficial type of communication. All these types of communication are used through out the world to exchange and understand information. Even though communication has been categorized as mentioned above all these methods are used together. In real life a categorization of communication happens very really. All the classifications come to gather and form a stream line of communication.

### **3.3 Traditional forms of communication**

The modern means of mass communication, press, radio, TV, telephone etc., are an integral part of today's modern world, without which life can hardly be imaginable. It is recognised that communication is an essential element of each epoch and every society. Traditional forms of communication are for instance myths; story-telling; songs; proverbs; religious rituals; artistic, musical, dance and theatrical elements, as well as armaments depicted on pottery, textiles and wood. These forms differ greatly from each other, being characterized - among others - by their own particular society, and by economic, social and religious characteristics. Myths give witness to reflections and observations of nature and human beings. They convey a view of life, depicting the position of human being. On this basis, values and standard are shared and rules laid down concerning behaviour towards nature and relationships between men.

#### ***Traditional communication fulfils several functions.***

a) The passing on of knowledge and experience (agricultural, social, botanical, meteorological, etc).

b) One further aspect of traditional communication is the conveyance of moral concepts: moral and social standards such as legal patterns which rule the co-existence of human being, their dealings with natural resources, and regulates their behaviour towards foreigners.

c) Other myths and tales give the answer to questions of vital significance to human being, such as the sense in grief, of illness and death. These helped - and still help - by overcoming such situations.

d) Information concerning historical events concerning society as a whole or ancestral tales serves to form the identity of a person or a society, and strengthen their solidarity.

Activities which from a utilitarian point of view seem meaningless (e.g. story-telling, dancing, singing, performing of religious ceremonies), play however an important role in the functioning of social order and the ensuring of economic foundations. In this way traditional communications serve finally the survival of the group itself. Traditional forms of communication are ritually repeated on special occasions, e.g. of annual or lifetime celebrations. In this way they renew and prove their worth and experience, and in so doing are communicated to the younger generation. Traditional communication forms are a part of the culture of the relevant society. They are familiar to the members, are used by them and understood by all. Very often they take the form of social events (e.g. parties, celebrations).

### **3.4 Post traditional forms of communication**

These include: newspapers, news agencies and telecommunications which we will study in detail in the following lessons. Emergence of long distance communication through various channels of communication For millennia, people lived near one another in small communities. The few large cities were small by today's standards. People's kinship and friendship circles determined the extent of their worlds. The medieval peasant's entire life was spent within a radius of no more than thirty or forty kilometres from his or her place of birth. Only wars, migrations, and travelling pilgrimages brought strange faces into these isolated communities. Even in the early part of the twentieth century, the average person still lived in the country side, knew of the world only through travellers' tales, and had very little contact with foreigners. At the height of British imperialism, only a few Britons had set foot outside England on the empire on which "the sun never set". Long-distance communication moved at an agonizingly slow speed. In the 1830s' a letter from Europe to India might take five to eight months by sailing ship around the cape- in each direction. It took as long as two years to send a letter and receive a reply.

### **3.5 Maps as international communication channels**

For centuries, our knowledge of faraway peoples and places depended on reports and maps from courageous sailors. Twenty-eight hundred years ago, the Greeks had become accomplished mariners and had colonized large portions of the eastern Mediterranean. The first book on geography showed a circular, flat earth surrounded by water. The Romans learned geography from the Greeks and used this knowledge to reach the red sea, the Persian gulf, and even the northern India. Early maps reflected not only what explorers found but also what they hoped to find. The third century roman grammarian Gaius Julius solinus told horse footed

humans with ears so long the flaps covered their entire bodies, making clothing unnecessary. One-eyed savages downed mead from cups made from their parent's skulls. These depictions of foreigners found their way onto our maps until the eighteenth century. During the thousand year period of the Middle Ages in Europe, cartographers added little new knowledge to their visions of the world. They relied heavily on mythology and the bible and depicted the earth as a flat disk with Jerusalem at the centre. Only six hundred years ago, Portuguese seafarers still believed that south or west of Cape Boiardo in Africa there were wild storms, huge reptiles and strange human creatures. Maps showed fierce griffins and people without heads, men with dogs heads and six toes, horned pygmies, "cyclopean" with only one eye and one foot, and amazons with tears made of silver. How do our maps compare today? Of course, our ability to map our planet has increased dramatically in the last few decades. Satellite images of our earth's surface give us a pride of place. Yet many of our mental maps of the world today still portray stereotyped images of foreigners.

### 3.6 Travel as communication

Throughout history people have communicated across the globe as tourists and merchants. In 1271 in the company of his father and uncle the great Venetian explorer Marco polo left Italy "to carry the word of god" to Asia. Remarkably his travels were the primary source for the European image of the Far East for six hundred years. After four years of arduous travel, Marco polo's party reached the city of shan-tu, the summer capital of the Mongol emperors near present day Beijing. There they met for the first time the great lords of Kublai khan, whose grandfather, the fearsome Genghis khan, had swept over the entire face of Asia from the China Sea to Baltic Sea. Marco polo and his entourage were not sure what fate lay in store for them. But the polo's had nothing to fear. The great khan's earlier exploits into the nether realms of western Asia and Eastern Europe had made him familiar with Europeans and their customs. Kublai khan saw in Christianity a civilizing influence for his people. When the polo's arrived, they were both expected and welcomed. Polo's account stood virtually alone as a description of the Far East until supplemented by the chronicles of the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci, which appeared in 1615. Interestingly, the spread of Christianity and Islam was also due to the extensive travel network. The Catholic Church launched a number of military expeditions to protect Jerusalem from Muslims. Collectively known as crusades, these campaigns "can be seen in retrospect as a major chapter in the evolution of international communication". The church organized and promoted participation in the crusades through oral and written communications through Europe. The crusades expanded the volume and extended the range of trading routes in the eastern Mediterranean. Communication with Asia was improved as missionaries were sent to the Mongol khans to persuade them to join an alliance against Islam. The spread of Islam was also due in large measure to the extensive travel network of caravans and sea transportation. Scholars and intellectuals travelled all over the Muslim world seeking and bringing religious knowledge. Long distance Muslim communication was stimulated through hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca. Not until the eighteenth century did the leisure time available to Europe's aristocracy lead to a fashion for travel among the wealthier classes. In Britain was born the idea of the "grand tour" an educational journey that consisted of a year or two of travel and learning in the major cities of Western Europe. But it was not until the industrial revolution that long distance tourism became attractive to more than the privileged elite. *Human couriers*. For secure communication, nothing can surpass human leg power. Ancient messengers were given some mnemonic devices



such as a notched stick to indicate numbers of days or warriors. Emperor Augustus of Rome developed an elaborate courier system using horses, carriages, and relay stations. Messengers could travel about thirty five kilometres per day. The Romans even had an “express service”. News of the revolt of the Rhine army travelled over the Alps in winter to Rome in nine days at the incredible rate of about 250 kilometres per day. Ancient postal services Marco polo reported that the Mongols of Kublai khan had an elaborate postal system. Three thousand years ago postal runners delivered news and letters to many Chinese towns and villages. Even airmail was known to the ancients. Carrier pigeons have been used to send messages since before the time of Christ. King Solomon improved on land mail by exchanging letters with the queen of Sheba by means of messenger pigeons in about 1000 B.C.E. The Arabs established the animal service with pigeons in 12<sup>th</sup> century. Pigeons were also used successfully to carry news during 1848 revolt in France. Diplomatic channels are used in international communication to promote a country’s view or to carry the message. Diplomatic agents are the persons who reside in foreign countries as representatives of the state to perform an act of diplomacy. Diplomacy is a profession which requires discretion, patience, accurate reporting and absolute honesty (Agarwal, 2000:256). Diplomacy also involves representation, negotiation, persuasion and bargaining as the external life of a state is conducted in pursuit of its interests, power and order. The goals of diplomacy are understanding, compromise and agreement (Frey, 1989:36). The practice of sending and receiving diplomatic agents by states is followed since the ancient time. Mythological, Sri Krishna was sent to the Kauravas on the behalf of the Pandavas to represent the case of the latter to the emperor, Drutarashtra. However, historical evidence shows that Seleucus, the general of Alexander, sent an ambassador, Mega thanes to represent him at the court of Chandragupta Maurya. Megasthenes wrote an interesting account of those days (Nehru, 1994:62). Chandragupta’s son Bindusara maintained contacts with the Greek, and ambassadors came to his court from Ptolemy of Egypt, and particularly Antiochus, the son of Seleucus. Even Asoka, the son of Bindusara, sent his ambassadors to the kingdoms of the West in Asia, Europe and Africa (Nehru, 1994). He sent his brother, Mahendra and sister Sangamitra to Ceylon. The modern features of diplomacy began in the late fifteenth century in the Italian city-states. The practice of sending diplomatic agents permanently started from the seventeenth century (Agarwal, 2000:257). In the twentieth century, particularly after World War I, significant changes took place in the arena of diplomacy. Economic, commercial, technological and cultural questions became a part of diplomacy. However, the Congress of Vienna in 1815 for the first time codified the customary rules of the diplomatic agents according to the principles of international law. These rules classify diplomatic agents as ambassadors, ministers plenipotentiary and envoys extraordinary, and charges d’ affaires. Ambassadors are considered to be the personal representatives of the Heads of their states and therefore, they enjoy special honours such as the title of excellence. Ambassador’s works in the group of commonwealth countries are known as high commissioners. Normally, ambassadors are appointed with the consent of the receiving state. The ministers plenipotentiary and envoys extraordinary are considered equally on par with ambassadors, but they do not carry the special honour such as Excellency. Charges d’ affaires are accredited by the Head of the State but by the foreign office to the foreign office. They do not enjoy honours or titles. These diplomatic agents discharge, specifically, five functions: represent their country at all diplomatic meetings; protect the interests of the state, negotiate on behalf of the state, observe the proceedings and events that take place in the accredited state, and promote friendly relations. In order to discharge these functions, diplomatic agents are free to communicate any information for official purposes to the

state by which they are accredited. The freedom of communication includes the use of couriers and code messages. Diplomats also rely on extensive communication and information systems. Computer communications, satellite systems, television transmission, international broadcasts, spy satellites, electronic monitoring, and detection devices. These and other technologies have transformed the work of the diplomats. With the increase in mass communication channels, public diplomacy has gained ground in the diplomatic circles. Other channels through which long distance communication has emerged include print media, telecommunications, interpersonal channels, and technical channels which we will study in detail in the following lessons.

### **3.7 Summary**

All these types of communication are used through out the world to exchange and understand information. Even though communication has been categorized as mentioned above all these methods are used together. In real life a categorization of communication happens very really. All the classifications come to gather and form a stream line of communication.

### **3.8 Self Assessment Questions**

1. Explore the travel of communication.
2. Discuss about the types of communication.

### **3.9 Reference Books**

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merril : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

**Lesson-4****TELE COMMUNICATION****4.0 Objectives**

After reading the lesson, the student, will learn about

- History of telecommunication
- Telegraph and telephone
- Radio and television

**STRUCTURE****4.1 Introduction****4.2 History****4.3 Telegraph and telephone****4.4 Radio and television****4.5 Computer networks and the Internet****4.6 Composition of telephones****4.7 Summary****4.8 Self Assessment Questions****4.9 Reference Books****4.1 Introduction**

Telecommunication is the transmission of information over significant distances to communicate. In earlier times, telecommunications involved the use of visual signals, or audio messages such as coded drumbeats, lung-blown horns, and loud whistles. In modern times, telecommunications involves the use of electrical devices such as the telegraph, telephone, and teleprinter, as well as the use of radio and microwave communications, as well as fibre optics and their associated electronics, plus the use of the orbiting satellites and the Internet. The word telecommunication was adapted from the French word telecommunication, tele-meaning "far off", and the Latin communicate, meaning "to share"..

**4.2 History**

Greek hydraulic semaphore systems were used as early as the 4th century BC. The hydraulic semaphores, which worked with water filled vessels and visual signals, functioned as optical telegraphs. During the Middle Ages, chains of beacons were commonly used on hilltops

as a means of relaying a signal. Beacon chains suffered the drawback that they could only pass a single bit of information, so the meaning of the message such as "the enemy has been sighted" had to be agreed upon in advance. .

### 4.3 Telegraph and telephone



**Image-1**

The first commercial electrical telegraph was constructed by Sir Charles Wheatstone and Sir William Fothergill Cooke, and its use began on April 9, 1839. Both Wheatstone and Cooke viewed their device as "an improvement to the [already-existing, so-called] electromagnetic telegraph" not as a new device.



**Image-2**

The first permanent transatlantic telegraph cable was successfully completed on 27 July 1866, allowing transatlantic electrical communication for the first time. An earlier transatlantic cable had operated for a few months in 1859, and among other things, it carried messages of greeting back and forth between President James Buchanan of the United States and Queen Victoria of the United Kingdom. However, that transatlantic cable failed soon, and the project to lay a replacement line was delayed for five years by the American Civil War. Also, these transatlantic cables would have been completely incapable of carrying telephone calls even had the telephone already been invented. The first transatlantic telephone cable (which incorporated hundreds of electronic amplifiers) was not operational until 1956. The conventional telephone now in use worldwide was first patented by Alexander Graham Bell in March 1876. That first

patent by Bell was the master patent of the telephone, from which all other patents for electric telephone devices and features flowed. Credit for the invention of the electric telephone has been frequently disputed, and new controversies over the issue have arisen from time-to-time. As with other great inventions such as radio, television, the light bulb, and the digital computer, there were several inventors who did pioneering experimental work on voice transmission over a wire, and then they improved on each other's ideas. However, the key innovators were Alexander Graham Bell and Gardiner Greene Hubbard, who created the first telephone company, the Bell Telephone Company in the United States, which later evolved into American Telephone & Telegraph (AT&T). The first commercial telephone services were set up in 1878 and 1879 on both sides of the Atlantic in the cities of New Haven, Connecticut, and London, England.

#### 4.4 Radio and television

In 1832, James Lindsay gave a classroom demonstration of wireless telegraphy via conductive water to his students. By 1854, he was able to demonstrate a transmission across the Firth of Tay from Dundee, Scotland, to Woodhaven, a distance of about two miles (3 km), again using water as the transmission medium.



**Image-3 (T.V.)**

On March 25, 1925, John Logie Baird of Scotland was able to demonstrate the transmission of moving pictures at the Selfridge's department store in London, England. Baird's system relied upon the fast-rotating Nipkow disk, and thus it became known as the mechanical television. However, for most of the 20th century, television systems were designed around the cathode ray tube, invented by Karl Braun. Television, however, is not solely a technology, limited to its basic and practical application. It functions both as an appliance, and also as a means for social storytelling and message dissemination. It is a cultural tool that provides a communal experience of receiving information and experiencing fantasy. It acts as a “window to the world” by bridging audiences from all over through programming of stories, triumphs, and tragedies that are outside of personal experiences.

#### 4.5 Computer networks and the Internet

On 11 September 1940, George Stibitz was able to transmit problems using teleprinter to his Complex Number Calculator in New York and receive the computed results back at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire. This configuration of a centralized computer or mainframe computer with remote "dumb terminals" remained popular throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s. However, it was not until the 1960s that researchers started to investigate packet switching — a technology that allows chunks of data to be sent between different computers without first passing through a centralized mainframe. A four-node network emerged on December 5, 1969. This network soon became the ARPANET, which by 1981 would consist of 213 nodes.



**Image-4**

ARPANET's development centred on the Request for Comment process and on 7 April 1969, RFC 1 was published. This process is important because ARPANET would eventually merge with other networks to form the Internet, and many of the communication protocols that the Internet relies upon today were specified through the Request for Comment process. In September 1981, RFC 791 introduced the Internet Protocol version 4 (IPv4) and RFC 793 introduced the Transmission Control Protocol (TCP) — thus creating the TCP/IP protocol that much of the Internet relies upon today India is currently considered a global powerhouse of Information Technology (IT) and IT-enabled services (ITeS). According to Nasscom, India's software industry trade association, nearly 2 million people are currently employed by the IT industry (Nasscom, 2008). In addition, according to the Nasscom-McKinsey Report (McKinsey, 2005) the IT-ITeS sector is estimated to have helped create an additional 3 million job opportunities through indirect and induced employment, such as those created in telecommunications, power, construction, facility management, transportation, catering and other services. With its low-cost, high-tech, English speaking workforce, India has clearly benefited from the global IT outsourcing trend. According to the Nasscom Indian IT industry factsheet (Nasscom, 2008), the Indian IT-BPO industry is expected to grow by 33 percent and reach US\$ 64 billion in FY 2008. Out of this, IT exports are expected to cross US\$ 40.8 billion in FY 2008, an increase of 28 percent over FY 2007. In fact, every sub-sector of India's IT industry has experienced accelerated growth rates since 2004, as attested by the graph (Figure 1) shown below. The variety and share of service offerings are provided in Figure. Today India's cities bustle with technological progress fuelled by its IT industry. More and more Indians work in the IT industry and more and more Indians have access to the Internet, which is used for e-

commerce, e-governance, rural development and information dissemination and communication. However, not everybody agrees with this picture of development. Major segments of Indian intelligentsia argue that despite the much-hyped growth, India's development is lopsided, with rural areas largely underdeveloped and untouched by technology developments in urban areas. This is especially so with regards to the reach of information and communications technologies (ICT) in rural areas. More than 700 million Indians live in rural areas, and far-flung villages do not yet have basic services such as electricity, sanitation and water, much less telecommunication services. The prohibitive costs of connecting rural areas and the non-availability of appropriate, cost-effective technologies that work in remote rural areas have been cited as main reasons for the lopsided development.

### ***The (Continuing) Evolution of India's Telecom Policy Subramanian***

This situation is gradually receiving increased attention from politicians, governmental agencies, technologists and non-governmental agencies (NGOs). That is not to say that the issues have not received any attention in the past. The Government of India (GOI) has always been interested in rural development, and has actively tried to influence and engineer rural development through technology policy, over the years. However, those efforts have gained much stronger focus during the last decade of the twentieth century, coinciding with the gradual liberalization of India's economy coupled with the above-mentioned growth of India's IT sector. Today there is increasing emphasis on narrowing the "digital divide" by bringing IT developments, especially telecommunications and the Internet to rural areas. Telecommunications technology is considered to be a vehicle to bring economic development to rural India, which in turn would enable further telecommunications use and development. Given this, the issue of rural telecommunications is being addressed at several levels: The governmental level, non-governmental level (NGOs), private-enterprise level and the scientific/research level (at academic and research institutions). New telecommunications policies that more clearly reflect the new economic, political and technological realities that have emerged in the last decade of the twentieth century have been proposed and enacted. Several NGOs have undertaken rural networking projects with the help of international aid agencies. New policies have opened up the telecommunications arena to private enterprises, and this has led to the development of greater telecommunications infrastructure in the country. This paper seeks to focus on evolution of telecommunications policies in India, discuss the philosophy behind the policies, their successes and failures over the years, current trends and the future outlook for telecommunications in India. Our information comes primarily from published literature, conference presentations, personal interviews and newspaper articles.

### **The Colonial History of Telecommunications in India**

India officially came under the British rule in 1757, when Robert Clive led the forces of the East India Company and defeated the army of Siraj-ud-daulah, the Nawab (Muslim equivalent of the King) of Bengal (Lal, 2008). In 1848, James Andrew Broun Ramsay, Marquee of Dalhousie (1812 – 1860), also known as Lord Dalhousie, was appointed the governor - general of India by the East India Company. His mission was simple: to unify India, a land of numerous kingdoms, and control it. Under his enthusiastic support, the first telegraph lines in India were laid in 1851 by the British government. These were mostly installed near Calcutta,

which was then the headquarters of the British government in India. The British rulers were primarily interested in telecommunications as a law-and-order maintenance tool (Headrick, 1998). In 1876, Alexander Graham Bell was issued a patent for inventing the telephone (Bell, 1876), and in 1877 the Bell Telephone Company was created. Less than five years hence, in 1881, British firms brought the first POTS (Plain Old Telephone Service) to India. These firms were granted license to operate until 1944 by the British government. At the time of India's independence in 1947, these firms had set up 321 telephone exchanges, mostly in five Indian cities, 86,000 working lines and 338 long-distance public-call offices. The telephone density (teledensity) was 0.025 (Mody, 1995). *Teledensity* is defined as the number of telephones per 100 people. The Indian Post Office and the Indian Telegraph Department operated as two separate services until 1914, when they were joined together under a single Director-General.

### **Present Status**

The Indian telecom network with 895.51 million telephone connections, including 864.72 million wireless telephone connections, at the end of December 2012 is second largest network in the world after China. Out of this, 338.59 million telephone connections are in rural areas and 556.92 million are in urban areas of the country. There were 24.01 million Internet subscribers including 14.68 million Broadband subscribers at the end of September 2012. The number of Broadband subscribers increased to 14.98 million, end of December 2012.

### **Network status during current financial year (2012-13)**

The total number of telephones continued to increase till June 2012 and increased from 951.35 million to 965.52 million during the period April to June 2012. Thereafter, number of telephone connections declined to 895.51 million by the end of December 2012. The decline in telecom user base after June 2012 has been primarily due to the removal of inactive mobile telephone connections by the service providers. The rural telephones have increased from 330.83 million to 343.88 million during the period April to June 2012 and declined thereafter to 338.59 million by the end of December 2012. The urban telephones increased from 620.52 million to 621.65 million during the period April to June 2012 and then declined to 556.92 million by the end of December 2012. The Chart below indicates the number of connections at the end of each month during the year 2012-13 (April - December 2012).

### **Tele-density**

Tele-density, which shows the number of telephones per 100 populations, is an important indicator of telecom penetration in the country. Tele-density, which was 78.66% at the end of

March 2012, increased to 79.58% by the end of June 2012 and then declined to 73.34% by the end of December 2012. Among the service areas, Tamil Nadu (109.64%) has the highest teledensity followed by Himachal Pradesh (102.76%), Punjab (101.92%), Kerala (100.76%) and Karnataka (91.26%). Among the three metros, Delhi tops with 220.00% tele-density, followed by Mumbai (159.57%) and Kolkata (155.10%). On the other hand, the service areas such as Assam (46.50%), Bihar (46.53%), M.P. (52.23%), U.P. (56.20%), West Bengal (56.85%) and J&K (58.41%) have comparatively low tele-density. There has been slight improvement in the rural tele-density during 2012-13 and it increased from 39.26% at the end of March 2012 to



39.90% at the end of December 2012. However, the urban tele-density decreased from 169.17% to 149.55% during this period.

## **4.6 Composition of telephones**

### **Public vs Private**

Operator-wise classification, at the end of December 2012, reveals that PSUs still have a large share of nearly 79.57% in the wire line segment. Private operators, on the other hand, have a share of 87.83% in the wireless segment. Overall, Bharti Group with 20.68% of the total telephones, both landlines and mobiles taken together, in the country has the largest share followed by Vodafone Group (16.47%), two PSUs BSNL & MTNL put together (14.49%), Reliance (13.38%) and Idea (12.72%) etc. The share of private sector, in terms of number of subscribers, increased from 86.31% to 86.64% during the period from April to June 2012 and thereafter declined to 85.51% by the end of December 2012. On the other hand, share of public sector declined from 13.69% to 13.36% during the period April to June 2012 and then increased to 14.49% by the end of December 2012.

### **Wire line vs Wireless**

As far as the technology is concerned, the preference for use of wireless telephony continues. The share of wireless telephones increased from 96.62% as on 31.03.2012 to 96.74% by the end of June 2012 and thereafter slightly declined to 96.56% by the end of December 2012. On the other hand, the share of landline telephones slightly increased from 3.38% to 3.44% during the period from April to December 2012.

### **Broadband**

Increase in Broadband connectivity is being seen as an integral driver of improved socioeconomic performance. Broadband services empower masses and allow individuals to access new career and educational opportunities, help businesses reach new markets and improve efficiency and enhance the Government's capacity to deliver critical services like health, banking and commerce to all of its citizens. There were 14.98 million Broadband subscribers in the country by the end of December 2012. Provision of Broadband in rural and remote areas will also help in bridging 'digital divide' and the widespread adoption of broadband in rural areas will have a multiplier effect over the long-term. It will help improve productivity in rural areas, help overcome the constraints of an inadequate transport infrastructure and overall improve the quality of life in rural areas. Given the significant economic and social benefits, expanding affordable access to broadband has become a high priority for the Government. Various schemes have been launched by USOF for providing broadband connectivity to rural & remote areas.

**Present Status of the Telecommunication Sector (As on December 31, 2012)**

- Indian telecom network is second largest in the world after China.
- The country has 895.51 million telephone connections, including 864.72 million wireless telephone connections.
- Overall tele-density in the country is 73.34%.
- Urban tele-density is 149.55%, whereas rural tele-density is 39.90%.
- The share of wireless telephones in total telephones is 96.56%.
- The share of private sector in total telephones is 85.51%.
- Number of Broadband connections is 14.98 million.

**The Post-Independence Period**

After independence, the Indian leaders led by India's prime-minister Jawaharlal Nehru adopted a socialist economic model for India, marked by central planning. A cautious India was determined to attain security and self-sufficiency without the help or assistance of any extraneous nation. Indigenous industrial development was the "mantra" of the newly formed nation and its leaders. In such a climate, overt capitalism, foreign investment and foreign collaboration in any industrial endeavour were either disallowed or frowned upon. Industrial and economic policies that reflected these ideals were created. This brought about the "license raj" or rule-by-permit era in India. Any type of entrepreneurial endeavour was guided and permitted only through permits, with complicated rules for obtaining them. Foreign imports of equipment were strictly regulated. Foreign collaborations were controlled. The general perception was that the state could be trusted, whereas the market could not. Large state enterprises were set up for all industrial sectors (e.g. oil, gas, steel, electronics, power, minerals). The Indian government decided that its telephone and telegraph systems would be a government monopoly administered by its own civil service (Menon, 1999). Thus, at the time of independence, all foreign telecommunications companies were nationalized to create the Posts and Telegraphs Department (P & T)<sup>1</sup>, a state-run monopoly. In doing this, the central government retained complete control of telecommunications, a legacy of British colonial rule which had enacted the Indian Telegraph Act of 1885 which gave the central government complete authority over telegraph technology. In addition, P & T provided employment for hundreds of thousands of Indians, thus becoming a vehicle for employment and welfare. Under the P & T monopoly, telephones were not considered as an essential service. Rather, it was considered to be a luxury. New telephone lines were added only to cities and metropolitan centres. Service and maintenance were poor. International connectivity was poor. Telecommunications Union (ITU) workshop in Mongolia (Singh, 2003) shows that even in 2002, the waiting list for telephone connections in rural India was about 1 million. During the years of the P & T monopoly, rural telecommunications infrastructure underwent a benign neglect. There was no shortage of lip service provided by

politicians who clearly saw the potential of telecommunications to national, especially the development of India's nearly 600,000 villages, where 70% of the population lived. But real developments were woefully short in coming. As stated by Bella Mody (Mody, 1995), unlike other industry sectors deemed critical for national development and security (i.e. energy, manufacturing, nuclear technology, etc.), telecommunications did not have any champions. Research and development in the telecommunications sector was non-existent. The P & T often procured obsolete technology from other countries and tried to adapt them to local conditions. Other problems included the enormous cost of developing infrastructure in rural India, and the rural populace's low level of economic development, which severely undercut such a population's ability to pay for telecommunications service. As suggested by Souter (Souter, 1999), the economic development of rural areas depends on telecommunication infrastructure and related services. But such infrastructure and services cannot occur unless the rural population has enough disposable income to purchase telecom services. As noted by Jain and Sridhar (Jain & Sridhar, 2003), the level of investment required for rural telecommunications development cannot be practically borne by just a government-run monopoly – infusion of capital from the private sector is very important. However, that was not possible under the Indian regulatory conditions. In a period of 50 years, from 1948 to 1998, the total growth in teledensity was a shocking 1.92 percent. Much of India did not have any telecommunications facilities. In areas that did have telecommunications, the equipment was obsolete, the service was scratchy, and the cost was very high.

### **The Beginnings of Economic Liberalization and Effects on Telecom Policy**

By the early 1980s, the Indian policy makers began to realize that India's closed economy, with its Byzantine rules and policies had not resulted in the development that had been hoped. Instead, the permit raj had only increased corruption, enhanced protectionism and resulted in an inefficient economy. Since the 1960s, the Government of India had made up for shortfalls in its economy, and subsequent decrease in exports and increase in imports, through financial aid from agencies such as the International Development Agency (IDA), The Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. But in the early 1980s, the United States, under Ronald Reagan, started getting decidedly unenthusiastic about continuing aid and loans under favourable conditions to India. Under these tightening financial conditions, the Indian Government, under Indira Gandhi, started taking steps towards liberalizing the economy by relaxing some import restrictions, which would enable eventual exports enhancements from India. In 1984 Rajiv Gandhi was elected prime minister. He embarked on a program of easing restrictions on the import of high-tech items, especially electronics, computers and telecommunications equipment. India's economic restructuring began during this time. In 1985, telecommunications was separated from P & T, and the Department of Telecommunications (DoT) was set up, under the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology. The DoT became the exclusive provider of both local and long distance services. It was headed by career bureaucrats, and followed strict bureaucratic administrative procedures. According to Mody (Mody, 1995), due to the separation of telecommunications from the P & T, the profits that accrued from telecom remained within the DoT. But clearly, the combination of bureaucracy, welfare-type employment, and bad technology made the services far from satisfactory. Within one year, complaints about on the poor service from DoT started coming in from government, businesses and private users. This led in 1986 to the creation of the

Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Limited (MTNL), a public-sector “corporation” to run the telephone services in metropolitan areas such as Delhi and Mumbai. The Videsh Sanchar Nigam Limited is another public-sector corporation, was also created 1986 to run international telecommunications. This was the “corporatization” of the government’s department. It was hoped that this move would bring professionalism to telecommunications. Employees were eligible for profitability based salary raises. But these corporations were still controlled, directly or indirectly, by the DoT. Rajiv Gandhi had initiated the de-monopolization of the telecommunications sector, but the DoT selected the firms and the technologies for importing foreign technologies. The heavily unionized DoT was unhappy with this corporatization, nevertheless. They saw this as the first step towards privatization. They protested the higher wage earning potential of the newly formed corporations. This resulted in the appointment of a committee, the Athreya Committee, to restructure DoT. The Athreya Committee recommended further corporatization and recommended *five* independent corporations, with MTNL at the apex, and recommended that DoT become an independent regulatory agency (Athreya, 1991). However, this recommendation was not taken up seriously by the ministers and politicians who feared further backlash from the labor unions and DoT bureaucrats. The same ministers and bureaucrats also rejected recommendations (by the Rangarajan Committee of the Reserve Bank) for government disinvestment of up to 49% in public-sector companies. Nevertheless, more and more modern telecommunications equipment started being manufactured in India by Indian firms with tie-ups with foreign companies.

### **CONNECTING RURAL INDIA: THE ROLE OF THE NON-RESIDENT INDIAN**

India’s efforts at developing rural areas through telecom connectivity got a big boost in 1984 through Sam Pitroda, an Indian technologist and entrepreneur settled in the U.S. Sam Pitroda went to the U.S. in the 1960s for a graduate degree in electrical engineering from the Illinois Institute of Technology, and then worked at GTE, where he quickly earned several patents in the field of telecom switching technology. He then became a partner at Wescom Switching, where his switching equipment was sold. He later sold his stake to Rockwell International for \$ 50 million (Economist, 1987). A vacation in India in 1980 brought him face to face with the Indian telecom situation, and Pitroda decided to focus on helping Indian telecom achieve its objective of connecting rural areas. Under the patronage of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, he started the Center for Development of Telematics (C-DOT), an autonomous (but government-backed) organization set up to research and develop telecom switching systems to connect villages and cities. Under Pitroda’s leadership, C-DOT quickly produced four switches on schedule. These switches soon went into mass production. Pitroda started the concept of the PCO, or Public Call Office, which is a small shop located in markets, grocery shops, pharmacies, and other public places. Each PCO was equipped with a public phone manned by entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurs took a small commission on the use of the phone. The PCOs thus became an employment vehicle while providing telecom connectivity to much of India in the 1980s. They soon became ubiquitous in India’s vast countryside and cities. The PCO phones worked well, and used the switches developed at C-DOT. But Pitroda’s success and access to the Prime Minister earned him accolades as well as criticisms from competitors which included Alcatel, a Dutch company that produced switches in India. In 1987 Pitroda joined the Rajiv Gandhi government as Minister of State for Technology. In 1989 he became the first elected non-DoT head of the Telecommunications Commission, the formal policy-making body of the DoT.

However, according to Mody (Mody, 1995), this policy-making body did not achieve much due to inter-ministerial turf battles, such as whether electronic switches should be under the control of the Department of Electronics or continue under DoT. Again, Pitroda's close connection with the Prime Minister's office led to charges of corruption. After Rajiv Gandhi's death in 1991, Pitroda resigned from the Telecom Commission and decided to move back to the U.S. (Hughlett, 2007). Pitroda's efforts however have been very successful. Today, C-DOT's product portfolio spans world-class Digital Switching Systems, Intelligent Network Solutions, Access Network products, Voice over IP solutions, SDH & WDM technologies, Satellite Communication Systems, Network Management Systems and Operation Support Systems (C-DOT, 2008). C-DOT's achievements, listed on the same web site, include:

- Technology based Systems from 200 Lines to 40,000 lines capacity in operation
- More than 30,000 C-DOT Exchanges totalling approximately 25 million telephone lines installed and operational in field
- Deployment of telecom equipment valued at Rs. 7500 Crore (approx. \$ 1.6 billion)
- Significant technology transfer and royalty earnings
- Technology development with low capital investment
- A large reservoir of technical manpower in telecom
- Establishment of a technology transfer process for production by multiple manufacturers

It is interesting, however, the Sam Pitroda's name is absent in the entire web site – perhaps testifying to the many inter-ministerial conflicts as well as other battles that had to be faced by policy makers who wanted to change India's telecom bureaucracy in the 1980s.

## **THE 1991 FINANCIAL CRISIS AND ITS AFTERMATH**

Then in 1991, there was another foreign exchange crunch, resulting from a combination of factors, such as the 1990 Gulf war, the rising price of oil, decreased remittances from Indian abroad, rising prices, and an ever increasing import cost despite rising exports. By mid-year 1991, India's balance of payments fell to a serious low, with only about two weeks' worth of import funds left in her treasury. Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao desperately sought the help of international aid agencies and development banks and secured emergency loans from the IMF. This resulted in another major intervention by international lending agencies, requiring more structural adjustments to be undertaken, such as devaluing the Indian rupee by twenty percent. This again resulted in further opening of the Indian economy. This external effect actually had a positive effect on the Indian Electronics and Telecommunications industries. Electronics and Telecommunications were recognized as being vital to increase exports, elevate the growth of enterprises, both public and private, and develop rural areas of India. Lending agencies argued that deregulation would increase private investment and increase competition. The financial reforms undertaken by India soon led to increased exports, more foreign investment, and resulted in a healthy foreign reserve situation in just a few years. PV Narasimha Rao and his Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh are credited with this turnaround of the Indian economy – they

were under pressure to undertake bold reforms, and at the same time they faced strong opposition from the country's socialists against reforms. In retrospect, their action in opening up the economy seems to have been the right policy. In our view, the reforms also gave a big boost to enhancing telecommunications infrastructure. The reforms succeeded in opening up telecommunications to the private sector. Further, limited joint ventures were allowed even in the public sector telecom companies. Thus the economic liberalization policies started in the late 1980s ushered in liberalized telecommunications policies.

### **POST 1991 TELECOM POLICY – TAKING THE MIDDLE PATH**

The economic liberalization started by the Narasimha Rao government in 1991 led to further pressures on the government to break down the walls of government monopoly in telecom services. In 1994, the National Telecom Policy (NTP 1994) was announced. The policy gave the lion's share of the nation's telecommunications development to the DoT and its corporations. It allowed only a supplementary role for the private enterprises. The lucrative long distance and international services were retained by DoT. Only the local loop, which required heavy investments in fiber-optic cables were opened to private enterprises – the new entrants. The policy makers chose to disregard urgings by the World Bank to completely privatize telecommunications. Instead, they chose a middle path. The new entrants would be allowed to compete for the rest of the services after meeting their commitments in the local loop area. This duopolistic arrangement and the retention of a strong incumbent have been noted by Mody (1995) and Rajat Kathuria – who was a Director of Economics at TRAI (Kathuria, 2000). In addition to basic services, NTP 1994 also opened up the telecom sector to value added services such as wireless (cellular) services, radio paging, etc.

According to Pradipta Bagchi (Bagchi, 2000), “the DoT imposed strict conditions, ostensibly to ensure a balanced nationwide growth in telecommunication services especially in the rural areas. The conditions, which were subsequently highlighted in National Telecom Policy 1994 included:

- The private entity had to be a joint company formed with the participation of an Indian company
- Licensees must give at least 10 percent of all lines to rural areas
- The licensee's network must cover all the districts in the area within 24 months
- Prices charged by the DoT (where it was the competitor) would be ceiling for the prices that private sector firms could charge; of course, they had the freedom to charge a lower rate.”

As far as NTP 1994 was concerned, the DoT was the policy maker as well as the competitor. There were impediments placed on private entrants. The investments required by them were under-estimated. Meanwhile, the technology was changing rapidly, which required even larger initial investments to be made. This discouraged several private enterprises from entering the telecommunications market. As a solution, in 1997, the Telecommunications

Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) was set up as an independent arbitrary authority to manage and influence the telecommunications industry. The TRAI Act of 1997 granted TRAI the power to regulate and oversee all telecommunications matters, and thus enjoyed power over the DoT, which was until then the telecommunications policy-maker. TRAI's power however was short-lived. In 1998, when TRAI tried to block MTNL from entering cellular services, DoT filed a lawsuit, and the courts ruled in DoT's favor. Justice Usha Mehra noted that TRAI was only a regulatory body, and did not have the power to grant licenses, which rested only with DoT (Ganapati, 1998). Thus, it seemed apparent that DoT could still control policy-making. In 1999, a new Telecom Policy (NTP, 1999) was announced. The aim was to start afresh, as prior policy changes had not brought forth the liberalization or the increase in teledensity as expected, especially in rural areas. A "Group on Telecommunications" was created to develop NTP 1999, presumably without representation from either DoT or TRAI. The objectives of the new National Telecom Policy (1999) were, as noted by Bagchi (2000):

- Provision of universal service to all uncovered areas, including rural areas
- Create a modern telecom infrastructure taking into account the convergence of IT, media, telecom
- Transform telecom sector to a competitive environment providing equal opportunities and level playing field for all players

The policy also set several landmarks and targets to be achieved in the next ten years,

such as (Bagchi, 2000):

- Telephone on demand by the year 2002
- Teledensity of 7 by 2005 and 15 by 2010
- Telecom coverage of all villages by 2002
- Increase rural teledensity from 0.5 to 4 by 2010
- Internet access to all district head quarters by October 2000
- Internet access to all villages by 2002

As can be seen above, the teledensity targets were ambitious. To meet the targets, the NTP 1999 envisaged multiple operators. The license fee system was changed to a one-time fee with revenue sharing payments. Limitations in the NTP 1994 which caused major expenses to private entrants (such as specifications on the local loop cables), were reduced to facilitate, rather than hinder, private entrants to meet the targets. Other important issues addressed, as noted by Kathuria (Kathuria, 2000) were:

- Speeding up competition in long distance services by opening up long distance and international services to private entrants
- Permission for Fixed Service Providers (FSPs) to carry long-distance traffic within their service areas without requiring additional licenses
- Clarity regarding the number of licenses issued to each operator
- Review interconnectivity issues and tariffs (since until then the inter-connectivity between two operators was provided via DoT/MTNL)
- Convergence of telecom and broadcasting industries
- A transparent process for wireless spectrum allocation
- Quality of service, consumer welfare

The government sought TRAI's recommendations to implement several of NTP 1999 policies. However, after the much publicized lawsuit by DoT against TRAI, and the subsequent court ruling in favor of the DoT, there was an imperative for the government to amend the TRAI Act of 1997. In 2000, the government realized that TRAI had to be reconstituted, with more powers and independence. The TRAI Amendment Act of 2000 took away TRAI's dispute-resolution responsibility, and made it into an advisory body whose recommendations would be non-binding on the government, licensor or the DoT. The amendment set up an Appellate Tribunal known as the "Telecom<sup>3</sup> Disputes Settlement & Appellate Tribunal (TDSAT)" to adjudicate disputes that might arise. However, TRAI's authority was strengthened in the following areas (from (Kaushal, 2000)):

- Frequency Spectrum Management (for wireless communications)
- Powers regarding tariffs, inter-connection, quality standards, time-period for providing circuits between different service providers.
- The amendment overriding powers to TRAI even over the terms of the license, as far as inter-connectivity was concerned.

TRAI was, in effect not a regulatory body at all, because it had no powers for enforcement. It was strictly an advisory body. While this made TRAI's position clear, it still showed that the government was not entirely willing or committed to full corporatization of the functions of the DoT (Kaushal, 2000). These developments have, as predicted, introduced competition and increased private sector participation. In 2000, the government took the next step towards corporatization of telecom, by carving out a new corporation from DoT called Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL). BSNL was responsible for providing total telecom services (cellular, fixed wireless and fixed line) to all circles and cities other than Mumbai and Delhi (which were served by MTNL). With this move, DoT became a policy making, licensing and coordinating organization in all matters pertaining to telecommunications. However,



whether all these developments truly made telecommunication accessible to rural populations was debatable. India's teledensity was still one of the lowest in the world. Indrani Kaushal (Kaushal I. , 2000) noted that India's total teledensity at the end of 2000 was 2.68 – the rural teledensity at 0.68 and the urban teledensity at 8.36.

## WIRELESS TELECOM POLICIES

In 1995, Indian telecom entered the wireless age, and the first wireless phone call was made, again, coincidentally, from Kolkata (Calcutta), by the then Chief Minister Mr. Jyoti Basu (Bhatnagar, 2005). (Note that the first telegraph and telephone lines originated from Calcutta over a century earlier). From 1991 onwards, the DoT started auctions to provide licenses to private enterprises for operating wired and wireless telephone services. As discussed in the above paragraphs, the primary policy objective of the government was to enhance the spread to telecommunications to rural areas, and the auctioning policies and mechanisms adopted strictly followed this objective. The country was divided into roughly twenty "circles3," with the four metropolises of New Delhi, Mumbai (Bombay), Kolkata (Calcutta) and Chennai (Madras) being considered separate entities not belonging to any of these circles. Further, the circles were divided into category A, B and C, depending upon how close these were to larger metropolitan areas. The circles (as of 2007 end) were as follows (Table 1):

<b>Table 1: Telecom circles in India. <u>Metro circles</u></b>	<b><u>A circles</u></b>
• Mumbai • New Delhi • Kolkata • Chennai	• Andhra Pradesh • Gujarat • Karnataka • Maharashtra • Tamil Nadu
<b><u>B circles</u></b>	<b><u>C circles</u></b>
• Haryana • Kerala • Madhya Pradesh • Punjab • Rajasthan	• Assam • Bihar • Himachal Pradesh • Jammu & Kashmir • Northeast

## 4.7 Summary

Telecommunication is the transmission of information over significant distances to communicate. In earlier times, telecommunications involved the use of visual signals, or audio messages such as coded drumbeats, lung-blown horns, and loud whistles. In modern times, telecommunications involves the use of electrical devices such as the telegraph, telephone, and teleprinter, as well as the use of radio and microwave communications, as well as fiber optics and their associated electronics, plus the use of the orbiting satellites and the Internet. The word telecommunication was adapted from the French word telecommunication, tele-meaning "far off", and the Latin communicate, meaning "to share"..

## 4.8 Self Assessment Questions

1. Discuss about the evolution of telecommunication.

2. Explain the role of Computer networks and the Internet in Telecommunication

#### **4.9 Reference Books:**

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

**Lesson-5****ROLE OF TELECOMMUNICATION ON SOCIETY****1.0 Objectives**

After reading the lesson, the student, will learn about

- Role of Telecommunication on Society
- Economic Impact of Telecommunication

**STRUCTURE****5.1 Society and telecommunication****5.2 Economic Impact****5.2.1 Microeconomics****5.2.2 Macroeconomics****5.2.3 Social Impact****5.3 Telecommunication and government****5.4 Summary****5.5 Self Assessment Questions****5.6 Reference Books****5.1 Society and telecommunication**

Telecommunication has a significant social, cultural and economic impact on modern society. In 2008, estimates placed the telecommunication industry's revenue at \$3.85 trillion or just under 3 percent of the gross world product (official exchange rate). Several following sections discuss the impact of telecommunication on society.

**5.2 Economic impact**

**Microeconomics.** On the microeconomic scale, companies have used telecommunications to help build global business empires. This is self-evident in the case of online retailer Amazon.com but, according to academic Edward Lenert, even the conventional retailer Wal-Mart has benefited from better telecommunication infrastructure compared to its competitors. In cities throughout the world, home owners use their telephones to order and arrange a variety of home services ranging from pizza deliveries to electricians. Even relatively poor communities have been noted to use telecommunication to their advantage. In Bangladesh's Narshingdi district, isolated villagers use cellular phones to speak directly to wholesalers and arrange a better price for their goods. In Côte d'Ivoire, coffee growers share mobile phones to follow hourly variations in coffee prices and sell at the best price.

**Macroeconomics.** Because of the economic benefits of good telecommunication infrastructure, there is increasing worry about the inequitable access to telecommunication

services amongst various countries of the world—this is known as the digital divide. A 2003 survey by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) revealed that roughly a third of countries have fewer than one mobile subscription for every 20 people and one-third of countries have fewer than one land-line telephone subscription for every 20 people. In terms of Internet access, roughly half of all countries have fewer than one out of 20 people with Internet access. From this information, as well as educational data, the ITU was able to compile an index that measures the overall ability of citizens to access and use information and communication technologies. Using this measure, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland received the highest ranking while the African countries Nigeria, Burkina Faso and Mali received the lowest.

### **5.3 Social impact**

Telecommunication has played a significant role in social relationships. Nevertheless devices like the telephone system were originally advertised with an emphasis on the practical dimensions of the device (such as the ability to conduct business or order home services) as opposed to the social dimensions. It was not until the late 1920s and 1930s that the social dimensions of the device became a prominent theme in telephone advertisements. New promotions started appealing to consumers' emotions, stressing the importance of social conversations and staying connected to family and friends. Since then the role that telecommunications has played in social relations has become increasingly important. In recent years, the popularity of social networking sites has increased dramatically. These sites allow users to communicate with each other as well as post photographs, events and profiles for others to see. Prior to social networking sites, technologies like short message service (SMS) and the telephone also had a significant impact on social interactions.

### **5.4 Telecommunication and government**

Many countries have enacted legislation which conforms to the International Telecommunication Regulations established by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), which is the "leading UN agency for information and communication technology issues." In 1947, at the Atlantic City Conference, the ITU decided to "afford international protection to all frequencies registered in a new international frequency list and used in conformity with the Radio Regulation." According to the ITU's Radio Regulations adopted in Atlantic City, all frequencies referenced in the International Frequency Registration Board, examined by the board and registered on the International Frequency List "shall have the right to international protection from harmful interference." The onset of World War II brought on the first explosion of international broadcasting propaganda. Countries, their governments, insurgents, terrorists, and militiamen have all used telecommunication and broadcasting techniques to promote propaganda

### **5.5 Summary**

Telecommunication has played a significant role in social relationships. Nevertheless devices like the telephone system were originally advertised with an emphasis on the practical dimensions of the device (such as the ability to conduct business or order home services) as opposed to the social dimensions. It was not until the late 1920s and 1930s that the social dimensions of the device became a prominent theme in telephone advertisements. New

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## **5.6 Self Assessment Questions**

1. What is the Role of Telecommunication on Society?
2. Discuss the economic impact of telecommunication.

## **5.7 Reference Books:**

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

**Lesson- 6****HISTORY OF NEWSPAPERS****1.0 Objective**

After reading the lesson, the student, will be conversant about

- Newspapers

**STRUCTURE****6.1 Introduction****6.2 History of Newspapers****6.3 Positive strides made by the media****6.4 Rapid Growth of Journalism Institutes****6.5 Newspapers****6.6 Summary****6.7 Self Assessment Questions****6.8 Reference Books****6.1 Introduction**

In Ancient Rome, Acta Diurna, or government announcement bulletins, were produced. They were carved in metal or stone and posted in public places. In China, early government-produced news sheets, called tipao, circulated among court officials during the late Han dynasty (second and third centuries AD). Between 713 and 734, the KaiyuanZaBao ("Bulletin of the Court") of the Chinese Tang Dynasty published government news; it was handwritten on silk and read by government officials. In 1582, there was the first reference to privately published newsheets in Beijing, during the late Ming Dynasty.

**6.2 Historical Background**

The Indian national press was undisputedly the backbone of the freedom struggle for independence from colonial rule. Its historical importance and prestige it enjoyed in the society are linked to the awareness and creation of public opinion. The modern press marked its beginning only after the advent of European Civilization in India. Portuguese were the first Europeans who introduced printing press in India. The Christian missionaries of Bengal deserve the credit in introducing printing press primarily for publishing missionary leaflets etc. Today, over the last 250 years, the press has come to occupy an undisputed position as the fourth and the strongest pillar of modern India. Though the press in India started as an European institution the native Indians did not take long to realize its potential in socio-political communication. The

Print Media, and for that matter Media as a whole owes its origin, and growth not to the government but to the individuals who had in them the courage to lead the nation. The trials and tribulation they had to encounter at the hands of foreign powers could not prevent the press from growing and becoming an instrument for fight against subjugation and to bring wide range of social and economic reforms which speak galore of their resolute determination and inherent strength. The later years of 19th century unfolded a glorious chapter of Indian newspapers which reveals the newspapers consistently reporting on challenges ahead of the nation. Instead of reporting societal events of the Britishers and feudal Indian society, the newspapers focused on news and write-ups on diverse social and political concerns and problems and the country saw the birth of a different kind of journalism, a dedicated journalism which stood for social reforms and public welfare, and creating opinion on issues like education, child marriage, widow marriage and sati. The press gradually became the most powerful weapon for freedom movement under the leadership of towering personalities like Tilak, Gokhale, Gandhiji and others who stood for progressive journalism and liberal notions and believed in the strength of the press to mould public opinion, to shape the destiny of the nation and safeguard the rights and civil liberties of its citizens. The strong belief of our freedom fighters that 'pen is mightier than sword' and the power of their pen can challenge the political establishment directed the Indian journalism with a sense of purpose that never weakened and holds ground till date. As a result, Press had always enjoyed popular support with respect and despite various lamentable aberrations in the functioning of media, even now media in India has strong popular support and the liberty which it enjoys today is founded on such popular support of the civil society. National political struggle and advocacy of social reforms and emancipation in the years before independence contributed to the creation of the core strength of the press in free India. This included independent functioning, resistance to state oppression and censorship, firm commitment to free speech and expression and its role as the leader and path finder of the society and protector of fundamental rights. Indian democracy has grown from strength to strength and made wide range of reforms for surging India in the sixty years of independence encountering struggles, war and insurgencies. The press has not only mirrored the march of this journey of democracy but gave valuable insights and suggestions at every step. The media scenario of India in the last 62 years has undergone sea change. The change can be broadly divided into two categories, i.e. the positive achievements of the media and negative trends in the media. But before delving into both of these aspects, it will be appropriate to refer to the major factor which has shaped the growth of this powerful medium of communication. Globalization, the new economic order of the world, has opened the floodgates to a cut-throat competition virtually in every sphere of our activities. The media and communication industries have immensely contributed in facilitating overall globalization. The impact of globalization is not merely an economic phenomenon, dictated by the market dominated corporate capitalism but also very powerful cultural content, shaped by the inseparable intertwining of advertising, television and internet. I would like to discuss the two perspectives as mentioned earlier in which the analysis of the Changing Face of Indian Media may be considered. First, your kind attention towards the positive developments which have brought complete makeover of the Indian media may be drawn. To begin with, an insight into media's growth scenario is necessary.

### **6.3 Positive strides made by the media**

The technological breakthrough in printing has brought in unforeseen structural change in the set up of print media. It has not only helped in better designing and lay out and more attractive presentation with improved colour scheme in printing of the papers but also made it feasible and economically viable to print more multi edition copies faster and at lesser cost with better get up and attractive type, thus, enabling the press to cater to more readers stationed at different locations. The developing telecommunication services and transport facilities have also facilitated news reporting even from remote and forlorn places, and quick transmission and dissemination of news resulted in prompt and wider circulation of the newspapers with better news contents. These developments in technology coupled with the growth in the newspaper readers on account of higher literacy level and higher per capita income have led to an enviable growth in the number of newspapers and their circulation. Daily circulation of some of the national level newspapers is enviable even globally. Formation of linguistic states paved the way for development of language press in various linguistic regions which in turn has made significant contribution in the developmental programmes of the government. Further, the status of language press is now well recognised and considered at par with the English newspapers. As a matter of fact, small newspaper published in local regional language and dialects in remote areas in India are working as conduit between local rural and urban population in other parts of the country unfolding not only rich culture and heritage of the region but also various problems in such area. Today's readers of the print media have a wide variety of options to choose from the publications devoted to specialized subjects because of diverse information easily available on account of technological development. With a click of the mouse news and happenings in every part of the globe are before you. The growing presence of women in journalism has opened a new era for enhancement of socio-economic condition of women. The Media boom in India has resulted in need for adequate representation of women in public and private sectors of the media. This in turn has not only provided source of livelihood for women journalists but also ensured adequate and effective representation as women journalists in media. Such journalists have not only established their competence and dedication but have also proved that they have skill to analyse and handle women related issues with better sensitivity. The potentiality of today's media is required to focus on live issues with intense studies of the problems for quick growth of women empowerment. A note of caution need be made at this stage. Misleading and improper gender biased programming which are often resorted by media turns out to be counterproductive. It is heartening to note that today quite a few woman journalists are occupying responsible positions even in managerial cadre and other responsible position in journalism. The expansion of the newspapers has led to the growth of press-related specific jobs and has boosted the profession of journalism. Even the lower level journalists in some metropolitan and district towns are drawing decent salary not to speak of the editors and persons holding managerial position of some newspapers whose salary package runs into five to six figures.

#### **6.4 Rapid Growth of Journalism Institutes**

Another consequence of Media boom is spurt in establishment of Journalism Institutes. The demand for education in journalism in universities and private Institutions have been catered to, by introduction of degree both at undergraduate and post graduate level and diploma courses and certificates in connected skills and disciplines pertaining to Journalism. With the boom in Mass Communication, new specialized courses have been introduced. More and more bright,



talented and educated young men and women are now opting for journalism as their career. With money in the job and the tremendous power that journalists have come to wield, particularly in political, financial and investigative journalism, the profession is attracting large number of students. The prospect of eventually joining the Electronic media is an added attraction. It will be pertinent to mention here that many of the institutes imparting education in various specialties of Mass Communication and journalism lack in adequate infrastructure, qualified faculty members and even proper course contents. Monitoring of functioning of Journalism and Mass Communication Institutes by authorised expert body like medical or engineering council with power to disaffiliate needs serious consideration. The advertisement revenue has become the main revenue base of the Press. In the case of the metropolitan press, it accounts for about 70% to 80% of its total revenue. Consequently, space in the newspapers is disproportionately occupied by the advertisements. The gap between news and advertisement ratio is fast widening. The general news items are constantly shrinking and advertisements occupying more and more space. The advertisements have also made inroads in the policy and outlook of the newspapers in more senses than one. With the rapid growth of advertisements by way of corporate communication and for luring potential consumers, the revenue earning of a newspaper from such advertisements is very often quite robust. As a result, even though the number of pages have increased, the price has decreased. The circulation having gone up considerably, the profits particularly of the metropolitan newspapers, have multiplied many fold. Investigative journalism in its present avatar as sting operation has opened a new chapter in the history of the Press. It has made the Press to acquire more powerful position and has helped to enhance the image of the Press as an active watchdog of the society. Unfortunately, investigative journalism has often been misused to settle personal score or to tarnish the image of the individuals or to blackmail individuals and men in position. This aspect of media behaviour deserves a careful scrutiny for taking appropriate remedial measures. Investigative journalism, however, has helped reporters to assert their place more prominently in the setup against editor's exclusive position so long being enjoyed. The reportage has become as important as, if not more, than the leading articles. The Press in today's media scenario has become instrumental in setting the political, economic, social and cultural agenda of the country. From 1990s India has witnessed an explosion in electronic media, online news services. Media has acquired such great control on the mind of the masses that it now controls and shapes the liking, disliking and interest in different segments of news items to a considerable extent. Compared to the print media, electronic media has grown faster in view of advantage of visual impact enjoyed by it. The Indian press is going through transformation because of changes occurring in today's polity of the country on account of rapid socio economic strides. Liberalization, globalization, and competition from the electronic media are impelling the print media to adapt new technologies, with more professional outlook and sensitivity to the market forces. Today, the structure of India's print media maintains a product line which is amazingly diverse array of languages, management set up, topics and news contents. The rapid challenges are being faced today and to be faced in near future need dynamism and quick adaptation for the growth and effective survival of print media. The newspapers today are compelled to delicately balance the twin challenges namely how best they can adapt to and gain from digital distribution and advertising revenue; and how to meet the role of fourth estate. Unfortunately, media is failing to play its role as fourth estate effectively. What is witnessed in today's media scenario is that instead of making newspaper rich in news contents and addressing serious issues for better governance of the country and improve socio economic disparities, the media driven by market forces and in unending urge to make more profits, is

indulging in trivialisation and sensationalisation and tainted corporate communication. It is interesting to note that media is cleverly attempting to keep under wrap such deplorable design, by covertly under playing trivialisation of news contents and biased news and views sub serving interests of advertisers and corporate houses in order to remain gainfully floated with market forces. Such clever manipulation has been aptly described as ‘feeding the readers spinach with the ice-cream.’ The changes in technology and marketplace are shaping the growth and development of Print India. In India, almost all newspapers are accessible through the Internet and provide up to date news and information not only relating to India but other parts of the globe as well. Today’s readers are not satisfied with traditional news contents but something more giving insight to what is happening all around. Unfortunately, in their anxiety to get more or more readers and particularly more and more advertisers and corporate sector as client, the print media is by and large turning to be a commercial enterprise and the newspaper as a commodity. Journalism in today’s media scenario appears more as a profession than a mission. The print media is consciously oblivious to its role as Fourth Estate. To say the least, this trend is not only unfortunate but deserves to be condemned by civil society in no uncertain term.

## 6.5 Newspapers

In Early modern Europe the increased cross-border interaction created a rising need for gazette, a small coin. These avvisi were handwritten newsletters and used to convey political, military, and economic news quickly and efficiently to Italian cities (1500–1700) — sharing some characteristics of newspapers though usually not considered true newspapers. The emergence of the new media branch in the 17th century has to be seen in close connection with the spread of the printing press from which the publishing press derives its name information which was met by concise handwritten newsheets, called avvisi. In 1556, the government of Venice first published the monthly Notiziescritte, which cost one. The German-language Relation allerFürnemmen und gedenckwürdigenHistorien, printed from 1605 onwards by Johann Carolus in Strasbourg, is often recognized as the first newspaper. At the time, Strasbourg was a free imperial city in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation; the first newspaper of modern Germany was the Avis, published in 1609 in Wolfenbüttel. Other early papers include: The Dutch Courante uytItalien, Duytslandt, &c. ('Courant from Italy, Germany, etc.') of 1618 was the first to appear in folio- rather than quarto-size. Amsterdam, a center of world trade, quickly became home to newspapers in many languages, often before they were published in their own country. The first English-language newspaper, Corrant out of Italy, Germany, etc., was published in Amsterdam in 1620. The first newspaper in France was published in 1631, La Gazette (originally published as Gazette de France). The first newspaper in Portugal, Gazeta, was published in 1641 in Lisbon. The first Spanish newspaper, Gaceta de Madrid, was published in 1661. *Categories.* While most newspapers are aimed at a broad spectrum of readers, usually geographically defined, some focus on groups of readers defined more by their interests than their location: for example, there are daily and weekly business newspapers and sports newspapers. More specialists still are some weekly newspapers, usually free and distributed within limited areas; these may serve communities as specific as certain immigrant populations, or the local gay community.

**Daily.** A daily newspaper is issued every day, sometimes with the exception of Sundays and occasionally Saturdays, and often of some national holidays. Saturday and, where they exist,

Sunday editions of daily newspapers tend to be larger, include more specialized sections and advertising inserts, and cost more. Typically, the majority of these newspapers' staff work Monday to Friday, so the Sunday and Monday editions largely depend on content done in advance or content that is syndicated. Most daily newspapers are published in the morning. Afternoon or evening papers are aimed more at commuters and office workers.

In the UK, unlike most other countries, most "daily" newspapers do not publish on Sundays; in many cases the same publisher produces a Sunday newspaper, distinct in many ways from the daily, usually with a related name; e.g. The Times and The Sunday Times are distinct newspapers owned by the same company, and an article published in the latter would never be credited to The Times.

**Weekly.** Weekly newspapers are published once a week, and tend to be smaller than daily papers. Some newspapers are published two or three times a week; in the United States, such newspapers are generally called weeklies.

**National.** Most nations have at least one newspaper that circulates throughout the whole country: a national newspaper, as contrasted with a local newspaper serving a city or region. Some national newspapers, such as The Financial Times and The Wall Street Journal, are specialised (in these examples, on financial matters). There are many national newspapers in the UK, but only few in the United States and Canada. In the United States, in addition to national newspapers as such, The New York Times is available throughout the country.

**International.** There is also a small group of newspapers which may be characterized as international newspapers. Some, such as The International Herald Tribune, have always had that focus, while others are repackaged national newspapers or "international editions" of national or large metropolitan newspapers. In some cases articles that might not interest the wider range of readers are omitted from international editions; in others, of interest to expatriates, significant national news is retained. As English became the international language of business and technology, many newspapers formerly published only in non-English languages have also developed English-language editions. In places as varied as Jerusalem and Mumbai, newspapers are printed for a local and international English-speaking public, and for tourists. The advent of the Internet has also allowed non-English-language newspapers to put out a scaled-down English version to give their newspaper a global outreach.

**Online.** Virtually all printed newspapers have online editions, which depending on the country may be regulated by journalism organizations such as the Press Complaints Commission in the UK. But as some publishers find their print-based models increasingly unsustainable, Web-based "newspapers" have also started to appear, such as the Southport Reporter in the UK and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, which stopped publishing in print after 149 years in March 2009 and went online only.

**Customized.** A new trend in newspaper publishing is the introduction of personalization through on-demand printing technologies. Customized newspapers allow the reader to create their individual newspaper through the selection of individual pages from multiple publications. This "Best of" approach allows reviving the print-based model and opens up a new distribution

channel to increase coverage beneath the usual boundaries of distribution. Customized newspapers online have been offered by My Yahoo, I-Google, CRAYON, ICurrent.com, Kibboko.com, Twitter, Times and many others.

## 6.6 Summary

In Early modern Europe the increased cross-border interaction created a rising need for gazetta, a small coin. These avvisi were handwritten newsletters and used to convey political, military, and economic news quickly and efficiently to Italian cities (1500–1700) — sharing some characteristics of newspapers though usually not considered true newspapers. The emergence of the new media branch in the 17th century has to be seen in close connection with the spread of the printing press from which the publishing press derives its name information which was met by concise handwritten newsheets, called avvisi. In 1556, the government of Venice first published the monthly Notiziescritte, which cost one.

## 6.7 Self Assessment Questions

1. Discuss the History of Newspapers.
2. Write about the newspapers periodicals

## 6.8 Reference Books:

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

**Lesson-7****HISTORY OF NEWS AGENCIES****7.0 Objectives**

After reading the lesson, the student, will be conversant about

- News agencies
- News agencies in India

**STRUCTURE****7.1 News agencies****7.2 The National News Agency in a Time of Technological Economic and Political Change.****7.3 Summary****7.4 Self Assessment Questions****7.5 Reference Books****7.1 News agencies**

A news agency is an organization of journalists established to supply news reports to news organizations: newspapers, magazines, and radio and television broadcasters. Such an agency may also be referred to as a wire service, newswire, or news service. *History*. The oldest news agency is Agence France-Presse (AFP).



**Image-1**

It was founded in 1835 by a Parisian translator and advertising agent, Charles-Louis Havas as AgenceHavas. Two of his employees, Paul Julius Reuter and Bernhard Wolff, later set up rival news agencies in London and Berlin respectively. In 1853, in Turin, Guglielmo Stefani founded the AgenziaStefani that became the most important agency in the Kingdom of Italy, and

took international relevance with Manlio Morgagni. In order to reduce overhead and develop the lucrative advertising side of the business, Havas's sons, who had succeeded him in 1852, signed agreements with Reuter and Wolff, giving each news agency an exclusive reporting zone in different parts of Europe.

*Commercial services.* News agencies can be corporations that sell news (e.g. Press Association, Thomson Reuters and United Press International). Other agencies work cooperatively with large media companies, generating their news centrally and sharing local news stories the major news agencies may choose to pick up and redistribute (i.e. AP, Agence France-Presse (AFP) or American Press Agency (APA)). Commercial newswire services charge businesses to distribute their news (e.g. Business Wire, the Hugin Group, GlobeNewswire, Marketwire, PR Newswire, PR NewsChannel, CisionWire, and ABN Newswire). Governments may also control news agencies: China (Xinhua), Russia (ITAR-TASS) and other countries also have government-funded news agencies which also use information from other agencies as well. The major news agencies generally prepare hard news stories and feature articles that can be used by other news organizations with little or no modification, and then sell them to other news organizations. They provide these articles in bulk electronically through wire services (originally they used telegraphy; today they frequently use the Internet). Corporations, individuals, analysts, and intelligence agencies may also subscribe. News sources, collectively, described as alternative media provide reporting which emphasizes a self-defined "non-corporate view" as a contrast to the points of view expressed in corporate media and government-generated news releases. Internet-based alternative news agencies form one component of these sources. UNESCO has since early eighties supported the establishment of national news agencies With a view to improving news collection and dissemination within nations and promoting greater diversity of news sources in international news. UNESCO's many initiatives included the establishment of regional news agencies in Africa (CANAD, SEANAD and WANAD), and support for PANA (Africa) and CANA (the Caribbean). However, by the turn of the year 2000, it was becoming clear that many national news agencies were in crisis. There was growing concern in UNESCO about the gradual commercialization of news, and its implications for the media representation of rural and poor segments of societies, and for the ability of these populations to participate in national democratic processes. Concern was reinforced by the collapse of news agencies in some poorer countries and the diminishing interest of some governments in supporting them. At least one important consideration, in its potential both for exacerbating as well as for contributing solutions to the crisis, was the impact of new Communication and Information Technology, notably the Internet. The UNESCO Communications Division thus initiated preparations for a *Workshop on News Agencies in the era of the Internet*. The Division circulated an explanatory paper for the benefit of workshop invitees and contributors. This, amongst other things, noted that several national news agencies in Africa had shut down, and others were near to closure. The classical model of news collection and dissemination, at the core of which were the national news agencies, had been undermined by the Internet and other factors. Some agencies had veered closer than ever to governments, at further cost to their credibility; while others were trying to privatize, but without the benefit of an adequate evaluation of the changing context and its implications for agencies' survival. The Internet challenged nations to consider what kinds of news collection and distribution that they should encourage. What were the implications of the Internet for competition, quality and accuracy in the supply of news? Was news just a commodity to be determined by the market

place? Such a view sat uncomfortably with the philosophy and policies that had previously underwritten UNESCO activity in this area. UNESCO policy presumed a correlation between pluralism of sources of information and the exercise of citizenship and democracy. News was seen as a form of public information that should wholly embrace the cultural, education and scientific realms. The purpose of the Workshop was to develop a forward looking strategy that would help news agencies anticipate and adapt effectively to change, and in the process to re-evaluate their role, mission and performance. The Workshop brought together in Amman the representatives of 13 news agencies from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Eastern and Central Europe, and the Middle East. These also reflected a broad range of different kinds of news agency, including both national and regional agencies, those whose ownership was either public or private or a mixture of both. In many instances, these agencies were in the process of accommodating to significant political and economic transformations of their respective nations. Also in attendance were: three academic, one technical and three experts who formerly managed UNESCO sub-regional news agency development projects in Africa and UNESCO staff (a list of attendees is provided in Appendix II). The workshop agenda (Appendix III) included presentations by representatives of the participating national agencies in plenary sessions and a series of smaller discussion panels each dedicated to a particular theme. The main outcome of the workshop was a set of seven discussion papers, together with corresponding recommendations, that emerged from the discussion panels which addressed issues related to diversification of services; ownership and management; implementing Internet strategies; marketing and client relations; personnel training, professional development and professionalism; networking; and the future of national news agencies. Workshop discussions and recommendations demonstrated that the Internet is indeed both a significant opportunity for news agencies and a threat. For example, the Internet offers the potential for significant reductions in communications costs in the gathering and dissemination of news. It also extends the potential reach of national agencies, at least for the benefit of clients who have Internet connectivity - still sparse in many parts of the developing world. The Internet is also a source of competition that, along with other factors, contributes to a destabilization of traditional markets. The Internet poses many technical, design, professional and strategic challenges. However, the relevance of the Internet and appropriate responses to it can be misjudged unless the technology is analyzed in relation to the broader context of agency operations. Among the most important contextual factors identified in the Workshop were tensions in the relationships between agency executives and their political, media or other owners. Tensions had been exacerbated by broader changes in the media environment, including the impacts of deregulation and privatization of previously State owned or controlled media and other organizations, and greater competitiveness on international media markets as a result of the loosening of restrictions on movements of global trade and capital. In Africa and elsewhere these trends had eliminated or gravely weakened several national agencies. Strategies of accommodation to the Internet were likely to be successful in as far as they articulated and provided a response to such changes in the broader environment. Successful strategies were likely to address one or more of the following, among other issues: (i) The cultivation of a more entrepreneurial climate within national news agencies to help them compete against other news suppliers and to identify new market opportunities. This entails: nurture of a new professional culture, the elaboration of a different business model, the reconstruction of 'brand identity', the organization of innovative patterns of ownership, strategic alliances; foresight in the provision of incentives and rewards for workers, and a re-definition of the range of activities that are proper to national agencies, possibly extending to

multi-media strategies. (ii) Elaboration of structures of separation between agency operations and political authorities. This entails willingness on the part of political authorities to maintain subsidies where these are clearly needed to ensure the adequate realization of a national agency's main work, while creating the conditions for both editorial autonomy and agency accountability. (iii) Preservation of mission to serve the information needs of the nation as a whole. This entails strong commitment to principles of national inclusiveness, accuracy and impartiality, strong enough to ensure that the drive towards self-sufficiency is compatible with the continuing contribution of news agencies to an informational public sphere of great diversity and quality. There is considerable scope for technical and training support across all areas of agency operation. Cutting across the three elements identified above is the issue of organization form: for example, there are regional agencies, broadcast and Internet based agencies. The basic mission of a news agency, its public service functions, can be achieved in a variety of different ways, using different organizational vehicles and technologies.

## **7.2 The National News Agency in a Time of Technological Economic and Political Change.**

### **The South African Press Association (SAPA)**

SAPA has experienced many of the problems typically confronting national agencies owned by newspaper cooperatives. The challenge of the Internet has a way of exacerbating those problems. This was the first of ten presentations in the session entitled '*The National News Agency in a Time of Technological Economic and Political Change*'. SAPA is a not-for-profit organization owned by South African newspaper groups, and is the only non-government national agency – the government subsidizes no agency in South Africa. Newspaper subscriptions are based on respective circulation figures. Important clients include the South African Broadcasting Corporation, the South African government, and the new Government Information Services, established in 1999. SAPA maintains correspondents throughout South Africa. For international news SAPA subscribes to Associated Press, Reuters and DPA, and is currently in negotiation with PANA. More significantly, the agency has survived the transition from apartheid to democracy. During states of emergency imposed under apartheid, authorities required journalists to walk away from scenes of unrest and their reports had to be officially confirmed. SAPA's policy was to report everything in full, and clients were advised when stories might contravene security regulations. This established a level of credibility that has sustained the agency to the current day. Exploitation of the Internet to establish innovative services has been constrained by SAPA's newspaper owners who are in competition with each other for a diminishing share of advertising revenue and have their own Internet ambitions. Many no longer participate in traditional cooperative activities – notably, routine news feeds to SAPA of member newspapers' own 'spontaneous' news. By cutting news feeds to SAPA, members increase pressure on SAPA resources. More than 80% of any domestic SAPA news file is now self-generated. Symptomatic of tensions with newspaper members are attempts by some, notably the Independent group, to establish competing agencies. Tensions with owner-clients signified a trend that Mr. Mogale thought would eventually lead to complete commercialization of SAPA, moving from a supply-driven to a demand-driven product. The agency would become increasingly independent from (and in competition with) its founders and owners. This might involve broadening the shareholder base, and formation of regional alliances, developing into a possible "Southern" news agency, representing agencies across the southern hemisphere. The



Internet would be the backbone of commercialization, with a significant impact on traditional newsgathering practices: even extending to commercial sponsorships for sports reporting. Any such developments would have to respect the agency's reputation and good name and its mission to serve the public interest.

### **United News of Bangladesh (UNB)**

UNB demonstrates the potential for survival of a privately owned national news agency even in a country that is generally thought of as poor, albeit populous. Mr. Ruhsan Rahman, Business Development Manager, delivered the UNB presentation. UNB is one of two national agencies: BSS is the government owned national agency and UNB is also national, but privately owned which was launched in 1988, when an authoritarian regime still prevailed. In its early days, it had to cope with interventions from the Ministry of Information, as well as with issues of bribery and intimidation. Since democracy was established in 1990, news has flowed more extensively within the country as well as between Bangladesh and neighbouring countries. Nonetheless, UNB finds it prudent to appoint advisors from the major national institutions, including the army. These advisors help the agency to secure access for its journalists to important centers of power and can defend the agency in moments of difficulty. Not being an official national agency, UNB finds that it is not always treated with the same degree of seriousness as its rival, BSS. UNB was the first fully computerized agency in Bangladesh, employs fewer correspondents than BSS, charges slightly less, and has more clients. It has an Internet service that offers free real-time headline news stories. It has started the first agency news service in Bangla language, a language that is spoken by 300 million people.

### **ANTARA News Agency (Indonesia)**

ANTARA is in transition, in the midst of major political and commercial transformations. The Internet has facilitated but did not cause the establishment of profit-oriented business services, and has triggered a more competitive business environment. The growth of profit business activity correlates with substantial reductions in government subsidy. Mr. Heru Purwanto, Executive Editor, delivered the presentation. ANTARA was established in 1937 by newspaper proprietors, in the context of national liberation first from Dutch colonizers, then Japanese occupiers. Independent for 17 years, the agency was later nationalized, remaining under government control through four administrations. Reporting to head office in Jakarta are 27 provincial bureaus and 200 correspondents, with additional bureaus or correspondents in 9 international capitals, disseminating 250 daily news reports in Indonesian and English. International news comes from AFP, Reuters, DPA, Xinhua, Kyodo, Asean News Exchange, the Organization of Asia Pacific News Agencies, the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool and individual developing country agencies. Reuters Monitor, Bridge-Telerate, and Bloomberg provide financial news. Formally non-profit, the agency developed business-oriented news services, some now online, from the 1980s, in response to market demand and technology development. Business services include a press release wire, Asia-Net, Asia Pulse (a consortium of regional agencies that provide information on business opportunities in the Asia-Pacific region, ANTARA Financial Economic and Commodity Research, V-SAT and Internet-based news services, and Indonesia Market Quote and ANTARA News Photo Services. Most business services involve strategic alliances with local or foreign partners, including Australian

Associated Press, Reuters, and PT Telkom, Indonesia's state telecommunications company. In permitting business services, the government used them as a pretext for reductions in subsidy that has fallen from a peak of 60% of the annual budget to only 2% today. Legislation was recently passed enabling ANTARA to become independent. A privatization feasibility study, undertaken by ANTARA journalists and employees, is under way, and ANTARA may transition from state-control to status as a private or semi-private news agency. However, while new legislation offers ANTARA its independence, it also provides an opportunity for the government to set up another news agency. The agency computerized in 1986, adopting the Internet in 1994 for exchanging news via email with other developing countries' national agencies, disseminating news to end-users, subscribers, Indonesian embassies, and for internal communication (Intranet). The Internet yields savings by reducing reliance on leased-lines. ANTARA plans an Internet-based real-time data service, and expects use of the Internet for day-to-day editorial operations. It has applied for a license to be an Internet Service Provider. Its photo service is offered to clients via dial-up, Internet and Satellites services. The Internet benefits not only ANTARA but also its actual and potential competitors; there has been a mushrooming of other information companies in recent years. The best response to competition is improvement in quality, but enhancement of quality is a further pressure on scarce resources. This is also true of the competition: of three competitors that appeared in recent years, two collapsed, unable to establish an adequate network. Illustrating the combined impact of technology and political change Mr. Purwanto noted that ANTARA has decentralized its news editing process, and that some bureau offices in major provinces distribute news directly to all subscribers without sending it to the Jakarta newsroom for prior editing. A significant outcome of new business and Internet strategies is that subscribers are no longer limited to media, but include individuals, private companies and government agencies.

### **Wafa News Agency of Palestine**

The Wafa presentation was delivered by Mr. Ziad Abdel Fattah, Director of Wafa's Jordanian Center. Mr. Fattah noted that Wafa was established in unique circumstances, namely as the agency of a nation still in the process of emergence through struggle. It was established by fighter correspondents; operate in wartime conditions, and many of its staff had been killed. The agency does have a web-site where news is offered in English, Arabic and Hebrew, free of charge. Otherwise, the agency has not been able to move towards advanced communications technologies. It has been the beneficiary of a UNESCO/Italy grant, starting in 1998, to support its international communications activities

### **Montsame, News Agency of Mongolia**

The Montsame presentation was delivered by Mr. T. Baasanuren, General Director, who noted that his country was in a process of transition towards democracy and a market economy, away from socialism and a centrally planned economy. The agency is a representative example of many agencies that are adapting to such a transition. As in other developing countries, the need to adapt to a new information environment and state-of-the-art technology constitutes an additional and significant challenge. The Internet is a prime example, regarded positively as opening up many opportunities for cooperation. Montsame is a state agency founded in 1921 that currently has 121 employees. It adapted the Internet from 1994, using it for

news distribution in English, Russian and Mongolian languages. Monthly rent for direct access is \$2000, so that Internet reach is greatly limited. The agency has been funded by UNESCO/IPDC to modernize its computer hardware and software. It plans to distribute its English, Russian and Chinese magazines through the Internet. It is hoped that the Internet will facilitate future exchanges of information with other agencies, but for the time being, reliability requires that the agency continue with its current leased line for main services. MONTSAME receives international news from Reuters and ITAR-TASS (Russia), for which it pays annual subscription fees. Other international sources identified in the agency's web-site include Xinhua of China, Kyodo of Japan, and Yonhap of Korea. On-line provision of just a small proportion of international agencies' news-files would suffice for most domestic users in a country like Mongolia, especially if they could pay less for a shorter service. The implication, therefore, is that if international agencies are more flexible in their relations with national agencies, they might better serve the national media of developing countries. Other difficulties noted by Mr. Baasanuren were the absence of financial independence, inadequate resources, insufficient salary levels, weak sense of professionalism among editorial and technical staffs, and scarce training opportunities. One solution is to enhance available resources through diversification of services, which may include photographic, graphic, voice, audio-visual, moving-image services for television clients, automatic teletype setting services for print clients and provision of news for client Internet services. The agency produces four newspapers – a weekly English language newspaper, a weekly Russian language newspaper, a weekly newspaper in traditional Mongolian script, and a 20-page daily bulletin in Mongolian. These are supported in part by advertising. Until now, MONTSAME has not had to worry about revenue: it has been subsidized by government, and has provided its news services free of charge to clients. However, its ambition is independence, both political and financial. Already, legislation has been introduced by Parliament that will enable this to happen. Mr. Baasanuren was of the view that national news agencies would continue to experience difficulties of the kind he had described, but considered that they continued to play an important role. National news agencies offer secure state-sanctioned sources of information. They typically enjoy privileged status and access to sources and resources and are important and inexpensive domestic sources of information and sources of national news for international media.

### **The Press Trust of India (PTI)**

Mr. Vijay S. Satokar, Deputy Editor of Special Services, delivered the PTI presentation. His observations addressed brand identity and the Internet. Many agencies took a century to develop brand reputations for authenticity, accuracy and speed. The Internet enables newcomers to construct brand in far less time, in competition against established players. Founded in 1949, PTI has the advantage of being owned by a cooperative of leading Indian newspapers, with 450 domestic newspaper clients. Formed during national independence, it symbolizes freedom from dependency on information monopoly.

**PRESS TRUST OF INDIA**  
India's Premier News Agency

**Image-2**

The Internet's contribution to brand is restricted by low penetration in developing countries; for India, this is projected at 1.2% for 2005, by which time telephone penetration will still only be 20%; PC penetration may reach 60%. The rate of advance attracts considerable business interest. Portals offer news services, subscribing to agencies like PTI, sometimes supplemented with their own reporting networks. PTI's own newspapers, suffering first from broadcasting and now the Internet, hit back with their web-sites. These have brand names associated with credibility, but compete in turn with PTI's own site. Having computerized operations in the 1980s, PTI established its web-site in 1999, responding to competition from other news sites. PTI's site provides free access to major national, international, sports and commercial news, and its principal purpose is promotional. All services - text, pictures, graphics, and data - are available to media and non-media subscribers by e-mail. The web is an additional delivery vehicle that extends the range and reach of services. Diversification does not depend on but is facilitated by the web. Diversified services include PTI Features, PTI Mag (write-ups on political, social and other subjects), PTI Data India, PTI Economic News and PTI Science Service. PTI-Bhasha distributes PTI Mag for Hindi subscribers. The Hindi language market grew more important following the financial collapse of previous agencies that had served the 'language press' in competition with PTI, namely Samachar Bharati and Hindustan Samachar. PTI's Hindi service generates less revenue than the English: Hindi newspapers are smaller, attract less advertising, and pay lower subscriptions. The agency has added a photo and a screen-based news-update service (News Scan) together with financial news services such as Stock Scan. PTI TV produces televised news and corporate feature stories. The agency distributes services internationally to the U.S., U.K., Australia and U.A.E. Other new services include a domestic PR Wire Service and a news service for mobile phone users. Such diversification strategies often involve alliances. Asia Pulse, for example, is a consortium involving PTI and four other media organizations; together these provide a global on-line industry data bank. Asia Net is a joint venture of Asian information vendors for worldwide circulation of press releases. PTI distributes international news in India from AP and AFP, as well as AP Photos and International Commercial Information. It has exchange arrangements with 100 news agencies, including NANAP and OANA. Such new services draw on PTI's established reputation for accuracy, objectivity, and credibility, and on its infrastructure of personnel and communications networks. These include a staff of 1,600, of whom 400 are journalists, 100 bureaux countrywide and nine in international capitals, 30 stringers at home and 35 part-time correspondents abroad. The agency's owners, representing a wide variety of different newspapers, languages and political leanings, underpin PTI's reputation. Recent diversification reflects the opening up of the Indian economy but is also driven by a sense of insecurity about the traditional client base as print newspapers cope with their own economic woes.

### **Bulgarian Telegraph Agency (BTA)**

Ms. Neviana Hadjiska, editor of the International News Department, delivered the BTA presentation. Like many agencies, BTA is accommodating to dramatic transformations of context, including the transition from state-control to market economy. Of interest is a new articulation of relations between the news agency and the country's governing authorities. Under communism, BTA had a market monopoly on wholesale news provision - subject to government control - and on distribution of news from international agencies. BTA still sells to all national media, 60% of regional media and 150 non-media clients. Now BTA faces competition,

particularly from international agencies, including Reuters, AP and AFP. A competing domestic agency, by contrast, was unable to survive as a regular news agency in this relatively small country (Bulgaria has approximately eight million people). With the transition to a market economy, BTA must accommodate to a decline in government subsidy from 100% to 25% of income, and to restrictions on the categories of expenditure for which the subsidy can be used. One response has been cost reduction: the agency has closed 50 correspondent bureaux abroad, and is now almost fully dependent on the international agencies for foreign news, including Reuters, AP, AFP, ITAR-TASS, DPA and some regional news agencies, mainly Balkan. BTA has a long history (100 years), but association with the previous communist regime does not serve it well on the domestic market. It enjoys full journalistic freedom, but shoulders responsibility as a public medium, so is placed in the delicate position of having duties to both government and to non-government clients. For example, in one dispute, opposition media complained that BTA was not distributing ITAR-TASS news; but the government did not want BTA to continue its ITAR-TASS subscription. The agency is supervised by the democratically elected Parliament and as such, it represents all political parties. Parliament elects the director general; but since in effect it is the parliamentary majority that controls the election, the choice favors one who is loyal to that majority, and ensures that the agency respects government interests, even if these are generally also national interests. BTA first introduced an intranet system for clients to access its internal informational network by means of a local telephone call, but this was dependent on the expensive satellite network of the Bulgarian Telecommunications Company. The Internet, by contrast, has provided cheaper, faster and more reliable communication. BTA has uploaded all of its products onto the Internet, and its site now has 15 news channels. Some clients, including even AP and Radio Free Europe, still require telex distribution. BTA now transmits information only through its Internet network and electronic mail. Internet portals represent a new category of client. There is a risk that some smaller media clients may download domestic or international news free from portal sites (but so far, smaller clients have not cancelled BTA subscriptions) and BTA is making every effort to protect its product by creating differentiated levels of access to its web server. BTA's site represents competition for the sites of some of its larger clients. Other than the portals, the Internet service has not attracted new clients, nor has it proved to be a source of advertising revenue. BTA continues to be a relatively expensive wholesale supplier. Its competitive advantage is one of accuracy and reliability but keeping up-to-date can be expensive. In summary, the Internet is both opportunity and threat, but perhaps more opportunity than threat.

### **Ghana News Agency (GNA)**

The GNA presentation was delivered by Mr. Robert Kafui Johnson, General Manager. Transitioning from government ownership to privatization, GNA's relationship to government is undergoing structural re-articulation, reducing the potential for political intervention. Previously, the government appointed senior agency executives and the agency's director was part of the presidential entourage. Appointments are now made by the National Media Commission (NMC) representing a broad spectrum of interests (the NMC elects its president from among its members). 90% of agency funding still comes from government, the remainder from sales and advertisements. Established in 1957 as first news agency in Sub-Saharan Africa, GNA contributed to African and Ghanaian emancipation. Ghana's first President, Dr. Kwame Nkumah, regarded GNA as a counter-weight to biased reporting by international news agencies. GNA's

mission was to help build a viable, cohesive nation-state. GNA is now in difficulty, due in part to policy fluctuations of different ministers. Computerized in 1989 with aid from UNESCO, the computer system broke down in 1996 and was not properly re-installed. One provincial office of GNA has only one, old, typewriter. There has been no recent investment in infrastructure. Foreign bureaux have closed. Subscriptions for international agencies are in arrears. The photographic section is non-operational. A web site established in 1999 has been suspended while the agency re-designs its production. In coverage of year 2000 national elections, a local radio station emerged as best source, in part because of effective use of mobile phones, showing how slow GNA had become. GNA is designated a subvented institution to be commercialized during the first phase of the public Sector reform programme. As a managerial rather than journalistic appointment, Mr. Johnson represents a commitment to effective management. The General Manager implements policies of the Board of Governors and oversees day-to-day operations affecting 217 employees. Four department heads assist him: Editorial, Administration, and Engineering and Accounts. Main services comprise the Home News Bulletin, and the Foreign News Bulletin, a compilation of news from international agencies. There is a Daily Summary of major news events, domestic and foreign, available in hard copy. There is also an advertising service that pre-finances and places adverts for clients on a commission basis. Current obstacles to GNA progress include: • inadequate financial resources and unpredictable release of approved funds; • obsolete and malfunctioning technology, vehicles and equipment; • increased cost of transmission of news to PANA, Reuters and other foreign news agencies; • inability to attract and retain experienced professional staff. The following remedies will help GNA achieve its objectives: • replacement of broken-down computer and other equipment; • review of operational methods and packaging of products; • enhancement of revenue through expansion of client base for advertising services; • price increases and regional extension of advertisement services; • expansion of marketing, sales and promotions. Management consultants have developed a strategy, whose formal approval is anticipated, for self-sufficiency within four years. It requires \$750,000 technology investment within the first 18 months. It redefines the agency's mission, which is to provide high quality, commercially sustainable service that contributes to Ghana's overall development. It seeks enhancement of GNA's traditional services (e.g. web-site), new products/services (e.g. audio news, press releases) to more clients, and critical cost efficiencies (e.g. via technology modernization). It identifies GNA's existing strengths as 'reputation of excellence and an image as the preeminent institution operating in the news and information sphere in Ghana', its client base, national network, and dedicated staff. Constraints include lack of access to capital, and absence of a business/marketing culture. The plan calls for a pro-active sales programme, a corporate planning system, incentives and training, and a funding campaign to help raise some of the needed capital.

### **The Khabar Broadcasting Agency (Republic of Kazakhstan)**

Ms. Dina Bukayeva, Senior Editor delivered the presentation on Khabar. The Khabar Agency, not a news agency in the traditional sense of that term, raises the question of whether one future model of agency development may be broadcast organizations that operate simultaneously as wholesalers and retailers. Khabar is the largest and one of the youngest (five years old) broadcasting corporations in the Republic of Kazakhstan and in all of Central Asia. Its potential audience is 64 million. It has two television and one-radio channels and broadcasts in

Kazakh, Russian and English. It has received assistance from the Thomson Foundation of Great Britain; also from UNESCO (in becoming a member of the Asian-Pacific Broadcasting Union). Khabar's focus is news, and information programmes fill 35% of the day. A web-site comprises information about Khabar Agency, and a selection of news. Overall, the agency employs more than 90 people. Its satellite receiving stations pull down news editions from many international agencies, and its television programming is distributed by Intelsat-703. By the mid-1990s, there was a profusion of new media in Kazakhstan. As of the end of 1996, 220 television stations, 50 radio stations and some 20 news agencies were in operation. Decrees issued by President Nazarbaev placed the media under the control of his administration. One of these, issued on 17 March 1995, limited the volume of advertisements appearing in the independent mass media. This produced serious economic difficulties for the independent media. Presidential decree No. 2518 of 14 October 1995 stipulated that virtually all the media in Kazakhstan be controlled by the presidential National Agency for the Press and Mass Information. The National Agency, which consisted only of representatives of the state-run media, was made responsible for practically all issues regarding the media.

### **Syrian Arab News Agency (SANA)**

Mr. Waled Al Isami, Chief Engineer, delivered the SANA presentation. SANA is a government agency, with local and foreign correspondents in more than 20 countries. It has a staff of 200 journalists and 15 engineers. Staffs come from diverse backgrounds: there is a need for training that will introduce them equally to the working of the agency and provide them opportunity to become familiar with the new technology. SANA is currently in the process of up-dating its technology, with a data bank that will make services available on demand. It has already introduced Internet bulletins in several languages for clients around the world.

### **News agencies in India**

News agencies in India can be referred to as the banks of news. They are the major source of supply and circulation of information within and among countries. News agencies in India are organisations of journalists established in different zones of the nation to provide news reports to organisations in the news trade. Houses providing newspapers, magazines, and radio and television broadcasters use the news agencies as the larger sources for news. News agencies in India may also be referred to as a wire service, newswire or news service. There are many news agencies in India that collect news and give them accordingly to the other news houses to finally reach out to the mass. Lately, many news agencies provide specialised services. They collect and disseminate news in the restricted areas of business, stock exchange, tourist information, weather reports, and scientific news and so on. The rapid development for the need of visual news gave birth to special type of news agencies that supply photos, television programmes and documentary films. However, majority of Indian news agencies deal with print news that is circulated in various broadcasting houses. The Press Trust of India Limited is India's largest news agency that provides subscription services and offers national news, international, business and sports news in India and abroad. Asia News Agency (P) Ltd is a diplomatic news consulting service in India, covering news on Indian polity, Indian economy, Indian security, foreign policy, editorial news, Bollywood, government issues, sports, weather and other national and international issues. Press Information Bureau is the pivotal agency of the

Government to disseminate information to the print and electronic media on the various government policies, programmes, initiatives and achievements. Press Trust of India is India's largest news agency; it is a non-profit sharing cooperative owned by the country's newspapers. Central News Agency Limited is another news agency working in India that offers subscription services, door delivery for newspapers and magazines and also wholesale distribution and exporting of Indian magazines, newspapers, books, audio and video cassettes and CD-ROMs. Express Media Service is particularly a Hindi news agency offering regional, special news, sports, state news, business and international news in 12 Indian languages. Indo-Asian News Service or the IANS is not only India's only news agency with a growing international reach but is also a brilliant content, knowledge and publishing outsource for Indian publications and institutions all around the world. They are the one-stop content provider on news and information from India, South Asia and the vast Indian subcontinent. KBK is India's pioneering and leading daily News Graphics agency that provides comprehensive coverage of news through graphics. Kashmir Media service is a full-fledged news agency working on Kashmir ensuring instant coverage of every day events in Indian held Kashmir. National News Service is a news agency for agribusiness that provides daily trading prices and news for 1500 agricommodities, Indian trade journalism and providing content to all national dailies and significant TV news channels. The news agencies in India work with various departments to exploit each and every news arenas for all kinds of target audiences. Although, majority of hard news is harnessed in the news agencies, however, interesting features are also dealt with. The news agencies in India are known for their authenticity and detailed research. Many more news agencies are working in India in vernacular presses that cater to the regional audience with bountiful local issues of interest.

### 7.3 Summary

A news agency is an organization of journalists established to supply news reports to news organizations: newspapers, magazines, and radio and television broadcasters. Such an agency may also be referred to as a wire service, newswire, or news service. *History*. The oldest news agency is Agence France-Presse (AFP). It was founded in 1835 by a Parisian translator and advertising agent, Charles-Louis Havas as AgenceHavas. Two of his employees, Paul Julius Reuter and Bernhard Wolff, later set up rival news agencies in London and Berlin respectively. In 1853, in Turin, Guglielmo Stefani founded the Agenzia Stefani, that became the most important agency in the Kingdom of Italy, and took international relevance with ManlioMorgagni.

### 7.4 Self Assessment Questions

1. Discuss about the evolution of news agencies in the world.
2. Write about the Indian news agencies.

### 7.5 Reference Books:

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.



3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

## Lesson-8

# DIMENSIONS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION

## 8.0 Objectives

After reading the lesson, the student, will learn about

- Meaning of international communication
- Need for international communication

### STRUCTURE

#### 8.1 Introduction

#### 8.2 Global village

#### 8.3 War of ideas

#### 8.4 Methods to waging War of ideas

##### 8.4.1. Use during the cold war

##### 8.4.2. Use in the War on Terror.

#### 8.5 Summary

#### 8.6 Self Assessment Question

#### 8.7 Reference Books

## 8.1 Introduction

Technology, telecommunications, cultural products, news mail, cultural relations and language are the seven dimensions of the international communication. These seven dimensions account for all political actions concerning international communication. These political actions are; the creation of international organizations concerned with communications, the creation of law regulating international communication, international conferences, mobilization and other actions to exchange ideas by parties concerned with international communication; government paradigms and policies, actions by firms and other players in the economic market and paradigms and policies of international organizations aimed at regulating international communication or development.

## 8.2 Global village

In 1960 Canadian professor Marshal McLuhan popularized the notion of global village a word interconnected by the marvels of electronic communication, in which the old social, racial, and ethnic barriers would break down. Global communication networks collapse time and space enabling people and organizations around the world to interact and work together. McLuhan speculated that global media would foster the development of a tribalized society in which individuals would interact within a larger group consciousness. McLuhan and Zingrone (1995)

say, "Individual talents and perspectives don't have to shrivel within a retribalized society; they merely interact within a group consciousness that has the potential for releasing far more creativity than the old atomized culture". Similarly, Levy (1997) contends that digital networks will support the emergence of a "collective intelligence," which he describes as a "universally distributed intelligence, constantly enhanced, coordinated in real time, and resulting in the effective mobilization of skills". Computer networking is the centralizing technology that will cause the development of this global intelligence because people use communication technologies to interact on a global scale. Both Levy and McLuhan suggest that by bridging time and space global communication networks could ultimately join people into a large collective. Underlying this concept is the idea that print media separated people into nation states and print technology helped to create the idea of individualism. Through the printing press, the different European languages were standardized, facilitating the establishment of nation states. Books printed in different languages caused people to begin to associate with language groups. Over time, people who would read and write in one language, such as French, began to realize that they were different from people who would read and write in a different language, such as German or English. Linguistic separation eventually led to the creation of national identity. In addition, reading could be done alone, and so reading became a singular rather than a group activity, thus reinforcing the notion of individualism. The printing press's influence on the formation of nation states and individualism is described in detail by Eisenstein (1980). Electric and electronic media, in contrast, tend to bring people together into a larger group consciousness that is reminiscent of preliterate tribalized oral culture. In oral culture, human communication primarily depends on face-to-face interaction, and people living in oral cultures are interdependent because they have access to each other. According to McLuhan and Zingrone (1995): "Literate man is alienated, impoverished man; retribalized man can lead a far richer and more fulfilling life-not the life of a mindless drone but of the participant in a seamless Web of interdependence and harmony". Interdependence can develop through CMC and global communication media as people work together and build relationships. McLuhan (1964) used the metaphor of the human body to explain different types of media. For example, the book is an extension of the eye and clothing is an extension of the skin. Similarly, he argued that electric technology is an extension of the human nervous system. In 1964, he predicted that rapidly humans would approach the final phase of the extension of man - technological simulation of consciousness, when the creative process of knowing will be collectively and corporately extended to the whole of human society, much as we have already extended our senses and our nerves by the various media. By spanning time and space, the Internet and Web extend our nervous system through a global electronic network that connects people in a global embrace. Globalization is defined as the interdependence of countries on a worldwide level through the increasing volume of cross-border transactions in goods and services and through the widespread diffusion of technology. As international trade in goods and services grows, global financial transactions increase and a global marketplace emerge. Central to the formation of a global marketplace are mass media. Mass media have been criticized for homogenizing global culture by disrupting national traditions. Mass media create global mass audiences that are targets for globalized consumer products, such as Pepsi, McDonald's, and the Gap. Around the world, people wear Gap jeans and eat McDonald's hamburgers as they sip Pepsi. Instead of homogenizing culture, the Web has been criticized for fragmenting it. The Web creates a chaotic marketplace of cultures that allows a greater degree of individualization across cultures. Rather than uniting the world into one large, homogeneous global village, the Internet exposes people to

cultural diversity. Thus, globalization simultaneously brings people together into a large consumer culture and potentially exposes individuals to different cultures.

### 8.3 War of ideas

The War of Ideas is a clash of opposing ideals, ideologies, or concepts through which nations or groups use strategic influence to promote their interests abroad. The “battle space” of this conflict is the target population’s “hearts and minds”, while the “weapons” can include, inter alia, TV programs, newspaper articles, the internet, blogs, official government policy papers, traditional as well as public diplomacy, or radio broadcasts. The Strategic Studies Institute, part of the U.S. Army, defined what is believed to be the War of Ideas: Simply put, a war of ideas is a clash of visions, concepts, and images, and— especially—the interpretation of them. They are, indeed, genuine wars, even though the physical violence might be minimal, because they serve a political, socio-cultural, or economic purpose, and they involve hostile intentions or hostile acts. Wars of ideas can assume many forms, but they tend to fall into four general categories (though these are not necessarily exhaustive): (a) intellectual debates, (b) ideological wars, (c) wars over religious dogma, and (d) advertising campaigns. All of them are essentially about power and influence, just as with wars over territory and material resources, and their stakes can run very high indeed.

### 8.4 Methods to waging War of Ideas

There are two principal schools of thought on how to approach the war of ideas. The first approach advocates treating the conflict as a matter best addressed through public diplomacy— defined as the conveyance of information across a broad spectrum to include cultural affairs and political action. Accordingly, this view calls for revitalizing or transforming the U.S. Department of State and many of the traditional tools of statecraft. This school of thought contends that American public diplomacy declined after the Cold War, as evidenced by the demise of the U.S. Information Agency in 1999, and the reduction or elimination of strategic communications programs such as “Voice of America,” and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. The remedy, then, according to this view, is to re-engage the world, especially the Arab-Muslim world, by revitalizing both the form and content of U.S. public diplomacy and strategic communications, and by reinforcing those communications with concrete programs that invest in people, create opportunities for positive exchanges, and help build friendships. In fact, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, and its Iraqi component, Radio Free Iraq, and Al-Hurra TV are now actively participating in U.S. strategic communication efforts, though with debatable effectiveness; all this has occurred, in part, by taking resources from Voice of America. In direct contrast, the second school of thought advocates treating the war of ideas as a “real war,” wherein the objective is to destroy the influence and credibility of the opposing ideology, to include neutralizing its chief proponents. This approach sees public diplomacy as an essential, but insufficient tool because it requires too much time to achieve desired results, and does little to aid the immediate efforts of combat forces in the field. For this school of thought, the principal focus of the war of ideas ought to be how to use the ways and means of information warfare to eliminate terrorist groups. *Use during the Cold War.* According to Dr. John Lenczowski, former Director of European and Soviet Affairs for the National Security Council during the Reagan administration, ‘The Cold War took many forms, including proxy wars, the

arms race, nuclear blackmail, economic warfare, subversion, covert operations and the battle for men's minds. While many of these forms had the trappings of traditional conflicts of national interests, there was a dimension to the Cold War that made it unique among wars: it cantered around a war of ideas—a war between two alternative political philosophies. During the Cold War, the United States and other Western powers developed a robust infrastructure for waging a “war of ideas” against the communist ideology being promulgated by the Soviet Union and its allies. During the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, the so-called golden age of U.S. propaganda, counterpropaganda, and public diplomacy operations, the U.S. government carried out a sophisticated program of overt and covert activities designed to shape public opinion behind the Iron Curtain, within European intellectual and cultural circles, and across the developing world. The United States was able to reach as much as 50–70% of the populations behind the Iron Curtain during the 1950s through their international broadcasting. High-level interest in such operations waned during the 1970s, but received renewed emphasis under President Ronald Reagan, the “Great Communicator,” who, like Eisenhower, was a firm advocate of the informational component of America’s Cold War strategy. However, with the end of the Cold War official interest once again plummeted. During the 1990s, Congress and the executive branch disparaged informational activities as costly Cold War anachronisms. The budget for State Department informational programs was slashed, and USIA, a quasi-independent body that reported to the secretary of state, was disestablished, and its responsibilities were transferred to a new undersecretary of state for public diplomacy. ***Use in the War on Terror.*** Terrorism is a form of political and psychological warfare; it is protracted, high-intensity propaganda, aimed more at the hearts of the public and the minds of decision makers, and not at the physical victims. There is growing recognition among U.S. government officials, journalists, and analysts of terrorism that defeating al-Qaida—arguably the preeminent challenge to U.S. security—will require far more than “neutralizing” leaders, disrupting cells, and dismantling networks. The 9/11 Commission concluded in its final report, eliminating al-Qaida as a formidable danger ultimately requires “prevailing in the longer term over the ideology that gives rise to Islamist terrorism.” As Akbar Ahmed, a Muslim scholar who holds the Chair of Islamic Studies at American University explains: Properly understood, this is a war of ideas within Islam—some of them faithful to authentic Islam, but some of them clearly un-Islamic and even blasphemous toward the peaceful and compassionate Allah of the Qur'an. Americans, in general, are fundamentally opposed waging what seems as a blatantly ideological struggle seems quite unnatural to Americans and other Westerners, who tend to downplay intangible factors such as ideas, history, and culture as political motivators, preferring instead to stress relatively more concrete driving forces such as personal security and physical well-being. The United States military has recently begun incorporating a strategic communication into their overall battle operations in the War on Terror, especially in Afghanistan and Iraq. In addition to the military’s traditional role of using force they are beginning to use political as well as ideological warfare against the enemy as a method of influencing the local populations into opposing say the Taliban or al-Qa’ida. The ancient Chinese philosopher Sun Tzu once said that to fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting.

## 8.5 Summary

Technology, telecommunications, cultural products, news mail, cultural relations and language are the seven dimensions of the international communication. These seven dimensions account for all political actions concerning international communication. These political actions are; the creation of international organizations concerned with communications, the creation of law regulating international communication, international conferences, mobilization and other actions to exchange ideas by parties concerned with international communication; government paradigms and policies, actions by firms and other players in the economic market and paradigms and policies of international organizations aimed at regulating international communication or development.

## 8.6 Self Assessment Question

1. What are the Ideas of dimensions used during the war periods?

## 8.7 Reference Books:

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

**Lesson-9****MEDIA IMPERIALISM AND  
COMMUNICATION POLICIES****9.0 Objectives**

After reading the lesson, the student, will be conversant about

- Media Imperialism
- Communication policies

**STRUCTURE****9.1 Introduction****9.2 Communication Policies****9.3 Summary****9.4 Self Assessment Questions****9.5 Reference Books****9.1 Introduction**

The Media Imperialism debate started in the early 1970s when developing countries began to criticise the control developed countries held over the media. The site for this conflict was UNESCO where the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) movement developed. Supported by the MacBride report, "Many Voices, One World", countries such as India, Indonesia, and Egypt argued that the large media companies should have limited access to developing countries. This argument was one of the reasons for the United States, United Kingdom, and Singapore leaving UNESCO. Later during the 1980s and 1990s, as multinational media conglomerates grow larger and more powerful many believe that it will become increasingly difficult for small, local media outlets to survive. A new type of imperialism will thus occur, making many nations subsidiary to the media products of some of the most powerful countries or companies. Significant writers and thinkers in this area include Ben Bagdikian, Noam Chomsky, Edward S. Herman, Armand Mattelart and Robert McChesney. However, critics have responded that in most developing countries the most popular television and radio programs are commonly locally produced. Critics such as Anthony Giddens highlight the place of regional producers of media (such as Brazil in Latin America); other critics such as James Curran suggest that State government subsidies have ensured strong local production. In areas such as audience studies, it has been shown that global programs like Dallas do not have a global audience who understand the program the same way. The United States' corporate media coverage of events has been seen to limit the freedom of the press. Integrity can be lost among media giants. This combined with the control and flow of information reduces the fairness and

accuracy of news stories. American news networks like CNN also often have large international staffs, and produce specialized regional programming for many nations. Media Imperialism is not always an international occurrence, however. When a single company or corporation controls all the media in a country, this too is a form of Media Imperialism. Nations such as Italy and Canada are often accused of possessing an Imperial media structure, based on the fact that much of their media is controlled by one corporation or owner. A media source which ignores and/or censors important issues and events severely damages freedom of information. Many modern tabloids, twenty-four hour news channels and other mainstream media sources have increasingly been criticized for not conforming to general standards of journalistic integrity. According to Boyd-Barrett, media imperialism refers to ‘the process whereby, the ownership, structure, distribution or content of the media in any one country are, singly or together, subject to substantial external pressures from the media interests of any other country or countries, without proportionate reciprocation of influences by the country so affected’. He identifies two ‘outstanding features’ of media imperialism:

1. ‘Uni-directional media flow. While there is a heavy flow of exported media products from the US to say, Asian countries, there is only a very slight trickle of Asian media products to the US.

2. The very small number of source countries, accounting for a very substantial share of all international media influences around the world. These countries are primarily America, then Britain, France, West Germany, Russia, Italy and Japan.

Media imperialism needs to be seen as a subset of the broader paradigm called ‘cultural imperialism’, a term often attributed to US Marxist theoretician Hebert Schiller. In his book, *Mass Communications and American Empire* he argued that the international movement towards the commercialization of broadcasting was driven by the rise of the US entertainment, communications and information (ECI) industries, and the ascendancy of ECI industries had reached a point where ‘nothing less than the viability of the American industrial economy is involved in the movement toward international commercialization of broadcasting’. He stressed three prepositions. First, ECI’s spread must be viewed alongside US foreign policy. Second, ECI’s influence is not just economic and political but also impacts ‘consciousnesses. Third, economic power and global reach of cultural commodities was leading to cultural imperialism. He defined cultural imperialism as follows; The concept of cultural imperialism...describes the sum of processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominant centre of the system’. The Marxist critique of international cultural flows developed out of broader critiques of the triumphalism paradigm of ‘modernization’ propounded in the late 1950s and the 1960s, predominantly by US theorists. “This ‘dominant’ model proposed a single global process of modernization through a unilinear diffusion of Western technologies, social institutions, modes of living, and value systems to the eponymous ‘Third World’”. Schiller thought the communication technologies were not value-neutral instruments but imbued with capitalist values; language (for instance English as global lingua franca); business practices; the genre as well as content of soap operas, blockbusters, popular music etc. Schiller saw media as a central element in the global expansion of capitalism centred on the US, fuelled by advertising and



consumerism. From the 1980s onwards, the media imperialism thesis has been under sustained attack. This largely owes to the notion that there are now “reverse currents”. Giddens went as far as to claim “reverse colonization”, exemplified by the export of Brazilian television programmes to Portugal and the Mexicanization of southern California. It is pointed out that the simple image of Western dominion obscures the complex and reciprocal nature of interaction between different and increasingly hybridized cultures over centuries. It is also argued that global media enterprises have been forced to adapt to local cultures, and to link up with local partners, in order to sustain their expansion. Similarly, the media imperialism thesis is criticised for underestimating local resistance to American domination. Sreberny (2001) thinks media imperialism was a ‘problematic argument both theoretically and empirically from the beginning’ mainly because:

1. Broadcasting did not develop with world domination in mind, even if some of its spread has been consonant with Western foreign policy interests. State-control, back in 1970s, neutralised unidirectional ‘free flow of information’. A majority was not even exposed to Western influences as they had no access to TV. The colonial legacies (Christianity, language, education etc) and other industries (fashion, tourism, architecture, and consumer durables) had more enduring effect than media. Hence, focus on part (media) cannot be read for whole.

2. ‘By the year 2001 there are many significant culture industries in the South: Globo in Brazil, and Television in Mexico produce telenovelas; a huge multimedia complex near Cairo supports the production of Islamic soap operas which Turkey also produces. And if the focus shifts away from television alone to include other cultural products, the diversity increases: Bollywood for instance, the Eastern challenge to Hollywood in the sheer number of film titles produced yearly, with the Asian diaspora constituting sizeable audiences. The Iranian and Chinese film industries are gaining global recognition and audiences. The marketing of ‘old music’ has helped the diffusion of Algerian, Senegalese, Cuban, and Brazilian contemporary music. The Indian Zee TV is a powerful independent newscaster while Qatar’s Al-Jazeera is revolutionizing factual programming in the Arab World.’ Hence, the West does not dominate the Rest anymore.

3. New approaches to the ‘active audiences’ within media studies have forced a rethinking of international effects also.

4. More nuances are required, after all the three world conceptualization no longer exists. Given this conceptual lacuna, totalizing theories do not hold ground.

She concludes: “cultural imperialism always consisted of many discourses; the ongoing attempt to rewrap them into one through the trope of ‘media imperialism’ is an increasingly forlorn task. The world has changed and so must our language and our theoretical frames”. To such complaints, defenders respond by saying in effect that complexity is being invoked to obfuscate the continuing reality of Western cultural preponderance. Media activity, in this view, may be multidirectional but it is still very unequal. American and Western enterprises are dominant in certain key sectors, most notably film, news wholesaling, and computer operating systems. Relatively small number of transnational media corporations, mostly based in the USA, dominate media export market. The second counter-argument is that although there is global

cultural diversity, it is being reconstructed by an underlying hegemonic dynamic. The dominant strain of global mass culture, according to Stuart Hall, “remains centred in the West...and it always speaks English”.

## 9.2 Communication policies

Some countries have tried to establish policies that affect the flow of information and communication within and between them. UNESCO has defined communication policy as “sets of principles and norms established to guide the behavior of communication systems”. Mowlana and Willson defines communication policy as “systematic, institutionalized principles, norms, and behavior that are designed through legal and regulatory procedures and /or perceived through historical understanding to guide formation, distribution, and control of the system in both its human and technological dimensions”. What would a national communication policy contain? The International Telecommunication Union suggests the following questions as the basis for national communication policy;

- What is the structure of the market?
- Which sectors are reserved for monopoly operator and which opened to competitors?
- What is the mix of government, mixed and private ownership?
- What are the conditions and rules of entry to the market?
- What is the allowable rate of return?
- Where is the locus of authority?
- What is the process of establishing new policies?
- How is compliance monitored and enforced?

It might seem unremarkable for a country to establish a policy to supervise the communication and information sector. After all some third world leaders have seen “national communication policies as being necessary to each country’s economic and social development and of a nature to motivate its citizens on behalf of such development.” A 1989 ITU report maintained that “an effective policy and regulatory process will help bring about greater specification of national policy objectives and ongoing accountability for performance... [and] should establish targets for telecommunication development.” However, with exception of a few nations such as Brazil, India, and the People’s Republic of China, nations have little cohesive communication policy. Some countries have claimed that such policies would take the form of government censorship and would restrict or stop the international flow of information. Although many scholars are wont to say that media imperialism is an unfashionable area of research in a 21st century world media culture, it is important to note that the issue is still very germane to Africans, particularly Nigerians because there is limited research and academic writing coming from scholars based in Nigeria (Africa) on it. It is in the realization of this drawback that this paper revisits media imperialism with specific attention on the Nigerian

television (TV) experience, using historical approach to give a picture of the dilemma faced by Nigerian TV broadcasters. Deregulated broadcasting became a reality in Nigeria in 1992 with the establishment of the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC). The NBC's functions include the issuance of licenses to operators of TV and radio broadcasting, setting standards as well as upholding the principles of fairness, objectivity and balance in the broadcasting industry. The NBC was established through Decree No 38 of 1992 (Now Act No 38), promulgated by the regime of General Ibrahim Babangida. Thereafter, following applications by different organizations and individuals, General Babangida presented the first licenses for private broadcasting in June 1993. The establishment of the NBC was thought by many scholars and media professionals to be the panacea for the nagging problem of foreign broadcast of news and programmes that pervade Nigerian TV screens. Apart from setting standards for the technical areas, the NBC was expected to encourage TV stations to generate about 60% of their programmes for broadcast locally (Okhakhu, 2001). Standards ought to cover all facets of content as it affects socio-cultural development. But close to two decades after the establishment of the NBC, the Nigerian TV has not moved substantially away from the feature of programmes and news items whose origin and content is basically foreign. This is even besides the manufacture of media technologies which Nigeria is yet to find its feet in. With regard to the general African situation, Omoera (2008) observes that imperialistic strictures have compelled most growing democracies in Africa (Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, Burundi, Cameroun, among others) to tag along established Western democracies in virtually all facets of human endeavour. This portends a possible "arrested" development for most African countries, if not frontally addressed. This, perhaps, also explains why the TV as a form of media production in Nigeria has continued to grapple with the hydra – headed phenomenon known as media imperialism. Media imperialism discourse is particularly significant in Nigeria, the continent's biggest country in terms of population and also home to one of Africa's most vigorous media industries. Nigeria has also traditionally been exposed to American or Western media more than many other nations in Africa, aside South African, which in the context of this paper, is regarded as part and parcel of the Western/imperialistic media. Media imperialism as a notional framework has been subsumed under the broader umbrella of cultural imperialism. According to White (2001), cultural imperialism has been used as a framework by scholars of different academic backgrounds and persuasions to explain phenomena in the areas of international relations, anthropology, education, sciences, history, literature and sports. He therefore reconsiders the concept of cultural imperialism theory as it relates to communication discipline. White (2001) contends that a review of the international communication literature will reveal different terms such as "media imperialism" (Boyd-Barrett, 1977); "media are American" (Tunstall, 1977); "structural imperialism" (Galtung, 1979); "cultural synchronization" (Hamelink, 1983); "cultural dependency and domination" (Link, 1984; Mohammadi, 1995); "electronic colonialism" (McPhail, 1987); "communication imperialism" (Sui-Nam Lee, 1988) "ideological imperialism" and "economic imperialism" (Mattleart, 1994) – all relating to the same basic notion of cultural imperialism. These concepts and positions have been refigured and reformulated in the light of current debates on globalization, the public sphere, and the potential of the internet for empowerment to the effect that new communication technologies and the opening up of global markets are transforming the world's media and cultural industries (Boyd-Barret & Thussu, 1993). While advocates of globalization contend that such change has brought greater freedom, opportunity, choice and diversity (Cowen, 2002), it is also clear that globalization has served the economic, political and cultural interests of certain parties more than others, raising concerns

about a new era of American or Western imperialism and attendant cultural homogenization or standardization (Jameson, 2000). Colonizing the imagination of consumers worldwide, the virtual empires of the electronic age have a profound effect on national media systems and cultural sovereignty. For instance, about three decades after “Media are American”, Tunstall (2008) posits in “Media were American” that the American era of media dominance has passed. This is pretty much explained by the development of national, transnational and regional media over the past quarter century in China, Brazil, India, Iran, Australia and elsewhere. Similarly, Thussu’s “Electronic Empires” X-rays the effects of large transnational media corporations on national and regional media and one of the articles in the book (contributed by Boyd-Barrett) admits that there is no questioning the fact that there are emergent media “powers” in the ecology of media influence in contemporary world (1998). The painful scenario is that Nigeria is in the periphery of this emerging media “power” shift or expansion notwithstanding the much vaulted flow pattern of contents especially in the new media era and in particular the spread of Nigerian drama around African TV stations, foreign-based Africa-focused satellite TV and in the form of videos/DVDs among African diasporas. Although so much redefinition has taken place, the dependency syndrome which this paper is referent on presupposes that imperialism itself implies a process of dominance and dependency between nations in which the identification of the role of the media in extending or containing given cultural orientations, conventions and influences is under focus. Perhaps that is why Golding (1977) earlier contextualized cultural imperialism as a problematic in the structural relations of dependence between advanced and developing societies and submits that the phenomenon includes the results of international media, educational and cultural systems. Consequently, scholars agree that mass media in Africa, Latin America and Asia have developed, almost invariably, as derivatives or appendages of those in the advanced industrialized countries. In a relatively recent work, some scholars sought to examine the interplay between cultural studies, media studies and Caribbean’s anthropology and how this interface has impacted on the consumption cultures of the Caribbean peoples. Pertierra and Horst (2009) observe that although media consumption has become a factor of everyday life in most regions around the world, there are several specific reasons why the Caribbean makes a particularly interesting case study for examining the cultural practices, relationships, micro-political encounters and identities that surround the distribution and use of media systems and technologies. In much the same way that John Sinclair (1999) has reported for the region of Latin America, the history of Caribbean media is inevitably entangled in a relationship of dependence on the economies and industries of the United States, such that by the 1980s the Anglophone Caribbean was measured as the world region most penetrated by foreign media (Brown, 1995). While countries in the Caribbean share some underlying features that could shape the possibilities for how mediascapes develop through local creation and appropriation of media content, the cheerless fact remains that virtually the entire Caribbean mediascape is a footnote to the United States of America’s and Britain’s media imperialistic hegemonies. In other words, Caribbean media content tend to rely a great deal on programmes, programming and information from the United States (and to lesser degrees from Europe and Mexico). Thus, media consumers in the region are simply passive recipients of the output of the global North (Dunn, 1995). For example, Pertierra (2009) captures the Cuban scenario where media content has not been particularly controversial, as the vast majority of citizens have had relatively free access to the categories of capitalist-produced media programming and programmes that they mostly desire, namely Hollywood films, Latin American telenovelas, international sporting events and popular music from around the world. Perhaps, this scenario

has remained unchallenged because local programmes and programming are trite and too pedestrian for the growing Cuban population. Pertierra corroborated this view when she affirmed that the residents included in her study, especially younger people, did frequently complain that most Cuban television and radio programming is boring. Boyd-Barrett (1977) had previously pontificated that any academic analysis of international media activities has two outstanding features of the “influence process”. The first, according to him, is the unidirectional nature of international media flow. He argued that whereas there is a heavy flow of exported media products/technologies/content from the United States of America to; say Asian, African and Caribbean countries, there is only a very slight trickle of Asian, African and Caribbean media products/technologies/content to the United States of America. Even where there may appear to be a substantial return flow, as is sometimes the case in news and Nigerian home video dramas, the apparent reciprocity only disguises the fact that those who manage or handle this return flow are primarily the agents of major Western media systems, whose criteria of choice are determined first by their domestic market needs. The operations and activities of Western media behemoths such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC World), Cable News Network (CNN), Sky News, Fox News, Voice of America (VOA), among others, in relation to, and with other regions of the world clearly exemplify the point being made. In the theorizing of Boyd-Barrett, the second outstanding feature of the influence process which actually stems from the first is the very small number of “source” countries accounting for a very large share of all international media influences around the world. These countries are mainly the United States of America, then Britain, France, Germany, Russia, followed by relatively emergent centres of international media influence including Italy, India, China, Japan, Iran and Brazil. Eregare and Afolabi (2009) argue further that if “sources” are identified only by country of origin, however this obscures the fact that the real sources are even more limited, located as they were, in a handful of giant media conglomerates, then the rest of the world is under media iron-grip of some sort. However, the concern here is not whether the idea of media imperialism in world media culture is desirable or has advantages or disadvantages. Rather, emphasis is on the historical development of the phenomenon, reasons for its prevalence as well as the obvious but regrettable fact that it will continue to be part of the African media arrangement, specifically the television system in Nigeria for some time to come. A good way to proceed further in this discourse is to examine the issue from the three perspectives enunciated by Fejes (1981). According to him, media imperialism should be analyzed with reference to: (i) the role of the media in maintaining or changing a nation’s power structure and how it is tied to the international system of domination and dependence. (ii) as a historical phenomenon; and (iii) under culture. The phenomenon is thus analyzed from these three perspectives. The different modes exhibited by the phenomenon are situated within them.

**Perspectives and Dialectics of Media Imperialism**

The term “media imperialism” connotes a situation whereby the media system of a particular area of focus is subjected to the dictates of the media system of another area. A concise definition of media imperialism is provided by Boyd-Barrett, however dated. According to him, it is the process whereby ownership, structure, distribution, or content of the media in any one country are singly or together subject to substantial external pressure from the media interests of any other country or countries without proportionate reciprocation of influence by the country so affected (1977). The pertinent issue here is culture. From the concept enunciated by Boyd – Barrett, it is obvious that the result of the pressure is acculturation. Ordinarily, the hardware of media systems (that is, the technology), which Nigeria is used to, is Western. The hardware is intended for use in aid of development. But when the hardware comes

with all its cultural appurtenances, then whatever development it would bring would be Western-tainted, if not a complete implantation of Western culture. It must be noted that the country or countries that initiate this imperialism do so either inadvertently or as a deliberate or intentional policy or commercial strategy. On the other hand, the country so affected accepts or adopts the influence resulting from the invasion as a deliberate commercial or political strategy. It may otherwise absorb it, ignorant of its consequences. It is equally true that the country so invaded may just be powerless and is unable to resist the invasion even if it had wanted to do so. Several factors are responsible for the inability to resist, chief amongst which is poverty in all its ramifications, which may prevent an invaded country from evolving its own media system that is strong enough to resist imperialism. In this regard, Eregare and Afolabi (2009) rightly note that media imperialism is a critical theory regarding the perceived effects of globalization on world's media. They contend that when a single company or corporation controls all the media in a country or countries, standardizing and commercializing products of one culture for the media consumption of another, media imperialism is in operation. For instance, the influence of the American media content only intensifies consumption values instead of production values in many countries which are compelled to depend and view the world through the prism of Western values, ideas and civilization. It is probably this dependency syndrome Boyd – Barrett (1977) envisaged when he identified four modes of media imperialism. These are: (i) the shape of the communication vehicle; (ii) a set of individual arrangement for the continuation of media production; (iii) the body of values about ideal practice; and (iv) specific media content. To this could be added, language as distinct from the shape of the communication vehicle and specific content. A little explanation of these modes is germane to this discourse. The shape of the communication vehicle refers to the communication technology. The early advance of the developed nations of the West (France, United States of America, Britain and Germany) has given them the leverage to equally develop communication systems to link great distances just to enhance their business interests. However, this has impacted quite negatively on the media systems of the developing countries as it ensures the perpetuation of the world information order that has consigned the developing world to a position of mere consumers of information, even when the information originates in their own environment. Ultimately, then, the early technological advance of these countries compels other countries in quest of the development of their media systems to follow the examples set by these countries. In Nigeria, emphasis is on transmission facilities just to keep pace with international broadcast standards as dictated by the global north and rural integration and development is paid lip service. Yet rural integration and grassroots development ought to be the paramount focus of media operation in a developing nation like Nigeria (Ibagere, 2002; Omoera, 2006). The industrial arrangement for the continuation of media production is linked to financial facilities which the media utilize for stability. Western countries have established a solid foundation that enables their media systems to be financially independent. This ensures their continuous production of content which they can dispose of to developing countries cheaply. The structure of Hollywood, for example, gives it an unassailable advantage that enhances the invasion of Third World cinema and television by American film and television products. The strong foundation of Hollywood is a development which was encouraged by the American government in various ways including the formation of the Motion Picture Export Association of America (MPEAA) in 1946 (Ekwuazi, 1991). This body was formed to regulate film making as well as deal with the exploration of films and garner whatever advantage was needed abroad. This ensured that America maintained the lead while others followed. Thus, Hollywood has been able to consolidate and intensify its grip on global

distribution and exhibition of motion picture as a result of neo-liberalism on trade practices and terms (Hjort & Petrie, 2007). The body of values about ideal practice refers to the codes or ethics of the profession of broadcasting. The compendium of ethics of broadcasting was first evolved by the developed countries. Because of this pioneering position, the code of ethics or its derivatives tend to ape their developed societies. Thus, it is what is conceived to be good television fare that must be the standard. It is what constitutes "good news" in the Western sense that should also hold for the rest, especially in Nigeria and other countries in the south of the Sahara. Moreover, in quest of attaining the appropriate professional standards set by the West, many African stations procure foreign programmes to fill their air time which local programmes cannot fill because of the prohibitive cost of production. Golding (1977) earlier made this point when he observed that the factors which have forced television into this situation include the demands of a largely elite population having cosmopolitan tastes and interests as well as the high cost of local production. The reference to tastes and demands of the elite are equally relevant in the discussion of content as a crucial element of media imperialism affecting television broadcasting in Africa particularly in Nigeria. In the area of news, most television organizations depend on foreign news agencies such as Reuters, Associated Press, United Press, BBC World, to mention a few. And because these agencies view the world with their home country imperialist socio-political and cultural biases, Africans become inundated with news that is skewed in favour of stereotypes which Western nations have stamped Africa with. Correspondingly, when a news item about Africa gets into the broadcast circuits of these agencies, it is more or less carried to validate such stereotypes or it is about war, violent crisis or some uncanny event. Language as an element of media imperialism in Nigerian television is quite significant. The major language of broadcasting is English. It is only in special programmes that indigenous languages are used. Most of the time indigenous languages are used for news translations. But the time allotted for such translations is not more than a few minutes per language. Thus, not more than one item of news is broadcast in the news translations. The inclusion of such translation, is therefore, not for any purpose of integration or grassroots development through communication, but merely to show that no language area is marginalized in a political sense. It must equally be noted that the use of English to broadcast news and other programmes has communication problems of its own, especially as regards the influence and integration of the rural and illiterate populace who may not understand the English language adequately. From the foregoing, it is clear that, in concept, imperialism pervades the critical sectors of the Nigerian television. To further clarify the phenomenon, it is, perhaps necessary to show, in concrete terms, its pervasive extent. Imperialism in the Nigerian Television Broadcasting All the enumerated modes of imperialism exist in the Nigerian television broadcasting. The situation has become even more acute since the deregulation of broadcasting in the early 1990s. A careful look at the daily offerings of many of the TV stations would reveal the pervasive nature of the phenomenon. In terms of technology, Nigerian TV broadcasters are far behind their Western counterparts as lean finances incapacitate most of them in their bid to acquire up to speed equipment and technology needed by the medium. Stations' broadcasts do not extend beyond a few kilometres. In other words, the area of signification of a majority of the stations is far less than what is expected. For instance, the broadcast signals of Edo broadcasting service (EBS) TV, a state owned TV in Nigeria is only received in the state capital, Benin City and a few areas not too far away. The implication of this is that a larger proportion of the people living in the state do not get EBS TV signals, needless to say those outside the state. This is the scenario in most of the federating states of Nigeria. This ultimately limits the options available to

viewers. Needless to say that it also reduces the size of the audience as well as advertising range because the TV stations cannot boast of large areas of signification or coverage. Consequently, advertising patronage may not yield the fund needed for such stations' expansion in terms of technology acquisition, transmission and area of news coverage. Adeseye (1991) notes that at inception, television broadcast time was about 75% foreign programmes. Though the NBC is trying to change the situation by requiring that stations broadcast 60% local content in their daily transmission, it has not augured well for the industry as the small turnover of most of the TV outfits does not allow for the production of programmes that can meet international standards. In fact, private stations are now involved in the broadcast of sponsored programmes which do not serve the interest of integration/rural/grassroots communication in Nigeria where over 70 percent of the people are rural dwellers (Omoera, 2006). Religious programmes take up the largest percentage of weekly broadcasts in the name of local content. Even when some other Nigerian stations, including HiTv pride themselves for bringing innovative solutions in television content and programming, it appears that they do so in crass ignorance, insensitivity and short-sightedness because many of the programmes ape foreign media without regard to the socio-cultural sensitivity and sensibility of Nigerians. A clear case is "Kokomansion" currently on HiTv which shamelessly copies the America's "Playboy Mansion" with all its moral failings in the light of the Nigerian cultural mores, sense of decency and respect for motherhood and womanhood all in the name of commercial fortune and what Tony Subair of HiTv and other organizers of the reality show calls innovation and creativity. In fact, Ojo (2009) hits the nail on its head when he noted that the quest for fame, money and material pursuit drives Kokomansion. Inadequate funding is another sore point that makes Nigerian television stations hook on to foreign stations to bring international events to viewers. Many stations even use such attachment to source for advertising from patrons because such events, especially sporting activities easily attract sponsors. A case in point is the European Football Champions' league final played between Barcelona Football Club of Spain and Arsenal Football Club of England on Wednesday, May 17, 2006. The Nigerian Breweries sponsored the analysis of the match on Nigerian Television Authority's (NTA's) "Newline". But an important football match like the Nigerian Football Federation final is rarely aired. Notable is the finals of the African Women's Football Championship, hosted by Nigeria and which Nigeria won for a record fifth time on November 11, 2006. It was only the local television station – the Delta Rainbow Television (DRTV) that aired the match and it is probably because it was the state (Delta State) that hosted the championship on behalf of the country. Other stations chose to broadcast the English Premier League matches played that weekend. About four years down the road the situation is now even direr as many conglomerates, including Guinness, Heineken now bankroll the broadcast of league matches from Europe to the dereliction of Nigerian league matches. Overtime, this and other programming activities of most Nigerian TV stations seem to have accumulatively influenced the attitude and behaviour of Nigerians, especially the youths. Today, it is rife to see Nigerian youths wearing T-shirts, rubber bracelets and caps with inscriptions such as "Chelsea FC", "Arsenal FC", "Man U for Life", "New York Lakers", to mention a few (Okhakhu & Ate, 2008). In fact, the average Nigerian football fan knows more about football players and their activities in the Spanish League (La Liga), German League (Bundesliga), Italian League (Serie A), French League (Ligue 1), among others, than the Nigerian sporting scene. The point being made is that gradually but certainly the Nigerian television is being trapped in the web of subtle conditioning of the minds of the people to imbibe values which make their desire for foreign goods, services or ideas to increase (Udeze, 2005). And there is a strong connection between this



consumptive social attitude and the globalisation agenda which continuously buoys up the economy of the producing nation and slows down the economic, industrial and technological growth of the consuming nation (Boyd-Barrett & Thussu, 1993). Perhaps the most significant but regrettable development in encouraging media imperialism tendencies in the Nigerian media ecology is the gleeful announcement by the Federal Government of Nigeria of negotiations between the NBC and the English Football Federation (which holds the broadcast rights of the Premier League) on the broadcast of premier league matches by Nigerian stations. "Following the discussion between the NBC and the FA premier league as well as the follow-up by the Honourable Minister of Information and Communications, Nigeria has been set aside as a broadcast territory for the acquisition of FA premier league rights" (Aihe, 2006). This trend can only perpetuate media imperialism as is the case today where, there are now fans of notable English clubs like Manchester United, Arsenal and Chelsea going for thanksgiving in churches all over the country for their "success" while Nigerian clubs play to empty terraces in different stadiums with their matches not featured on television. In the area of news, a majority of the Nigerian television broadcast outfits cull a large chunk of their broadcast materials from foreign news agencies. There are a plethora cases where international TV broadcasters such as the Cable News Network (CNN), Aljazeera, BBC World, South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), to mention a few, had to report events on important national issues in and around Nigeria before Nigerian TV broadcasters would scurry to pick them as news items. For instance, it was Aljazeera that alerted the world, including Nigerians about the 2010 pogrom in Jos Plateau, north central Nigeria. It would also be recalled that some years back, while most of the Nigerian stations were busying playing pirated musicals, CNN was busying streaming the Lissa Plane Crash in south western Nigeria. Perhaps, the most embarrassing moment for Nigerian TV broadcasters was when the Nigerian president, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua who had been incommunicado with Nigerians for several months, over health related issues, address Nigerians via the BBC Radio, a foreign media concern. Apart from leaving the country rudderless, the incendiary nature of the president's continued stay in Saudi Arabia without letting Nigerians know what was wrong with him was palpably felt across the world. It probably would have been a different scenario if the president that went away without official leave (AWOL) addressed the nation via the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) or the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and other TV or radio networks across the world hooked up to them for the reportage of that news item. This incident tells much about the information management system that obtains in Nigeria, which hamstring the average Nigerian broadcast outfit and reduces it to a position where its Hobson's choice is to tag along Western media behemoths due to some ethno political and economic behests within the country. Needless to say that many of the TV stations continue to feature video clips of foreign TV stations anytime they broadcast international news under the demeaning rubric of "this was culled from CNN, BBC, SABC and so on". At times it is even the complete audio-visual footage of the particular news item that is culled from the foreign TV station. Ibagere and Edosa (2006) earlier noted that Nigerian television at the turn of the new millennium, "resorted to acquiring culturally foreign programmes from TV Africa and other pay TV cable outfits with whom many stations seem to have signed a contract". Imperialism then, seems to wear a new look. Rather than accuse Western nations (particularly America) of invading Nigerian screens with elements of their culture, the focus should now be on South Africa with its robust broadcasting through which Western culture continues to invade Nigerian culture, as signified by the programmes of such satellite stations as Channel O, E Entertainment, MNET and others. As regards the code of practice for media operations, it is sad to note that

Nigerian television appears not to have standards that are indigenous to it. To worsen the matter, viewers seem to have acquired Western tastes without commensurate financial power to satisfy such tastes. Also, the Nigerian television system does not possess the capacity to provide such fare comparable with Western standards. This is why satellite television has become more popular even though it is quite expensive. According to Anibeze (2006) while the cable TV stations broadcasting the world cup in Germany was charging 9.9 Euros (1,800 naira) per month, people were paying 9,000 naira for DSTV monthly in Nigeria, with additional 500 naira if one was paying through an agent. Despite this high cost, Nigerian viewers continue to yearn for foreign programmes. Thus, the economics of scale does not favour the average Nigerian TV broadcaster as it fights tooth and nail to keep hope alive in a hostile business environment where it is compelled to become a dependant of others because of the consumptive attitude of its people. Attempt to allow viewers a peep into international events either results in a dismal imitation or outright replay of foreign stations' broadcasts. One of such unsuccessful imitations is the introduction of the information bar which drifts from one end of the screen to the other during programmes. This was introduced by the NTA in 2006. The crudity of the imitation is glaring in the inadequate information thereby obscuring the meaning of the message. Again some messages are absurd and without relevance to viewers. For example, on December 6, 2006 on the news bar during the NTA telecast of the daily programme, "AM Express", there were, among others, the following: "Clooney mourns death of his pig", "McCartney vies for Icon title", and "Mary J. Blige wins big on billboard". These news items are to say the least culturally irrelevant to the average Nigerian. Apart from Mary J. Blige who may be known to a handful of viewers by virtue of her musical popularity in the US, the other two characters are probably unknown to the

viewers in Nigeria. The foregoing obviously point to media content that is inherently foreign. The fact of this is revealed in the emergence of programmes having no cultural relevance to Nigeria. Yet specific media content betrays a worse scenario. With regard to specific media content, it is obvious that Nigerian screens continue to be buffeted with foreign media content. The so-called Digital Satellite Television (DSTV) continues to attract attention from Nigerian viewers despite the fact that they pay more for signals than anywhere in the world (Anibeze, 2006). This, probably, necessitated the need to break the monopoly of Multi-choice, the sole company with DSTV rights in Nigeria. This deregulation commenced with the rights to football matches of the English Premier League which are no longer the exclusive preserve of Multichoice but now open for bids from other networks (Aihe, 2007). While subscribers are jubilant over the break of the Multi-choice monopoly because it has reduced subscription price, it is clear that imperialism is assuming a wider dimension. There has been a constant complaint of lopsidedness of broadcasting in particular and the world information order in general. While it is only a few stations such as the NTA and African Independent Television (AIT), among others, that engage in satellite broadcasting in Nigeria, Nigerians know so much about South African stations like SABC, Channel O, MTV Base and so on. It must be noted that imperialism is not only a feature of globalization it is a detrimental development that supplants indigenous media culture with the foreign one. The manifestation of this can be gleaned from the adoption of Western practice as could be seen in the content displayed in Big Brother Africa (BBA) show which was aired for the first time in 2007. This was an imitation of Big Brother America. Tagged as a reality show, BBA featured obscene scenes of inmates having their baths as well as amoral interactions. The Nigerian representative, Ofunneka was first, thought to be the most

morally decent. She, however, incurred the wrath of viewers when footages of the show revealed that she was involved in an act with the eventual winner, Richard who was shown fingering her. Commenting on this development, Miebi Senge (2007) says: information is gotten faster on the Net now than from your next door neighbours and would actually put “amebo” to shame. (Amebo is a Pidgin English slang meaning, gossip). But that is the stuff that Nigerians are yet to come to terms with. In fact, it appears that anything goes on the airwaves in Nigeria in the name of TV programming. According to Senge, there were already 4,584 clicks on the video of Richard fingering Ofunneka (2007). MNET (which transmitted the programme) had earlier apologized to the Nigerian government over the sexually offensive video clips on the BBA reality show. It can therefore be seen that imperialism continues either through direct screening of programmes from foreign stations or by imitation as could be seen in the BBA which had a Nigerian equivalent (Big Brother Nigeria) in 2008. Some other Western programmes that have been shamelessly aped by Nigerian TV broadcasters are “Don’t Forget the Lyrics”, “Who Wants to be a Millionaire”, Project Fame”, to mention a few. From whatever perspective then, media imperialism continues to be a feature of Nigerian television broadcasting to the extent that the involvement in international affairs such as the carnage in the Dafur region of Sudan where Nigeria is an active participant in the search for peace can only be accessed through information from such international media organizations such as CNN, BBC, Fox News, Sky News and so on. A number of reasons account for the continued imperialism, and they are hereby stated. Reasons for the Prevailing Imperialism the first factor that accounts for imperialism is finance. The economy of the country is not in a good shape due to mismanagement and outright corruption. The financial crunch resulting from the bad economy acts like an incubus on television especially with regard to such programmes that involve huge financial stakes. Mid January, 2006, ten (10) broadcasting organizations (including some television stations) were closed down by the NBC for failure to fulfil their financial obligations to the commission, to enable the renewal of their broadcast licenses. According to Silas Yisa (then Director General of the Commission) “after a mutually agreed decision in which the affected broadcasters were to pay half of the amount owed, most of them still refused to pay their debt, some as old as the day the stations commenced operations” (personal communication, January 19, 2006). In a situation like this, television stations may find it impossible to do their own programmes. They make do with foreign programmes which are cheaper to obtain. They may also find it difficult, if not impossible to send correspondents to places to get news. It is no surprise then that the likes of CNN and BBC will continue to be the imperial sources of news for Nigerian television organizations. The fact of the paucity of funds to make programmes was acknowledged by Ben Murray – Bruce (then Director General of the NTA and now Chairman Silverbird TV) at the South African organized Sithengi Film and Broadcast Festival in 2000. In a remark to the Nigerian delegation to the festival, he said: But more importantly, let us see how we can work together to produce a full feature film, how we can produce programmes. You don’t have any problem with scripts and artistes. Your problems are in funding and equipment (Cited in Aihe, 2000). This factor, noted in 2000, is still a significant factor in 2010. Another factor mentioned by Murray – Bruce is equipment. Virtually all foreign stations of note have adopted satellite broadcasting. Among the organizations (NTA, HiTv and AIT) involved in satellite broadcasting in Nigeria, AIT remains the most vibrant. Locally, signals from most stations cannot be received more than fifty kilometres from their transmitters. So they cannot even send correspondents to far places to gather news. And when they do, such news cannot be broadcast instantly. To obviate the problem of broadcasting stale news, resort has to be made to foreign stations whose

news items are relayed without editing. The above factor is closely connected with the quality of programmes which is far from the standards of the ones from foreign stations. The lack of funds compels stations to rely on obsolete equipment which may not enhance the production of good programmes capable of sustaining viewers' attention. So, cheap programmes are purchased from foreign stations to fill their air time and most viewers, especially the urban dwellers rue this and respond by acquiring DSTV equipment to watch quality programmes. For example, the African Cup of Nations (Football Championship) hosted by Ghana in 2008 was seen by DSTV subscribers on Super Sports rather than any of the local stations in Nigeria. And as the financial crunch continues to restrict broadcasting to only urban areas, it makes it worthwhile for those in the rural areas who can afford the DSTV to acquire it for commercial use. It is now a common feature for advertising hoardings to be placed at strategic places advertising upcoming premier league matches to be viewed for a fee. This is a new dimension that may eventually render Nigerian local stations irrelevant, if not redressed. The situation equally leads to indolence on the part of broadcasters who now hide under the façade of lack of funds to remain uncreative. Many of the stations lack the funds to train staff. So, the professionals become abjectly ignorant of current trends or latest equipment as a result. Training amounts to a few in-house workshops and seminars which are not adequate for the onerous job they perform. Prognosis From the foregoing, it is obvious that media imperialism will continue to be part of the Nigerian television system for some time. Although the NTA has tried to reduce the feature of foreign programmes on its broadcast menu, a horde of other TV broadcasters in Nigerian still depend on foreign TV stations for their operations. Apart from discussion programmes which seem to express personal opinions, the NTA does not seem to have adequate replacement for foreign programmes that have been yanked off the screen. Again, the Federal Government has evolved a policy which tacitly encourages the proliferation of foreign satellite television systems. In 2007, the Minister of Information and Communication came up with a government decision granting more licenses to organizations to commence retransmission of DSTV signals. This means there would be more options for willing subscribers. More subscribers will also emerge as the price of acquiring the facility will become cheaper due to competition, as well as the fee for monthly subscription. This is one of the effects of globalization as it encourages the uprooting of values and media systems of one place and supplants them with that of another. The effect in the circumstance is that while there is the increase in the number of subscribers to DSTV, a converse decrease in the number of viewers of local stations would result. Then to generate more interest and sustain subscription, satellite retransmission organizations will begin to focus on the Nigerian environment for new business fields. For instance, DSTV now has satellite channels dedicated to Yoruba and Hausa video films and the process of enlisting more indigenous Nigerian language movies on its broadcast menu is underway. This may eventually put paid to any modicum of interest in local stations as even advertisers would now use these foreign/satellite stations to pursue their ends. Ultimately Nigerians would begin to see themselves from foreign eyes and would become what foreign nations want them to be.

### 9.3 Summary

The Media Imperialism debate started in the early 1970s when developing countries began to criticise the control developed countries held over the media. The site for this conflict was UNESCO where the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) movement developed. Supported by the MacBride report, "Many Voices, One World", countries

such as India, Indonesia, and Egypt argued that the large media companies should have limited access to developing countries. This argument was one of the reasons for the United States, United Kingdom, and Singapore leaving UNESCO. Later during the 1980s and 1990s, as multinational media conglomerates grow larger and more powerful many believe that it will become increasingly difficult for small, local media outlets to survive. A new type of imperialism will thus occur, making many nations subsidiary to the media products of some of the most powerful countries or companies. Significant writers and thinkers in this area include Ben Bagdikian, Noam Chomsky, Edward S. Herman, Armand Mattelart and Robert McChesney. However, critics have responded that in most developing countries the most popular television and radio programs are commonly locally produced. Critics such as Anthony Giddens highlight the place of regional producers of media (such as Brazil in Latin America); other critics such as James Curran suggest that State government subsidies have ensured strong local production. In areas such as audience studies, it has been shown that global programs like Dallas do not have a global audience who understand the program the same way.

#### **9.4 Self Assessment Questions**

1. Explain the concept of Media Imperialism.
2. What are the communication policies? Explain?

#### **9.5 Reference Books:**

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

**Lesson-10****UNESCO – MASS MEDIA DECLARATION****10.0 Objectives**

After reading the lesson, the student, will learn about

- Meaning of international communication
- Need for international communication

**STRUCTURE****10.1 Introduction****10.2 Mass media declaration****10.3 Preamble****10.3.1 The General Conference****10.3.2 Article I****10.3.3 Article II****10.3.4 Article III****10.3.5 Article IV****10.3.6 Article V****10.3.7 Article VI****10.3.8 Article VII****10.3.9 Article VIII****10.3.10 Article IX****10.3.11 Article X****10.3.12 Article XI****10.4 Summary****10.5 Self Assessment Questions****10.6 Reference Books****10.1 Introduction**

United Nations educational scientific and cultural organization [UNESCO] works to create the conditions for dialogue among civilizations, cultures and peoples, based upon respect

for commonly shared values. It is through this dialogue that the world can achieve global visions of sustainable development encompassing observance of human rights, mutual respect and the alleviation of poverty, all of which are at the heart of UNESCO'S mission and activities. The broad goals and concrete objectives of the international community – as set out in the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – underpin all UNESCO's strategies and activities. Thus UNESCO's unique competencies in education, the sciences, culture and communication and information contribute towards the realization of those goals. UNESCO's mission is to contribute to the building of peace, the eradication of poverty, sustainable development and intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication and information. The Organization focuses, in particular, on two global priorities: Africa and Gender equality

- And on a number of overarching objectives:
- Attaining quality education for all and lifelong learning
- Mobilizing science knowledge and policy for sustainable development
- Addressing emerging social and ethical challenges
- Fostering cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue and a culture of peace
- Building inclusive knowledge societies through information and communication

## 10.2 Mass media declaration

Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, apartheid and incitement to war. 28 November 1978

## 10.3 Preamble

*The General Conference.* Recalling that by virtue of its Constitution the purpose of UNESCO is to 'contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms' (Art. I, 1), and that to realize this purpose the Organization will strive 'to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image' (Art. I, 2), Further recalling that under the Constitution the Member States of UNESCO, 'believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives' (sixth preambular paragraph), Recalling the purposes and principles of the United Nations, as specified in its Charter, Recalling the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948 and particularly Article 19 thereof, which provides that 'everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers'; and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1966, Article 19 of which proclaims the same principles and Article 20 of which condemns incitement to war, the advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred and any form of discrimination, hostility or

violence, Recalling Article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1965, and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1973, whereby the States acceding to these Conventions undertook to adopt immediate and positive measures designed to eradicate all incitement to, or acts of, racial discrimination, and agreed to prevent any encouragement of the crime of apartheid and similar segregationist policies or their manifestations, Recalling the Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1965, Recalling the declarations and resolutions adopted by the various organs of the United Nations concerning the establishment of a new international economic order and the role UNESCO is called upon to play in this respect, Recalling the Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation, adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1966, Recalling Resolution 59(I) of the General Assembly of the United Nations, adopted in 1946 and declaring: 'Freedom of information is a fundamental human right and is the touchstone of all the freedoms to which the United Nations is consecrated;. . . Freedom of information requires as an indispensable element the willingness and capacity to employ its privileges without abuse. It requires as a basic discipline the moral obligation to seek the facts without prejudice and to spread knowledge without malicious intent;' Recalling Resolution 110(II) of the General Assembly of the United Nations, adopted in 1947, condemning all forms of propaganda which are designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, Recalling resolution 127(II), also adopted by the General Assembly in 1947, which invites Member States to take measures, within the limits of constitutional procedures, to combat the diffusion of false or distorted reports likely to injure friendly relations between States, as well as the other resolutions of the General Assembly concerning the mass media and their contribution to strengthening peace, trust and friendly relations among States, Recalling resolution 9.12 adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1968, reiterating UNESCO's objective to help to eradicate colonialism and racialism, and resolution 12.1 adopted by the General Conference in 1976, which proclaims that colonialism, neo-colonialism and racialism in all its forms and manifestations are incompatible with the fundamental aims of UNESCO. Recalling resolution 4.301 adopted in 1970 by the General Conference of UNESCO on the contribution of the information media to furthering international understanding and co-operation in the interests of peace and human welfare, and to countering propaganda on behalf of war, racialism, apartheid and hatred among nations, and aware of the fundamental contribution that mass media can make to the realization of these objectives, Recalling the Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twentieth session, Conscious of the complexity of the problems of information in modern society, of the diversity of solutions which have been offered to them, as evidenced in particular by the consideration given to them within UNESCO, and of the legitimate desire of all parties concerned that their aspirations, points of view and cultural identity be taken into due consideration, Conscious of the aspirations of the developing countries for the establishment of a new, more just and more effective world information and communication order, Proclaims on this twenty-eighth day of November 1978 this Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War.



### ***10.3.1 Article I***

The strengthening of peace and international understanding, the promotion of human rights and the countering of racialism, apartheid and incitement to war demand a free flow and a wider and better balanced dissemination of information. To this end, the mass media have a leading contribution to make. This contribution will be the more effective to the extent that the information reflects the different aspects of the subject dealt with.

### **10.3.2 Article II**

1. The exercise of freedom of opinion, expression and information, recognized as an integral part of human rights and fundamental freedoms, is a vital factor in the strengthening of peace and international understanding.

2. Access by the public to information should be guaranteed by the diversity of the sources and means of information available to it, thus enabling each individual to check the accuracy of facts and to appraise events objectively. To this end, journalists must have freedom to report and the fullest possible facilities of access to information. Similarly, it is important that the mass media be responsive to concerns of peoples and individuals, thus promoting the participation of the public in the elaboration of information.

3. With a view to the strengthening of peace and international understanding, to promoting human rights and to countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war, the mass media through out the world, by reason of their role, contribute to promoting human rights, in particular by giving expression to oppressed peoples who struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, foreign occupation and all forms of racial discrimination and oppression and who are unable to make their voices heard within their own territories.

4. If the mass media are to be in a position to promote the principles of this Declaration in their activities, it is essential that journalists and other agents of the mass media, in their own country or abroad, be assured of protection guaranteeing them the best conditions for the exercise of their profession.

### ***10.3.3 Article III***

1. The mass media have an important contribution to make to the strengthening of peace and international understanding and in countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war.

2. In countering aggressive war, racialism, apartheid and other violations of human rights which are inter alia spawned by prejudice and ignorance, the mass media, by disseminating information on the aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of all peoples, contribute to eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding between peoples, to make nationals of a country sensitive to the needs and desires of others, to ensure the respect of the rights and dignity of all nations, all peoples and all individuals without distinction of race, sex, language, religion or nationality and

to draw attention to the great evils which afflict humanity, such as poverty, malnutrition and diseases, thereby promoting the formulation by States of the policies best able to promote the reduction of international tension and the peaceful and equitable settlement of international disputes.

#### ***10.3.4 Article IV***

The mass media have an essential part to play in the education of young people in a spirit of peace, justice, freedom, mutual respect and understanding, in order to promote human rights, equality of rights as between all human beings and all nations, and economic and social progress. Equally, they have an important role to play in making known the views and aspirations of the younger generation.

#### **10.3.5 Article V**

In order to respect freedom of opinion, expression and information and in order that information may reflect all points of view, it is important that the points of view presented by those who consider that the information published or disseminated about them has seriously prejudiced their effort to strengthen peace and international understanding, to promote human rights or to counter racialism, apartheid and incitement to war be disseminated.

#### **10.3.6 Article VI**

For the establishment of a new equilibrium and greater reciprocity in the flow of information, which will be conducive to the institution of a just and lasting peace and to the economic and political independence of the developing countries, it is necessary to correct the inequalities in the flow of information to and from developing countries, and between those countries. To this end, it is essential that their mass media should have conditions and resources enabling them to gain strength and expand, and to co-operate both among themselves and with the mass media in developed countries.

#### **10.3.7 Article VII**

By disseminating more widely all of the information concerning the universally accepted objectives and principles which are the bases of the resolutions adopted by the different organs of the United Nations, the mass media contribute effectively to the strengthening of peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights, and to the establishment of a more just and equitable international economic order.

#### **10.3.8 Article VIII**

Professional organizations, and people who participate in the professional training of journalists and other agents of the mass media and who assist them in performing their functions in a responsible manner should attach special importance to the principles of this Declaration when drawing up and ensuring application of their codes of ethics.

### ***10.3.9 Article IX***

In the spirit of this Declaration, it is for the international community to contribute to the creation of the conditions for a free flow and wider and more balanced dissemination of information, and of the conditions for the protection, in the exercise of their functions, of journalists and other agents of the mass media. UNESCO is well placed to make a valuable contribution in this respect.

### **10.3.10 Article X**

1. With due respect for constitutional provisions designed to guarantee freedom of information and for the applicable international instruments and agreements, it is indispensable to create and maintain throughout the world the conditions which make it possible for the organizations and persons professionally involved in the dissemination of information to achieve the objectives of this Declaration.

2. It is important that a free flow and wider and better balanced dissemination of information been encouraged.

3. To this end, it is necessary that States facilitate the procurement by the mass media in the developing countries of adequate conditions and resources enabling them to gain strength and expand, and that they support co-operation by the latter both among themselves and with the mass media in developed countries.

4. Similarly, on a basis of equality of rights, mutual advantage and respect for the diversity of the cultures which go to make up the common heritage of mankind, it is essential that bilateral and multilateral exchanges of information among all States, and in particular between those which have different economic and social systems, be encouraged and developed.

### **10.3.11 Article XI**

For this Declaration to be fully effective it is necessary, with due respect for the legislative and administrative provisions and the other obligations of Member States, to guarantee the existence of favourable conditions for the operation of the mass media, in conformity with the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and with the corresponding principles proclaimed in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1966.

## **10.4 Summary**

United Nations educational scientific and cultural organization [UNESCO] works to create the conditions for dialogue among civilizations, cultures and peoples, based upon respect for commonly shared values. It is through this dialogue that the world can achieve global visions of sustainable development encompassing observance of human rights, mutual respect and the alleviation of poverty, all of which are at the heart of UNESCO'S mission and activities. The broad goals and concrete objectives of the international community – as set out in the

internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – underpin all UNESCO's strategies and activities. Thus UNESCO's unique competencies in education, the sciences, culture and communication and information contribute towards the realization of those goals.

### **10.5 Self Assessment Questions**

1. Explain about the Mass media declaration.
2. Discuss about the general principle of Preamble.

### **10.6 Reference Books:**

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

**Lesson-11****NEW WORLD INFORMATION AND  
COMMUNICATION ORDER****11.0 Objective**

After reading the lesson, the student, will conversant about

- Meaning of international communication

**STRUCTURE**

- 11.1 Introduction**
- 11.2 Issues**
- 11.3 Response of the United States**
- 11.4 Summary**
- 11.5 Self Assessment Questions**
- 11.6 Reference Books**

**11.1 Introduction**

The New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO or NWIO) is a term that was coined in a debate over media representations of the developing world in UNESCO in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The term was widely used by the MacBride Commission, a UNESCO panel chaired by Nobel Peace Prize laureate Sean MacBride, which was charged with creation of a set of recommendations to make global media representation more equitable. The MacBride Commission produced a report titled "Many Voices, One World", which outlined the main philosophical points of the New World Information Communication Order. The fundamental issues of imbalances in global communication had been discussed for some time. The American media scholar Wilbur Schramm noted in 1964 that the flow of news among nations is thin, that much attention is given to developed countries and little to less-developed ones that important events are ignored and reality is distorted. From a more radical perspective, Herbert Schiller observed in 1969 that developing countries had little meaningful input into decisions about radio frequency allocations for satellites at a key meeting in Geneva in 1963. Schiller pointed out that many satellites had military applications. Intelsat which was set up for international co-operation in satellite communication was also dominated by the United States. In the 1970s these and other issues were taken up by the Non-Aligned Movement and debated within the United Nations and UNESCO. NWICO grew out of the New International Economic Order of 1974. From 1976-1978, the New World Information and Communication Order was generally called the shorter New World Information Order or the New International Information Order. The start of this discussion is the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) as associated with the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) starting from the early 1970s. Mass media concerns began with the meeting of non-

aligned nations in Algiers, 1973; again in Tunis 1976, and later in 1976 at the New Delhi Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Nations. The 'new order' plan was textually formulated by Tunisia's Information Minister Mustapha Masmoudi. Masmoudi submitted working paper No. 31 to the MacBride Commission. These proposals of 1978 were titled the 'Mass Media Declaration.' The MacBride Commission at the time was a 16-member body created by UNESCO to study communication issues. Among those involved in the movement was the Latin American Institute for the Study of Transnationals (ILET). One of its co-founders, Juan Somavia was a member of the MacBride Commission. Another important voice was Mustapha Masmoudi, the Information Minister for Tunisia. In a Canadian radio program in 1983, Tom McPhail describes how the issues were pressed within UNESCO in the mid-1970s when the USA withheld funding to punish the organization for excluding Israel from a regional group of UNESCO. Some OPEC countries and a few socialist countries made up the amount of money and were able to get senior positions within UNESCO. NWICO issues were then advanced at an important meeting in 1976 held in Costa Rica. The only woman member of the Commission was Betty Zimmerman, representing Canada because of the illness of Marshall McLuhan, who died in 1980. The movement was kept alive through the 1980s by meetings of the MacBride Round Table on Communication, even though by then the leadership of UNESCO distanced itself from its ideas. The UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity of 2005 puts into effect some of the goals of NWICO, especially with regard to the unbalanced global flow of mass media. However, this convention was not supported by the USA, and it does not appear to be as robust as World Trade Organization agreements that support global trade in mass media and information.

## 11.2 Issues

A wide range of issues were raised as part of NWICO discussions. Some of these involved long-standing issues of media coverage of the developing world and unbalanced flows of media influence. But other issues involved new technologies with important military and commercial uses. The developing world was likely to be marginalized by satellite and computer technologies. The issues included:

1. News reporting on the developing world that reflects the priorities of news agencies in London, Paris and New York. Reporting of natural disasters and military coups rather than the fundamental realities. At the time four major news agencies controlled over 80% of global news flow.
2. An unbalanced flow of mass media from the developed world (especially the United States) to the underdeveloped countries. Everyone watches American movies and television shows.
3. Advertising agencies in the developed world have indirect but significant effects on mass media in the developing countries. Some observers also judged the messages of these ads to be inappropriate for the Third World.
4. An unfair division of the radio spectrum. A small number of developed countries controlled almost 90% of the radio spectrum. Much of this was for military use.

5. There were similar concerns about the allocation of the geostationary orbit (parking spots in space) for satellites. At the time only a small number of developed countries had satellites and it was not possible for developing countries to be allocated a space that they might need ten years later. This might mean eventually getting a space that was more difficult and more expensive to operate.
6. Satellite broadcasting of television signals into Third World countries without prior permission was widely perceived as a threat to national sovereignty. The UN voted in the early 1970s against such broadcasts.
7. Use of satellites to collect information on crops and natural resources in the Third World at a time when most developing countries lacked the capacity to analyse this data.
8. At the time most mainframe computers were located in the United States and there were concerns about the location of databases (such as airline reservations) and the difficulty of developing countries catching up with the US lead in computers.
9. The protection of journalists from violence was raised as an issue for discussion. For example, journalists were targeted by various military dictatorships in Latin America in the 1970s. As part of NWICO debates there were suggestions for study on how to protect journalists and even to discipline journalists who broke "generally recognized ethical standards". However, the MacBride Commission specifically came out against the idea of licensing journalists.

### **11.3 Response of the United States**

The United States was hostile to NWICO. According to some analysts, the United States saw these issues simply as barriers to the free flow of communication and to the interests of American media corporations. It disagreed with the MacBride report at points where it questioned the role of the private sector in communications. It viewed the NWICO as dangerous to freedom of the press by ultimately putting an organization run by governments at the head of controlling global media, potentially allowing for censorship on a large scale. From another perspective, the MacBride Commission recommendations requiring the licensing of journalists amounted to prior censorship and ran directly counter to basic US law on the freedom of expression. These disputes might have been resolved, but the debate was politicized by the Reagan Administration which was largely hostile to the United Nations and its specialized agencies. There were also accusations of corruption at the highest level of UNESCO leadership in Paris. The US eventually withdrew its membership in UNESCO (as did the United Kingdom and Singapore) at the end of 1984. The matter was complicated by debates within UNESCO about Israel's archaeological work in the city of Jerusalem, and about the Apartheid regime in South Africa. The U.S. rejoined in 2003.

### **11.4 Summary**

NWICO grew out of the New International Economic Order of 1974. From 1976-1978, the New World Information and Communication Order was generally called the shorter New World Information Order or the New International Information Order. The start of this

discussion is the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) as associated with the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) starting from the early 1970s. Mass media concerns began with the meeting of non-aligned nations in Algiers, 1973; again in Tunis 1976, and later in 1976 at the New Delhi Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Nations. The 'new order' plan was textually formulated by Tunisia's Information Minister Mustapha Masmoudi. Masmoudi submitted working paper No. 31 to the MacBride Commission. These proposals of 1978 were titled the 'Mass Media Declaration.' The MacBride Commission at the time was a 16-member body created by UNESCO to study communication issues.

### **11.5 Self Assessment Question**

1. Discuss about new world information communication order.

### **11.6 Reference Books**

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.



## Lesson-12

# Mc BRIDE COMMISSION

## 12.0 Objectives

After reading the lesson, the student, will conversant about

- Need for international communication
- Mac Bride Commission

## STRUCTURE

### 12.1 Mac Bride report

### 12.2 The MacBride Commission

### 12.3 Summary

### 12.4 Self Assessment Questions

### 12.5 Reference Books

## 12.1 Introduction

Many Voices One World, also known as the MacBride report, was a 1980 UNESCO publication written by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, chaired by Irish Nobel laureate Sean MacBride. Its aim was to analyze communication problems in modern societies, particularly relating to mass media and news, consider the emergence of new technologies, and to suggest a kind of communication order (New World Information and Communication Order) to diminish these problems to further peace and human development. Among the problems the report identified were concentration of the media, commercialization of the media, and unequal access to information and communication. The commission called for democratization of communication and strengthening of national media to avoid dependence on external sources, among others. Subsequently, Internet-based technologies considered in the work of the Commission, served as a means for furthering MacBride's visions. While the report had strong international support, it was condemned by the United States and the United Kingdom as an attack on the freedom of the press, and both countries withdrew from UNESCO in protest in 1984 and 1985, respectively (and later rejoined in 2003 and 1997, respectively).

## 12.2 The MacBride Commission

The International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems was set up in 1977 by the director of UNESCO Ahmadou-Mahtar M'Bow, under suggestion by the USA delegation. It was agreed that the commission would be chaired by Sean MacBride from Ireland and

representatives from 15 other countries, invited due to their roles in national and international communication activities and picked among media activists, journalists, scholars, and media executives. The members of the MacBride Commission were: Alie Abel (USA), Hubert Beuve-Méry (France), Elebe Ma Ekonzo (Zaire), Gabriel García Márquez (Colombia), Sergei Losev (Soviet Union), Mochtar Lubis (Indonesia), Mustapha Masmoudi (Tunisia), Michio Nagai (Japan), Fred Isaac Akporuaro Omu (Nigeria), Bogdan Osolnik (Yugoslavia), Gamal El Oteifi (Egypt), Johannes Pieter Pronk (Netherlands), Juan Somavía (Chile), Boobli George Verghese (India), Betty Zimmerman (Canada), in substitution of Marshal McLuhan, then ill. The commission presented a preliminary report in October 1978 at the 20th General Conference of UNESCO in Paris. The Commission's seminal session on new technologies to address the identified problems, was hosted by India at New Delhi in March 1979. The final report was delivered to M'Bow in April 1980 and was approved by consensus in the 21st General Conference of UNESCO in Belgrade. The commission dissolved after presenting the report. Because of controversy surrounding the report and the withdrawal of support by the UNESCO leadership in the 1980s for its ideas, the book went out of print and was difficult to obtain. A book on the history of the United States and UNESCO was even threatened with legal action and forced to include a disclaimer that UNESCO was in no way involved with it. The MacBride report was eventually reprinted by Rowman and Littlefield in the US. What was clear to all involved was that the decision was made on behalf of big mass media and telecommunications industry interests in the United States. Stating that the U.S. government, "along with the American people generally" (p. 82), believe in UNESCO's constitution, Schultz stated that "We plan to use the resources we presently devote to UNESCO to support such other means of cooperation" (p. 84). A key effect of withdrawal was to undermine the legitimacy of efforts to articulate multilateral principles of global media governance that were not guided entirely by market logic. The underlying ideological position of the U.S. decision has been one that has been sustained for many years in both the government's domestic and its foreign media policy. In a 1983 speech by Mark Fowler, Chairman of the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) during the Reagan administration, he referred to television as "a toaster with pictures." Fowler's point was that culture in general, including the media, should be given no special consideration or treatment by governments in comparison with other areas of commerce (Mayer, 1983). The logic behind this view is that governments should play no role in the shaping or nurturing of culture, and that it is the marketplace alone that should govern culture. Of course, it is not true that a government that responds to big corporate interests is one that necessarily favors a free and competitive marketplace (Calabrese, 2004a). The "marketplace" view was consistent with the withdrawal of the United States from UNESCO, an organization that had become the locus of multilateral efforts to oppose allowing the discipline of the big media market to dominate cultural production and distribution. Despite the resistance that many countries have held towards submitting cultural practices to the discipline of market- (or neo-) liberal trade and investment policies, the United States has relentlessly pursued a foreign media policy that aims precisely at that outcome (Calabrese & Redal, 1995). Since the United States could not control the outcomes of UNESCO recommendations, and since UNESCO (through the MacBride Report) was recommending positions that ran counter to U.S. ideological positions and economic interests, it made sense for the United States do so as Secretary of State George Schultz stated, which was to pursue "other means of cooperation." Schultz may not have anticipated the exact ways in which such cooperation would be achieved, but U.S. efforts to end the "cultural exception" within the World Trade Organization (WTO) are clear evidence of a

single-minded trajectory in U.S. foreign media policy over the past twenty-five years, notwithstanding the seemingly incongruous recent re-entry of the United States into UNESCO. Today, modern media technologies, particularly the Internet and satellite communication, have become the infrastructure that has made possible a new global market system and a new context for the spread of political, economic and cultural ideas. Emerging with these new powers have come opportunities for the elimination of global poverty and the greater capacity for citizens of the world to bear witness to and fight against violations of human rights, wherever they may happen. But alongside the many positive changes are the perils that must be avoided, not least of which are the uses of these new means of communication by some to violate the dignity and humanity of others through public deception, economic exploitation, political surveillance and repression, and other abuses of power. The decision by the United States to rejoin UNESCO should come as no surprise. Since 1984, UN leaders have worked assiduously to attract the United States back into the fold, even to the point of rejecting the organization's own past. Thérèse Paquet-Sévigny, UN under-secretary-general for information in 1990, clearly articulated an anti-NWICO position that was consistent with U.S. policy and official ideology: "Over many years, the international debate on information and communication did not result in agreement on a common approach. I wish only to refer to some of the discussions, for instance, on concepts of a new world information order, which in the eyes of many actors in the field of communication have harmed international efforts to construct a world-wide information society" (Paquet-Sévigny, quoted in Roach, 1997, p. 116). The path to "a world-wide information society" was not and is not something that has had to be constructed in a particular way, as this statement implies. But following the U.S. withdrawal, UNESCO officials have tended to subordinate that organization's past pretenses to moral leadership to one of appeasement and conciliation, and in the process they embraced the official U.S. vision of what a global information society should look like. For the U.S. government, and for the governments of other affluent countries, the political task for the future has been one of engineering the "creative destruction" of social welfare states and redirecting national policy efforts to build a neoliberal global information society (Calabrese, 1997, 1999a, 1999b). That task has been based on an intellectual shift in economic thought from Keynes to Hayek. UNESCO has conformed to that agenda by embracing, or at least not significantly opposing, a pro-WTO ideological framework as far as the idea of the global information society is concerned. Within this framework, not only has UNESCO lost much of its former relevance as a deliberative forum for global media policy, but it also no longer poses a symbolic threat to the cultural norms of neoliberalism. With UNESCO no longer at the centre of global media policy discourse, noteworthy struggles to develop democratic principles of global media governance have shifted to other forums, most visibly the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). The WSIS, which met in Geneva in 2003 and will culminate in Tunis in November 2005, represented for many people throughout the world, particularly in the global South, new hope for making important progress in articulating global norms and related policies in the area of communication rights. Global, or at least transnational, policy-making is not a recent phenomenon, although the degree of public participation in global policy forums arguably is on the rise. That broadened participation has been represented as the voice of "civil society" - that part of social life that is often distinguished from the state and the corporate sector - in the generation of a worldwide public discourse about the future of communication rights and the global policies that are needed to secure them. Of course, there are grounds for disagreement about how unified the voice of "civil society" is, given the inherent non-singularity that characterizes the history of the very idea of civil society,

and given the broad range of issues that were brought to the WSIS under the banner of that idea (Calabrese, 2004b). Those issues include the communication rights of indigenous groups, workers, women, children, and persons with disabilities; intellectual property; community media; open source software; access to information and the means of communication; global citizenship and much more (Civil Society Declaration, 2003). At the WSIS in Geneva, it became clear that there was considerable political will to establish and maintain an effective presence to represent "civil society" in a process that, for the sake of legitimacy, was ostensibly opened to multiple stakeholders. Apart from ongoing questions about the feasibility, implementation and enforceability of the WSIS action plan, one of the greatest challenges for non-governmental and non-corporate representation in future global policy forums, including the second phase of the WSIS, will undoubtedly be related to the question of sustainability: How sustainable will policy participation be by the contingent "civil society" coalition that has come together, in episodic fashion, as a response to a major summit? Can they maintain longevity, responsiveness and legitimacy in the absence of the kinds of institutional and financial supports that are available to corporations and industry trade groups? Will the power of networking that has enabled this coalition to claim a legitimate space in the WSIS process be a kind of power that can continue to offer a platform for diverse voices to be heard and heeded once the summit is over? Much has changed since the MacBride Report was published, not only in global politics, but also in global communication. The year 2005 and the WSIS do not mark a stopping point in a global dialogue about the right to communicate, but this year is an auspicious occasion to commemorate the political legacy of the MacBride Report. Despite the geopolitical limitations that filtered the contributions of its authors, they had the foresight to hope for a kind of "globalization" that, rather than signify divisions among citizens of the world, acknowledged our common humanity. With all of its flaws, for which progressive communication activists understandably have distanced themselves over the past twenty-five years, the MacBride Report projects a spirit of hopefulness about how a better world is possible, about the continued importance of public institutions as means to ensure global justice at local, national, and transnational levels, and about the value of global communication as a means to knowledge, understanding and mutual respect. For these reasons, the anniversary of the MacBride Report should be celebrated, and the complexity of its legacy understood, by a new generation of communication rights activists

### 12.3 Summary

Many Voices One World, also known as the MacBride report, was a 1980 UNESCO publication written by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, chaired by Irish Nobel laureate Sean MacBride. Its aim was to analyze communication problems in modern societies, particularly relating to mass media and news, consider the emergence of new technologies, and to suggest a kind of communication order (New World Information and Communication Order) to diminish these problems to further peace and human development. Among the problems the report identified were concentration of the media, commercialization of the media, and unequal access to information and communication. The commission called for democratization of communication and strengthening of national media to avoid dependence on external sources, among others. Subsequently, Internet-based technologies considered in the work of the Commission, served as a means for furthering MacBride's visions.

**12.4 Self Assessment Questions**

1. Discuss about the international communication.
2. Elaborate the MacBride Commission

**12.5 Reference Books**

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

**Lesson-13****THE RISE AND FALL OF NWICO****13.0 Objectives**

After reading the lesson the student will be conversant with

- Emergence of NWICO
- Role of mass media in development process

**STRUCTURE****13.1 Introduction****13.2 Emergence of NWICO****13.3 Role of Mass Media in development process****13.4 International Arena for issues relating to information and Communication****13.5 Summary****13.6 Self Assessment Questions****13.7 Reference Books****13.1 Introduction**

Global news and information was subject of intense debate in international fora in the 1970s. News gathering and reporting has been controversial both within nations and between nations. Media debate was mainly centred on the principle of free flow of information by the Western countries and the East stressed on the need for state control. The situation changed in the mid 1970s, the focus of dispute was broadened to include flows of other media products besides news which was assuming increasing importance in International relations.

**13.2 Emergence of NWICO**

“Development”, the process of evolution toward a modern society, occupied center stage. Scholars and development experts assigned mass communications a central role in the development process. In the Cold War era the newly independent countries of the third world were of strategic importance to both East and West. Development aid was an important factor for “winning the hearts and minds” of developing countries. New patron-client relationships emerged; old, established ones evolved. The successes achieved by the oil-producing countries in OPEC in the 1970s strengthened the position of the third world as a bargaining partner (albeit

rising fuel prices had serious impacts on some developing countries). In succeeding years, the third world made its voice heard in international forum as never before, formulating programs for far reaching reform. A set of demands that would result in a New International Economic Order was put on the agenda; demands for reform of existing patterns of news and information flows – in short: a new international information order – were soon to follow. But a new international information order, in the sense its authors intended, was not to be. After some brief years of debate, the issue disappeared from international agendas.

### **13.3 Role of Mass Media in development process**

#### *Two paradigms of development*

The issue of a new international information order is bound up with ideas about the role of communication in the development of societies, on the one hand, and the relations between developed and developing countries, on the other. The purpose of development is to improve the living conditions of the members of a society. Development is at once a process and a goal. What is needed to bring about development and what constitutes “better living conditions” have been bones of contention ever since the days surrounding national independence from the colonial powers, starting in the late 1950s, and continuing into the 1970s. National development arose as an issue in the wake of the Second World War, and the issue made its entry onto the international agenda in the 1950s. Initially, ‘development’ was mainly a question of economic growth, i.e., a steady and lasting increase in productivity and per capita income. There was an unshaken faith in technology and ‘knowhow’. Two different schools of thought developed. The more dominant of the two envisioned “the passing of traditional society” (Lerner 1958), in favor of a modern, Western-style nation-state. Gradually, ‘development’ came to include political, social and cultural spheres, as well. The other school took its starting point in the model of socialist societies in Eastern Europe, China and Cuba and aimed, with assistance from the Soviet Union, to create nation-states with planned economies. Here, the motor force was not the market, but political decision-making. These models of development coincided with the emergence of nationalist movements in many colonies in Asia and Africa. Modernism was part of the legacy of the colonial metropole, and the idea of a nation-state met strong and widespread resistance. At independence, however, European models of the nation-state prevailed. The new countries were in great need of assistance to combat poverty, illiteracy and unemployment. Concepts of development were therefore paramount in politics and the economic sphere. Thus, the world of the 1960s was polarized along two dimensions: capitalism vs. communism, and developed vs underdeveloped. These two dichotomies produce four worlds (Worsley 1984), but the third and fourth of these worlds, i.e., the underdeveloped countries adhering to capitalist and communist/socialist ideologies, respectively, melded and came to be referred to as the ‘third world’. Their shared history and social and economic situation was more dominant than any differences that may have arisen after independence. The countries of the third world were all characterized by low degrees of industrialization, low per capita income, and high rates of infant mortality, poor standard of public health, illiteracy, and extreme inequality. The development process became a prime focus in the contest to win the third world countries over. The role of mass media also assumed prominence in this process, not least due to technological advances. Scholars who have studied development in the post-war period up to the 1970s have identified phenomena and precepts that form two separate paradigms of development:

- *The modernization paradigm*: theories relating to modernization, political and economic development and technology transfer and
- *The dependence paradigm*: theories relating to imperialism and underdevelopment and revolution and liberation. Where the modernization school saw the problems of developing countries as the result of characteristics inherent in the history of the territories, the dependence paradigm pointed to underdevelopment as the result of capitalism and its expressions, colonialism and imperialism.

## **Ideology and Strategy**

The concepts of 'development' and 'communication' are both partly normative; they stand for desirable forms of social change. As a consequence the modernization and dependence paradigms are normative. In the modernization paradigm, communication is seen to facilitate or hasten progress toward a modern, as opposed to traditional, society. In the dependence paradigm, it is rather a question of media imperialism. The modernization paradigm is essentially optimistic, whereas the dependence paradigm is essentially pessimistic about development in the countries of the third world. But the two paradigms also express ideological standpoints, if by ideology we mean a system of ideas, political-economic, about the nature of the world, what it should be, and how best to go about achieving the goal. Ideology consists, in other words, of the following components:

### **Features of the Modernization and Dependency Paradigms**

#### Modernization

1. Western societies as a model – emphasis on economic growth
2. Causes of underdevelopment inherent in the countries themselves
3. Focus on the nation-state
4. Emphasis on individual freedoms
5. Mass media accorded a central role in the development process
6. Vertical pattern of communication – from the elite to the people.

#### **Dependence**

1. World systems perspective – development defined in terms of center and periphery
2. Underdevelopment ascribed to the industrialized capitalist powers of the West
3. Information gaps – underdevelopment in the periphery is prerequisite to development in the center



4. The mass media reinforce the dominance of the metropole over its satellites
5. A country in the periphery must strive for self-reliance and liberation from the world system
6. Emphasis on social equality.

The Cold War polarized ideological debates into two camps, a classical Liberal and a Marxist. The polarization is reflected in the two paradigms of development. Liberal features of the modernization paradigm are, for example, the norm of individual freedom and a preference for social change by consensus. The focus rests on the nation-state, and on internal dynamics in the development process. The dependence paradigm, on the other hand, is well aligned with Marxist theory, tending philosophically toward materialism and emphasizing social equality as a norm. Its approach to society is essentially conflict-oriented, and analyses focus on world capitalism as a system and on center-periphery dynamics in the development process. The modernization paradigm was dominant in the 1950s and 1960s, and the views that characterize that paradigm largely coincide with the approach to development, with a decided emphasis on development assistance, that was embraced by the UN and UNESCO at that time. But when exponents of the dependence paradigm, who were critical of the modernization approach, demanded a change in policy in the 1960s, it marked the start of a 'war of ideas' in the international arena. In for a like the UN and UNESCO each national representative had access to the floor and could air his views. It was here that the non-aligned nations formed an alliance to demand a new international information order.

### **13.4 International Arena for issues relating to information and Communication**

The concept of "free flow of information" was formulated in the USA in the final throes of the Second World War. No national frontiers should be allowed to hinder the flow of information between countries. Before the war, Europe and the USA had shared control over the international news market. The USA was, however, excluded from the extensive territories under the control of colonial powers Great Britain and France, who controlled the flows of information in their colonies. Even while the war was still raging, it was apparent that the USA would emerge from it as a world power. The U.S. saw before them a world without colonial ties, a world that lay open for an expansive economy in the U.S. The information sector was a key factor in paving the way for economic expansion.

### **13.5 Summary**

"Development", the process of evolution toward a modern society, occupied center stage. Scholars and development experts assigned mass communications a central role in the development process. In the Cold War era the newly independent countries of the third world were of strategic importance to both East and West. Development aid was an important factor for "winning the hearts and minds" of developing countries. New patron-client relationships emerged; old, established ones evolved. The successes achieved by the oil-producing countries in OPEC in the 1970s strengthened the position of the third world as a bargaining partner (albeit rising fuel prices had serious impacts on some developing countries). In succeeding years, the

third world made its voice heard in international forum as never before, formulating programs for far reaching reform. A set of demands that would result in a New International Economic Order was put on the agenda; demands for reform of existing patterns of news and information flows – in short: a new international information order – were soon to follow. But a new international information order, in the sense its authors intended, was not to be. After some brief years of debate, the issue disappeared from international agendas.

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**Lesson-14**

# **IMPACT OF INTERNET ON INTERNATIONAL NEWS FLOW**

**14.0 Objectives**

After reading the lesson, the student, will learn about

- History of Internet
- News flow between first world and third world countries

**STRUCTURE**

- 14.1 Introduction**
- 14.2 News flow and the first world: Paradoxes in the age of globalization**
- 14.3 High hopes for the web**
- 14.4 Online realities**
- 14.5 Audiences and options**
- 14.6 Customization and news content creation**
- 14.7 Conclusion**
- 14.8 Summary**
- 14.9 Self Assessment Questions**
- 14.10 Reference Books**

**14.1 Introduction**

Technologically, the Internet is the most global medium in the history of humanity. It shakes up traditional distinctions between local, foreign and international news. On the other hand, it would also appear that many news institutions in cyberspace still retain the character of prior media in regard to three features: preferencing local and national news, domesticating news about other countries, and reflecting imbalanced flows between First and Third World countries. While some First World media, both online and offline are chanting the mantra of becoming 'hyperlocal', it is much of the rest of the world that experiences the Internet as an international medium, albeit from a subordinate cultural and linguistic position. However, there are prospects for a new alignment. The New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) of the 1970s and 1980s reflected inter alia a major concern around 'imbalanced' international news. State-backed Third World news agencies were deemed to be a partial solution. The thrust petered out under pressure on UNESCO by the USA and the UK and the 1990s saw neo-liberal economics and media policies assume centre stage around much of the world. Some assumed that the global media system would consequently become a single integrated, commercial communication system dominated by US-based super companies. However, the contemporary scenario is not unfolding quite along these lines. One reason is the rise of regional media power

centres. Another is how the Internet disrupts the original assumptions about the centrality of news agencies as international communications institutions, and which --- through its granular network --- constitutes a very different structure to that of 'old' media industry models of radio, television and the press. As an example of the new complexity, it may once have been possible (albeit difficult --- see MacBride, 2000: 145/6) to measure how much mainstream news in Third World countries originated from the First World. Nowadays, however, any media house or individual with a website can be akin to an international news distributor. If this signals a change in the *distribution* of news, then another example highlights the challenge to old thinking about how locality is linked to *production*. During 2007, a California-based publisher outsourced his city council coverage to India, on the basis that his local information sources were all accessible electronically.. On this model, a foreign-based correspondent would be hired to report on local news. To explore the shifts underlying such examples requires a working definition of 'international news', a phrase that means different things to different people (Hargrove & Stempel III, 2002). Likewise, the meaning of the term 'local news' shifts depending on whether it is counterposed to 'foreign news' or to 'city', 'regional', 'national', 'international' or 'global' news. Hachten and Scotton (2002) use the phrases 'transnational journalism', 'transnational news media', and 'international news', but without really defining these. This article proposes to distinguish between different components of news which relate to geo-spatial issues, especially as regards extra-national dimensions. One concerns the *source of production* (which as in the California case above, does not necessarily render resulting news flow 'foreign'). The second dimension concerns 'text' in regard to the *character of the content*. This refers to whether the content is about the geo-spatial environments relevant to the audience. As we shall see, in a globally interdependent universe, this is not just about the immediate spatial locality, but may also often include a great deal of 'foreign' news. A third consideration is the *distribution* of news --- i.e. the actual flow and contra-flow of content. Lastly, the geographical location of *audiences* may also need to be taken into account. Any single one of these four variables can impact on the definition about a given news transaction. Informed by this thinking, the following working senses are adopted: 'Transnational' news refers to content produced in, and also importantly usually about and for, one national space, and which is then distributed without change to another --- for example in the case of diasporic communities watching satellite TV feeds of 'home' news which can be produced from anywhere, but with a view to serving audiences worldwide almost irrespective of national or domestic interests --- such as de facto communities of common interest in environmentalism or worldwide football. 'International news' refers to news produced in and about a national or international space, but which is domesticated for consumption by a particular imagined audience within a given nation state and which is assumed to have a corresponding national identity and interest. 'Local' news in this perspective may designate any kinds of news items that are neither global nor international --- i.e. news about domestic affairs. This is a broad sense that is different to the 'hyperlocal' connotations of neighbourhood news to be discussed later. Extra-national news is that which signifies dimensions beyond the national (and thus beyond the 'local' or domestic). In this schema, 'foreign news' is a particular subset of 'international' and of 'global' news. It does not include all 'international news' --- such as content about what happens within a given country (and is consumed there), but which has an international dimension to its referent. For example, 'international news' could encompass content about foreign visitors and even about xenophobia or immigrants who are not yet 'domiciled'. What is significant here is that the foreign dimension of local stories, and the local dimension of foreign stories, means that both are internationalized -

-- but they nonetheless still have different referents. The latter type falls within foreign news, as can much of global news, when seen from the point of view of an imagined receiving national audience. There is also the issue of those foreign stories in their own, stand-alone and undomesticated, right, which are in the experience of transnational news. Specifically 'foreign' news is therefore conceptualized in this article as being content about a country or countries different to that of the audience which a given media organization may be targeting. Hannerz (2004: 32) reminds us that 'foreign' is to do with national boundaries which are a lived, socially constructed and regulated spatial notion. This accord with the argument, that 'the majority of foreign news is domestic news about foreign countries, not international news'. The point is that the definition of foreign news is not intrinsic to particular content, but relative to a nation-state vantage point. As such it can be broken down into three sub-species --- news that is tailored to domestic interests (i.e. some kinds of international news), news that can be characterized as transnational, and news that has no domestic connection at all (i.e. many kinds of global news). It merits noting that not all global news is necessarily 'foreign'. For instance, a decision by the USA to raise interest rates is a global story, but not foreign to media consumers within the USA. The broad schema outlined above, with its different packages of spatial dimensions. In practice, many instances of news may be hybrids. More importantly, however, the Internet fundamentally challenges these notions. It up-ends historical assumptions about 'old media'-linked distinctions between national and foreign with regard to the locale of the creators, the character of the content, distribution flows, and even the geography of the audience. The conceptual distinctions being made here can help in understanding the impact of the Internet on the geographicality of news, given that this is a medium where content can simultaneously count as all these variants, in varying degrees. For example, a website report on Paris Hilton entering a US prison to serve a sentence can signify as a local story to users in the area of the jail, and equally as a global story to people in New Zealand. This is irrespective of production locality or intended audience of that production. In this way, the Internet disrupts the bundling of features that combine to make up each variant of news.

## 14.2 News flow and the First World: paradoxes in the age of globalization.

Those First World societies are typically characterized by a wide availability of the means of media production and consumption, does not necessarily translate into well-informed national populations --- at least as regards information about external events. It has been remarked that '(f)or the American public, whose geographical illiteracy is well documented, it must seem the globe is spinning out of control.' This judgement, 13 years ago, by Griffin and Stevenson (1994: 937), would probably not be amiss in 2008, notwithstanding the continuing rise of the Internet as a mass medium in the USA. Yet, such insularity in a leading 'Information Rich' country, is also something of a paradox given intensified globalization. This is evident in the argument that 'foreign' today becomes 'local'. As Franks (2005: 100) has written: '...the demarcation between home and abroad is dissolving as never before. ... A London commuter worries about safety on the tube, but this is linked to what is going on in Pakistan and elsewhere'. A similar point is made by an editorial in *Editor & Publisher* (2006) that 'Readers in L.A., and New York, and Nebraska live in a globalized world where Windows help calls are answered in Bangalore...'. Likewise, Associated Press editor Burl Osborne has observed: 'If you understand that if the Middle East goes up in smoke, gas goes to \$5 a gallon, that's local. If our National Guard unit is in Afghanistan, that's a local story' (cited by Kirtz, 2002). Similarly,

David Colton of *USA Today* has argued: '(F)oreign news isn't foreign anymore. It's domestic news. It's impossible to decouple what happens overseas with domestic' (cited by Seplow, 2002: 27). According to additional observers, previous distinctions are now anachronistic: 'In a world of increasingly porous borders, the lines between foreign and domestic blur for news just as they blur for commerce, health, culture, and the environment' (Hamilton & Jenner, 2002: 10). However, all these views go too far and erase the kinds of distinctions as made earlier, and instead conflate local (domestic) and foreign news, national and transnational, and all of these with the international and the global. They concentrate on the way 'text' relates to global interdependence, losing sight of the elements of production, distribution and audience consumption. However, even the matter of textual reflection of globalization is often inadequately recognized in First World traditional media institutions. Back in 1996, Grier noted: 'International affairs remains an afterthought in many American newsrooms, despite trends in technology and trade that are tying the nations of the world closer together' (1996: 1). A year later, CNN contributor Garrick Uttley wrote: 'Paradoxically, broad viewer interest in world affairs is declining from its modest Cold War heights just as U.S. global influence is reaching new levels ...' (1997: 6). More recently, Franks (2005: 91) was concluding: 'Just as it is more vital to understand what is happening across the globe, and it is simpler to report the story, we are less inclined to do it.' (See also PEJ, 2008). One explanation for this 'lag' can be found by looking at what happens in production. An ASNE study in 1990 found that 41% of newspaper readers said they were very interested in foreign news, but just 5% of editors thought this was the case (Ayers, 1999, cited in Griffin and Stephenson, 1994: 939; see also Hughes, 1998; Kim 2002). In 2002, a Pew study noted that while 86% of newspaper editors said companies in their community had overseas investments, only 50% said that they covered these stories locally (Morris and Associates, 2002). Another production-linked explanation for paltry foreign coverage in the USA's old media has been the down-scaling of foreign bureaus. According to one observer, Tom Rosenstiel, this development has not been in response to reader demand, but in response to cost cutting (Seplow, 2002; see Ginsberg, 2002: 51.) Indeed, it has been argued that, historically, foreign news has emanated from where the correspondents were sent --- rather than correspondents being deployed to where the news is (Van Ginneken, 1998: 143; Knickmeyer, 2005). These longstanding factors on the 'supply side' account much for the seemingly longterm downward trend in international coverage in the USA, despite a pause in 2001 when the September 11 attacks put global affairs back on the country's media map. In response at that point, USA papers carried more front page stories on Afghanistan in four months than in the previous four decades, according to Parks (2002). But editors' perceptions remain a factor as evident in a Pew survey in 2002 which showed that 64% of these news arbiters expected that their 'newshole' for international stories would revert to previous levels. In contrast, in terms of expressed interest, audiences in the USA during 2006 said they remained almost as interested in international as national and local news (Pew, July 2006). This dimension draws attention to the extent to which audiences may impact (or not) on defining and driving different forms of news. While production-related issues are highly significant, it is also important to balance them with audience consumption and how both relate to text. Thus, one can note the probability that the US public interest noted above was in Iraq in particular, and not all foreign news (see Dimitrova et al, 2005: 28). As one writer observes, even in the 'golden age' of international coverage in the USA, there was not a lot of news on the world --- just on the Cold War countries (see McClellan, 2001). It has also been observed that '(m)ost international news is domestic news about Americans making news overseas, whether as soldiers, victims of terror or

lawbreakers' (Gains, 2003: 94, cited by Gartner 2004: 142; Kim, 2002). A foreign country is seen mainly in relation to how it affects the USA (Silverstein 1993: 35). Various studies (see for example, Clausen, 2003) have emphasized how international news is largely angled in every country in order to appeal to national audiences becoming the 'international news' subset in the conceptual schema of this article. For instance, stories of the 9.11 commemoration in 2002 carried by broadcasters around the world were all 'domesticated' to suit their national audiences (Clausen, 2004). As per NWICO concerns, there are sometimes qualitative consequences of such angling of stories. First, in the USA it has arguably meant that leading print media have taken their cues from the White House (Silverstein, 1993). Second, as critics argue, the problem is that what does get represented is often skewed towards violence, accident and repression, while seldom covering social, cultural, or scientific issues (Grier, 1996). A former Associated Press staffer describes how her staff loss in Africa (to covering Iraq) meant only doing must-cover news like wars and coups (Knickmeyer, 2005). It has also been frequently argued that domestic-referenced foreign news is further compounded by exhibiting stereotypes, and being episodic and meaningless (Franks, 2005: 99). In addition, not all such international news is treated equivalently: there is a 'foreign Other' and a 'familiar Other' (Shoemaker, 1999; Franks, 2005: 91), with the former, for audiences in the developed world, being more negatively framed (Beaudoin & Thorson, 2001). Much international news is thus said to breed a clichéd view and image fatigue, and also a representation in which women, the elderly and children are either invisible or objectified (Beaudoin & Thorson, 2001). In addition, concern has extended to the realm of distribution: because much international news content historically has come from Western agencies, negative imagery then plays not just in the USA, but also in many developing countries. Against this backdrop, a key question to explore is the Internet's potential in relation to changing narcissism and problematic representations in extra-national news. A host of other questions also arise. Are the producers and consumers of online media content subject to the same field of vision and adaptation of content, as described in the picture painted above? And given that online news media in First World countries are no longer a pure reflection of the parent medium (PEJ 2007), plus given their infinite news hole and potentially global audience, might it be expected that they could constitute a different kind of 'animal' as regards the news agenda and even the definition of 'foreign news'? Are stand-alone producers of online content (like bloggers) less likely to focus on negative news than the mainstream media is often said to do? Are online audiences likely to bypass the local media for foreign websites? The answers to these questions require both detailed conceptual and empirical research, and the exploration in this article is of the issues relevant to such an exercise.

### 14.3 High hopes for the web

Any Internet presence translates simultaneously into a worldwide presence whether intended or not (barring those instances where site operators restrict access to certain Internet addresses, or where governments block traffic to a foreign site deemed offensive) (Lamont, 2005). This has given rise to optimistic speculation about the viability of a worldwide public sphere. Several authors have proposed that: 'Globalization and the Internet have created a space for news and political discourse that overrides geography' (Reese et al. 2006: 1). They also postulate that the online environment 'detritorializes' news, such that the user, creator, and news subject need no longer share the same national frame of reference...', and that: 'We would expect that the open nature of the Internet world inevitably leads to cross-national connections

...’ (2006: 4). Elsewhere, Reese (nd) remarks that ‘...the nation-state, or even the local community, organising principle no longer dominates.’ Going even further, and effectively claiming a promise already fulfilled, US journalist Dirk Smillie has written that ‘foreign news is finding its niche on the net’ because ‘the medium matches the message. ...by definition, the Internet is international’ (Smillie, 1997). A further point in this perspective is that the Internet can compensate for the historical failures of old media provision: ‘The ability of the public to get foreign news for itself may offer one of the best solutions to dwindling foreign reporting by traditional media.’ (Hamilton & Jenner, 2002: 21). But such positive visions need to be tempered. Firstly, most people still lack access to the Internet. Secondly, national identities are still indisputably very much in existence in online news (see Chyi, and Sylvie, 2001), and accordingly, the notion of ‘foreign’ as designating ‘Otherness’ still retains some validity. It would be illusory to ignore the enduring status of McQuail’s 1994 proposition that ‘mass media institutions are still overwhelmingly national in character’ (cited by Dimitrova et al, 2005: 35). This is even when, like NewsCorp, their activities span many different parts of the world. This assessment applies also to online publications which in theory can target a global audience, or international audiences, but which do not do so, judging at least from a study of 246 news web sites in 48 countries (Dimitrova et al, 2005). To the extent that it exists online, a global public sphere is certainly not a homogenous or cosmopolitanized one. Similarly, it can be argued that the intended character of *most* news texts that go online is, in the first instance, local or national, perhaps sometimes even international or transnational, but only infrequently global. Third, the geography of global online content production and distribution is another sobering constraint. In this regard, it is significant to note whether a country is a net importer or exporter of Internet content (no matter whether such content is about local or foreign subject matter). In countries without strong production capabilities for online content (including exogenous content), web users may logically surf to places where there is such content, even if it is not ‘domesticated’ to their national vantage points or in a language that is fully understandable to them. In this regard, there are global imbalances. Thus, North American and Western European countries in 2001 accounted for close to 90% of the domain names in the world, but only 66% of Internet users (Zook, 2001). In some ways, this reflects the continuing truth of the statement by Sean MacBride (1980, pp. 145-8): ‘The one-way flow in communication is basically a reflection of the world’s dominant political and economic structures, which tend to maintain or reinforce the dependence of the poorer countries on the richer.’ Asymmetrical dynamics in the global experience of the Internet run counter to the view of homogenous de-territorialized users each seamlessly clicking on content from, or about, far-away places. A related point to acknowledge is that, according to Thackara (2005), there is a ‘law of locality’ in network design in the USA, whereby 80% of Internet traffic is local; 95% within the continent, and only 5% intercontinental. Further, between 1997 and 1999, 30% of all US traffic never even crossed the national infrastructure, staying, rather, within a local metropolitan network. What all this signifies is that despite high hopes for the Internet, several patterns remain that appear to be characteristic of old media and international news. As Figure 2 below proposes, six of eight dimensions are constant; there is only one area that is distinctly different, and only two of partial difference.

#### **14.4 Online realities**

To sum all this up, it can be posited that, in the context of the geographical imbalances in domain name registrations (and English language dominance), it is mainly developing country



users who experience the extra-national potential of the Internet. For them, Western websites are likely to be large constituents of their online news diet and experienced as transnational news accordingly. There is some reverse traffic, but most consumption of online news in the First World seems to remain mainly within the same universe in which it is produced --- at least, with that universe towards which its content relevance is shaped. What militates against the globalization of Western news sites' content and First World news consumers' behaviour is 'hyperlocalism', a recent media trend to focus on the immediate neighbourhood locality. Despite the involvement in recent years of the US and UK in wars many miles from their own territories, much of the media culture in each country has been promoting what is called 'hyperlocalism' or 'ultralocalism'. The rationale is that 'local' is the core (and main remaining) value proposition for newspapers (and also most broadcasters) when almost all other content is claimed to be available online (and free). The local and hyperlocal spaces, in contrast, are seen as areas where media houses can do better than anyone else. Added to the parochialism of the hyperlocalist focus, is online social networking. It has been argued that Web 2.0 is all about a give-and-take negotiation between hyper local and the global. But, impressionistically, this is not immediately evident in most of the content and discourse of key websites such as MySpace, Facebook and Flickr. This is despite the involvement of many young middle-class people from developing countries.<sup>1</sup> It can be speculated that the value of global diversity tends to be effaced in such environments. Meanwhile, a portion of Internet users based in the First World go to off-shore websites for foreign information and perspective. This was especially during the start of the Iraq war (Kohut, 2002; Kahney, 2003; Google, 2003). Around one quarter of US Internet news users visit foreign sites (according to Best et al, 2005), and these are places where the framing differs to that of the USA's sites (Dimitrova et al., 2005). One can hypothesize that there is not much reflection of globalization within US news websites, and indeed that the conscious trend is to go the other way. In other countries, there does seem to be some rendering of global content into 'international news' in a number of news websites as a function of the national focus of each site (see Dimitrova et al., 2005). For many web users based outside of the First World, global content is experienced as kind of transnational news (even on a scale of varying relevance and interests). The picture, in short, is more mixed than a Utopian one, although it is also very different to that under contention in the NWICO and pre-Internet era.

## 14.5 Audiences and options

Earlier, this article cited the perceptions of editors as one explanation for the low levels of foreign news in US old media, and noted how these contrasted to the expressed interest by audiences. However, what is also significant is the actual interest shown by audiences. The whole area of audience studies was barely touched on in the original NWICO debates. But the matter certainly cannot be avoided in regard to cyberspace, which expands choices and empowers consumers in ways far beyond prior media forms. Symptomatically, however, journalist Danny Westneat of the *Seattle Times* has written about the top 20 most clicked-upon stories in his paper in 2005: 'It's not a survey of what news you say you read. It's what you actually read.' Topping the list was a story about horse sex, and another four stories in the group were about the same incident. Only two on the list, it appears, had an international angle (Westneat, 2005). One of the most-emailed story on NYTimes.com for 2006 was about Western-style personal relationships. In these instances at least, actual (online) audience interest in foreign news in the USA, as distinct from claimed interest. Probably, the Internet is not so

different from old media. However, it is not just US users who find allure in US domestic content. Research in 2006 found that ‘more than three-quarters of the traffic to Google, Yahoo!, and Microsoft is now coming from outside of the U.S.’. One can speculate that a fair portion of this is by pornography seekers whose domestic media environments (on or offline) do not offer this content. However, as regards news in particular, nearly one third of traffic to US news websites comes from outside the traditional offline distribution area. Interestingly, this dimension of globalization is not particularly welcomed by some online operators. High overseas audiences raise server costs, and they are often occasional, not regular, visitors and therefore hard to sell to local or national advertisers (see Thurman, 2005). There is a market in the USA for geo-targeting software that blocks sites to off-shore surfers (such as [www.trafficassistant.com](http://www.trafficassistant.com), and <http://georedirect.com>). Various online fora report that Yahoo’s advertising placement service has sought of participating websites that they screen out international traffic (see for example, [www.webmasterworld.com/forum110/438.htm](http://www.webmasterworld.com/forum110/438.htm)). Google by contrast delivers geo-specific advertising according to where a given site-visitor comes from (Jonas, 2007). All this reinforces the impression of the Internet developing ‘gated cybercommunities’ (Tremayne, 2005), on national lines. Reinforcing this is news websites in the USA reducing external hyperlinks and favouring their own archive over content that is off-site (Tremayne, 2004). Similarly, 75% of 246 sites surveyed at the start of the Iraq war provided only internal links (Dimitrova et al 2005). While blogs in general tend to display more links off-site than traditional news sites, the point has also been made that the supra-national blogosphere is still underdeveloped (Reese et al 2006). The irony therefore seems to be that online news, in the USA at least, has mainly a national character, though there is also a sizeable global audience. While such websites do not aim at a global audience, foreigners come anyway. The result suggests an information universe in which the US news agenda and perspectives are disproportionately large. Yet the flourishing Mexican, Brazilian, Indian and Nigerian audio-visual content sectors and indicators, much of the rest of the world will not be clicking on US websites for their (foreign) news needs indefinitely. This is also the case in China, where language, culture and censorship appear to reduce the prevalence of US-news in Sino-cyberspace.

## 14.6 Customization and news content creation

Today any foreign-based site can be directly accessed; most also tend to cater to audiences within the host nation, and accordingly provide perspectives and languages that are domestically (rather than globally) targeted. But in the case of countries without dense online content of their own, it is not their particular national context at the centre. This internationalization of such First World online news content is not so much a deliberate strategy, but an unintended transnational news effect. The global possibilities of the Internet also contradict the flexibility on both consumption and production sides that allows for unprecedented geo-customization of content, as well as for user-generated contributions from diverse localities. Thus, many sites allow consumers to personalize the type of international news by region. Yahoo! News in 2007 added local news for logged-in user’s right on the front page, delivered via location-specific URLs. Geospatial technologies increasingly will link mobile Internet use with Geographical Positioning Systems, making localization even more radical (see Satri, 2006). One person has suggested that news feeds will come to include GeoRSS tags, which will deliver stories only within a certain proximity to the user (anonymous, 2007). If so, instead of internationalising and globalising online news, the Internet’s

customization facility could marginalize what foreign content may be consumed. These ties in with the issue of target audiences for foreign news not being mass audiences, but niches with specialist interest (see Fonstra, 2004). One danger of such ultra-geocustomization, however, is a ghettoization of foreign news (both global and international) exactly at a time of unprecedented globalization. It could further weaken the national and international agenda-setting importance of news in common public spheres. In this scenario, there is an Internet that reinforces blinkered and navel-gazing users in the First World, and dependency in the Third. However, arguably more important than geographic proximity determining audience interest in news, is the extent to which a given international story is told in a compelling way. One US editor put it thus: 'I've never disbelieved in Americans' appetite for foreign news. You can ask whether someone is concerned with the North American Free Trade Agreement, or ask whether they're interested in trucks getting free passage between countries. You'll get different answers'. The type of foreign news is also significant. Public interest is 'less in politics and the stuff of governments than it is in, say, global warming, or hoof-and-mouth disease, or the status of women'. One survey in the USA showed that readers prefer good news and about ordinary people, over news about politics, government, economics, and disasters. They claim to want more about culture and customs in foreign news. In other words, this perspective suggests that content, not audience is king. Consumption patterns can therefore follow production and text, rather than drive them. These observations problematize the conventional wisdom that foreign news in First World countries is intrinsically alien and undesired. Locality, it has been rightly said, is cultural and conceptual for audiences, as much as geographical. On the production side, there are also dynamics which may militate against geo-parochialism. A new species of unintentional foreign correspondents has been noted with an example of a reporter in India writing for an Indian daily, but whose work is read over the Internet by a resident of Indianapolis (Hamilton & Jenner, 2002: 19). Similarly, it is recorded that because 50% of Bloomberg's subscribers are outside the United States, its staff is cautioned against describing its non-U.S.-based journalists as foreign correspondents (Hamilton & Jenner, 2002: 15). The geography of content creation will likely see an increase in foreigners acting as foreign correspondents for an external nation, and the rise of local foreign correspondents (i.e. domestic-based reporters covering foreign affairs without actually leaving the country) (Hamilton & Jenner, 2002: 14). One observer envisages that instead of a media house having an expensive foreign bureau, three home-based employees could instead trawl and translate the best online resources about a particular foreign location (Jarvis, 2007). However, this romanticism needs qualifying: without really 'being there', there can well be a loss of depth and perspective (Utley, 1997: 7). Overall the online reality, as noted by Utley (1997: 9), means that anyone sending information from one country to another is a de facto foreign correspondent. However, as extremely valuable as people such as bloggers are, even those who are deliberately writing for international or global audiences, they are not a full alternative to professional foreign correspondents. In that sense, they are not superior to the role of news agencies. As described by one observer: 'In an era of globalism, how can you suggest that the L.A. or Boston market does not need its own specialized foreign reporting that informs the local economy, the local culture and more, in a way that is different than what generic wires would cover' (cited in Sebastien, 2007). Overall, the Internet means that in the global production and circulation of content, there will be more foreign foreign-correspondents, and local foreign-correspondents and a range of bloggers. That is a different landscape to the pre-Internet age.

## 14.7 Conclusion

The role of the Internet in international news flows, and in affecting the quantity and quality of representations of 'foreign' countries, is still in its infancy. While direct access to foreign online news may somewhat compensate for inadequacies in the mainstream media, it is not conducive to common political spaces and supra-national identities. Even in advanced countries Web still serves as a supplement to other source of news. The changing national demographics and consumer habits amongst people in the First World may raise new potential for extra-national news. Saturated markets in the First World may lead websites not only internationalize their offerings, but to encourage 'foreign' user input as well. There is a 'long tail' of international interests and advertisers, and conscious 'export' imperatives will likely grow. Part of this may well be via the 'widget' model— where centralized publishing is turned on its head so that a given website seeks to get as much of its local content republished by as many others as possible. Another part may be where First World publishers produce content tailored more directly to audiences elsewhere. On the other hand, as Third World countries become more competitive with their own websites targeting their own consumers, this could open new opportunities for creative configurations of production, distribution, consumption and audiences. Much depends on the leadership of traditional media which also plays in cyberspace. Experts have warned that belief in a lack of audience interest becomes a self-fulfilling prophesy. Users in developing countries with limited online content have little choice in cyberspace. It would be unfortunate if the Internet's main news role was to merely reflect back to respective users either their own locality, or their subordinate position in the global order of content creation. The Internet could enable every user to experience the extent and excitement of knowledge of a wider world that is ever more integrated, and one in which, digital divides notwithstanding, news content about and by developing countries can increasingly be contributed. While there are indeed centrifugal tendencies pushing some First World Internet news content towards hyper local myopia, there are also countervailing dynamics that in the long run give impetus to a hyper global dimension. What remains without doubt is that the rise of Internet requires a rethink about the quantity and quality concerns about news between nations as originally articulated in the NWICO debates. To the extent that Internet users are able to avoid content regulation, and to the extent that access continues to expand, the flows across its networks may eventually overtake many of the NWICO concerns about problems in international news even if they unnecessarily mirror some of the focus of old media at this point in time.

## 14.8 Summary

The New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) of the 1970s and 1980s reflected inter alia a major concern around 'imbalanced' international news. State-backed Third World news agencies were deemed to be a partial solution. The thrust petered out under pressure on UNESCO by the USA and the UK and the 1990s saw neo-liberal economics and media policies assume centre stage around much of the world. Some assumed that the global media system would consequently become a single integrated, commercial communication system dominated by US-based super companies. However, the contemporary scenario is not unfolding quite along these lines. One reason is the rise of regional media power centres. Another is how the Internet disrupts the original assumptions about the centrality of news agencies as international communications institutions, and which --- through its granular network --- constitutes a very different structure to that of 'old' media industry models of radio, television and the press. As an example of the new complexity, it may once have been possible (albeit

difficult --- see MacBride, 2000: 145/6) to measure how much mainstream news in Third World countries originated from the First World. Nowadays, however, any media house or individual with a website can be akin to an international news distributor. If this signals a change in the *distribution* of news, then another example highlights the challenge to old thinking about how locality is linked to *production*. During 2007, a California-based publisher outsourced his city council coverage to India, on the basis that his local information sources were all accessible electronically.. On this model, a foreign-based correspondent would be hired to report on local news.

### 14.9 Self Assessment Questions

1. Elaborate the News flow between first world and third world countries.
2. Discuss about the Customization and news content creation.

### 14.10 Reference Books

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
  2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
  3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
  4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
  5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
  6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.
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**Lesson-15****GLOBALIZATION AND MEDIA****15.0 Objective**

After reading the lesson, the student, will learn about

- Globalization and mass media

**STRUCTURE****15.1 Introduction****15.2 Cultural globalization theories: from homogenization to hybridity****15.3 Summary****15.4 Self Assessment Questions****15.5 Reference Books****15.1 Introduction**

The decentralized nature of the Internet makes it very different from more traditional mass media, which distribute content created by the media industries. Global messages developed by the media industries are distributed through global media systems, such as CNN. CNN can distribute the same message throughout its worldwide television system. Prior to the 1990s, media systems were primarily national systems, but during the 1990s a global commercial media market emerged. According to McChesney (1999), "the rise of a global media market is encouraged by new digital and satellite technologies that make global markets both cost-effective and lucrative". Contributing to the trend toward media globalization was the formation of transnational corporations, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the World Bank. All of these organizations helped to create a new form of global capitalism that uses global media to disseminate messages to global consumers. In addition to financial interests, global media have an impact on media content, politics, and culture. Like the Internet, global media are influenced by the culture and interests of the United States. In some ways, global media could be considered an extension of the American system. At present, the United States exports more entertainment products than any other nation. McChesney (1999) reports that American media companies "have aggressively established numerous global editions of their channels to accommodate the new market". Three of the most important transnational media corporations are Time Warner (now AOL Time Warner), Disney, and News Corporation. In terms of globalization, American cable companies have been called cable colonialists because they control the worldwide export of media content and attempt to establish digital satellite TV systems in regional and national markets around the world. As the Internet becomes a broadband medium, it is increasingly taking on the characteristics of a mass medium rather than an

interpersonal one. In the future, mass media trends could be extended to the Internet. For instance, a recent study of Dutch children's Internet usage revealed that they primarily used the Internet as a leisure medium to play games, watch video clips, and visit entertainment sites. Research on Americans however, shows people primarily use the Internet to maintain social relationships through e-mail. The Dutch study was conducted by Valkenburg and Soeters (2001), who examined children's home Internet usage. They found three primary motives for children's Internet use: affinity with computers, information seeking, and entertainment. Children must first of all enjoy sitting in front of a computer, the researchers found. Second, children use the Internet to find information about hobbies and homework assignments. Finally, they visit entertainment Web sites. The use of the Internet as an entertainment and leisure medium is similar to television usage. Although transnational media corporations are attempting to establish operations in nations around the world, some countries want to protect their domestic media and culture industries. Some nations, including Norway, Denmark, Spain, Mexico, and South Korea, have established government subsidies to maintain their own domestic film industries. The British government proposed a voluntary levy on the revenues from domestic film theatres, which show predominantly Hollywood movies. These theatres revenues could then be used to subsidize the British commercial film industry. However, the proposal was not passed by Parliament. Culture ministers from a variety of nations have been discussing how they can protect their own cultural identities in an increasingly American-influenced global media environment. Some nations, such as Singapore, edit and censor for broadcast media content created in the United States. Language usage, for instance, in the Singapore version of the Sopranos is vastly different from the American version because curse words have been edited out of the sound track. In such ways, individual nations can establish barriers that make it more difficult for global companies to broadcast their American-produced content. Global media systems have been considered a form of cultural imperialism. Cultural imperialism takes place when a country dominates others through its media exports, including advertising messages, films, and television and radio programming. America's dominance in the entertainment industries made it difficult for other cultures to produce and distribute their own cultural products. Supporters of American popular culture argue that the universal popularity of American media products promotes a global media system that allows communication to cross national boundaries. American popular culture in addition challenges authority and outmoded traditions. Critics of American culture contend that cultural imperialism prevents the development of native cultures and has a negative impact on teenagers. Teenagers in other nations have rejected their own cultural music and dress. Instead, they want to wear American jeans and listen to American recording artists. Rock groups from other countries will even sing in English rather than use their native tongue. A larger concern in the emerging global information economy is the fact that most of the world's population cannot afford the types of products advertised on global media. People who are constantly exposed to these media messages may want to own products that they can never afford, which could cause social unrest. Mass media portray a lifestyle of consumption that is very different from the lifestyles of people living in many other cultures. The mass media are seen today as playing a key role in enhancing globalization, facilitating culture exchange and multiple flows of information and image between countries through international news broadcasts, television programming, new technologies, film and music. If before the 1990's mainstream media systems in most countries of the world were relatively national in scope, since then most communication media have become increasingly global, extending their reach beyond the nation-state to conquer audiences worldwide.

International flows of information have been largely assisted by the development of global capitalism, new technologies and the increasing commercialisation of global television, which has occurred as a consequence of the deregulation policies adopted by various countries in Europe and the US in order to permit the proliferation of cable and satellite channels. Globalization theorists have discussed how the cultural dimension of globalization has exercised a profound impact on the whole globalization process. The rapid expansion of global communications in the 21<sup>st</sup> century can be traced back to the mechanical advancements of technologies during the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, which started mainly with the invention of the telegraph in 1837, and included the growth in postal services, cross-border telephone and radio communications and the creation of a modern mass circulation press in Europe. It was however the evolution of technologies capable of transmitting messages via electromagnetic waves that marked a turning point in advancing the globalization of communications. The emergence of international news agencies in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, such as Reuters, paved the way for the beginnings of a global system of codification. Nonetheless, it was not until the 1960's, with the launch of the first geo-stationary communication satellites, that communication by electromagnetic transmission became fully global, thus making the globalization of communications a distinctive phenomenon of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Thompson, 1995, 159).

#### **a) From modernization and development theories to cultural imperialism**

Key theories in international communications grew out of international relation studies. The "modernization" or development" theory in the area of communication research emerged in the Cold War context and were largely preoccupied with the ways in which the media could help transform traditional societies to include them into the capitalism orbit. Among the key theorists in this tradition was Wilbur Schramm with his sponsored UNESCO work, *Mass Media and national development – the role of information in the developing countries*. The idea was that international communication media could be used as a tool to transfer the political-economic model of the West to the growing independent societies of the South. Schramm's views were that the mass media could be used by elites to raise the ambitions of the populations in developing countries, who would cease to be narrow-minded and conformist and would be active in their own self-development. The dependency theories the 1960's and 1970's were perceived as an alternative approach grounded in neo-Marxism, and which adopted a theoretical framework that saw capitalism and inequality as a key perspective in understanding the impact of power relations on global communications. According to the argument, transnational corporations based in the North engaged in a web of interdependency with the economies of the South, setting the terms of global trade, dominating markets, production and labour. Dependency theorists and Latin American scholars argued that these economic relations worked within an exploitative dependency model that promoted American capitalist mentality in developing countries (Mattelart, 1979). Development was thus shaped in a way that benefitted largely the developed nations, maintaining the peripheral countries in a continuous position of dependence. Latin American scholars stressed that it was Western media companies that were reaping the rewards of the modernization programmes, and that they were actually reaching out to the South in order to conquer new markets for their products. Globalization is thus seen as having consequences for the distribution of power and wealth both within and between countries. Cultural imperialism theories of the 1970's and 1980's highlighted how the media in developing



countries imported foreign news, cultural and television genre formats (i.e. talk-shows, sitcoms) and also values of capitalist consumerism and individualism. The core critique of the imperialism thesis was that the developing countries had established a relationship of subordination in relation to the First World countries that had historical roots in European colonialism, culminating in a *core-periphery* relationship. Key media imperialism theses also affirmed that external factors, such as the expansion of transnational corporations and the strategic planning of the US government, shaped the historical evolution of commercial broadcasting systems in Latin American countries. One of the main theorists in the cultural imperialism tradition was Herbert Schiller (1969), who argued that the pursuit of commercial interests by US-based transnational corporations was serving to undermine the cultural autonomy of countries of the South. Schiller saw the US developing an imperialist control of the world through the mass media. Schiller's cultural imperialism theory was highly influential and was updated later by many theorists. A group of Latin American scholars, such as Armand Mattelart (1979), also criticised it from within. Many Latin American scholars were critical of the "modernization" perspective and the idea that the Western media entry in the Third World would contribute to national development. Oliver Boyd-Barrett (1977, 1998) revised the media imperialism thesis to defend its relevance in the context of increasing media globalization. In spite of some of the limitations of the cultural imperialism theory, like its tendency to suggest a "hypodermic needle" model of American values being injected into the Third World, Boyd-Barrett stressed that its merit rested in the fact that it was concerned with inequalities between nations and how this reflected wider political and economic problems of dependency. However, it did not acknowledge fully intra-national media relations and other ways in which the media contributed to oppression based on class, gender and race, having also not stressed patterns of ownership and technical structures (174). International news agencies like Reuters, AP, UPI and AFP have been assigned a role by media scholars of having contributed in spreading a global agenda and in creating particular perceptions of the South as being a place of "corruption, coup and disaster" for Western audiences. The United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) was during the 1970's and 1980's a key body in the debate on international communications. The news agencies came specifically under attack by Third World critics during the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). The Western dominance of news broadcasting was perceived as reproducing the prejudices of colonialism. The allegations made against the Western news agencies were that they did not cover enough the developing countries, the material covered was inadequate and the tendency was to reinforce a biased image. These perspectives were rejected by the representatives of the US and the UK, who felt threatened by requests for balanced free flows and thus withdrew their support from Unesco. Groups committed to alternative communications and to a policy of correcting distortions in the mainstream media's coverage of news from developing countries, and which were led by many NGOs and other social movements both in the West and in the South, sprang up in the aftermath of the NWICO debates. These four agencies nonetheless remain key players who dominate the global dissemination of news and information, with many newspapers and other media organisations across the world depending on them for international news. They are seen as central to the globalisation thesis and are closely tied to the modernization of the West and the expansion of communication media since their emergence in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The limited number of agencies and producers of sources for international news, so academics claim, has also contributed towards the homogenization of global culture and of international television news content by privileging Western interests in politics, economics and culture. They have also

helped shape the relationship between internalization and local forces, bringing the global to the local and vice-versa through their news gathering activities as well as constructing international agendas that influence national governments. As authors note, the unevenness of flows thus reflects the historical legacy of these institutions and is still detected today in international communications, in spite of the existence of multiple and reverse flows from the Third to the First World. Due to the rise of post-modernism theories, the adoption of neo-liberal discourse by US and UK governments from the 1980's onwards, followed by the fall of the "grand narratives", considered part of the modernist discourse that prevailed in the 1970's, the cultural imperialism thesis went into decline. This perspective came under attack from various fronts due to its focus on exclusive American cultural dominance and a historical context closely tied to the Cold War paradigm. The theory is not considered adequate anymore to fully explain the shifting economic and media environment of the last decades, which has seen the growth of the Asian tigers, the restructuring of the European powers and the multiplication of media corporations which are no longer exclusively American.

Thompson (1995, 169) has underlined the necessity to articulate a more elaborate account that recognises how symbolic power overlaps with the economic and the political in the globalization process, emphasising how the appropriation of globalised media products interacts with localized practices which can either serve to consolidate relations of power or create new forms of dependency. Schiller has also updated his work, acknowledging that the power structures of the 1960's had changed, but underlined that cultural domination remained American in form and content whilst the economic basis had become internationalised. Another critique made to the cultural and media imperialism thesis has come from the cultural studies and audience reception research tradition, which claims that people do not simply adopt uncritically US values and culture from watching American programmes. Audience research states that people use media creatively and according to their own needs, and that audience should not be understood as being "cultural dopes". They can negotiate dominant ideological messages and make readings that are empowering for their everyday lives. Studies in the audience research tradition have shown how diverse ethnic groups read and make sense of US television exported texts, from *Dallas* to *The Simpson* and *Sex and the City*, differently, according to their own cultural preferences and socio-economic context. According to Herman and McChesney (2004), the active audience perspective gives credit to the resistance to media globalization and commercialization, but it tends to undermine the perspectives associated with the "grand narrative" in favour of micro textual analyses, assuming that the audience is always a co-producer and dismissing the consequences over time of de-politicization as a result of a media entertainment-led diet. Others assert also that it is also wrong to presuppose that every American programme or cultural product is necessarily packed with consumerist capitalist values, and that there is no diversity and complexity in the type of US cultural production and the ways in which it is received by audiences in different countries. Some of the reasons in favour of the cultural imperialism approach, as highlighted by critics like Tomlinson (1999), is the fact that its critical aspect allows one to grasp the real nature of global culture and the expansionist aspect of capitalism.

## 15.2 Cultural globalization theories: from homogenization to hybridity

The cultural imperialism theories of the 1960's and 1970's have thus given way to the "cultural globalization" perspectives which have predominated media scholarship in the 90's,

indicating for some a shift away from a more neo-Marxist rigid one-way model of cultural domination towards a more sophisticated analysis and appreciation of “multidirectional flows” across countries, acknowledging the emergence of regional markets, the resistance of media audiences to American culture and the diversity in the forms of engagement with media texts. Various theorists have updated the cultural imperialism theories nonetheless in the context of the persistence of inequalities of power and wealth between countries, the unevenness of flows and increasing media concentration and commercialisation, arguing for its relevance still in the context of the expanding power of transnational media corporations situated in the rich West. The extent to which the mass media have assisted in reinforcing American cultural supremacy throughout the world due to the dominance of Hollywood films and the export of US television series continues to be the subject of debate. In the context of the decline of the cultural imperialism thesis, most critics have moved away from understanding global culture as synonymous with *homogenization*, or cultural synchronization or “McDonaldization”, recognising diversity and the impact of reverse flows on Western cultures. Here *homogenization* is understood as the degree of convergence of media systems towards formats that originated in the US. National media systems were considered predominant until the 1970’s, giving rise to concerns that a single global media model was taking over since the 1990’s. The main features of this growing convergence towards the liberal American model are a weakening of government intervention and decline of the role of the state in communications, with a move towards market regulation, commercialization and the predominance of Anglo-American journalistic professionalism, accompanied by the crisis of the public service broadcasting tradition in Europe. Critics assert that a global media system is not replacing national communication media, as there are still distinctive differences between political systems and cultural particularities which prevent complete homogenization.

Cultural globalization theorists have thus underscored the need to recognise the blending of local cultures with global foreign influences, switching to an understanding of global culture as being grounded in a process of *hybridization*, and not *homogenization* or simply cultural diffusion of American values. The concept of “hybridization” is seen by cultural globalization theorists (i.e. Neverdeen Pieterse, 2004) as more suited to understand the complexity of flows and the “cultural mixing” of current globalization processes. Nederveen Pieterse (2004) sees hybridity as being part of a certain “postmodern sensibility”, a contemporary reaction to racial purity and tight nation border controls and liberation from the West’s historical legacy of Eurocentric thinking and colonialism. Furthermore, it is believed that certain credit should be given to American popular culture and the reasons for its appeal to a global audience, which can be precisely the result of its capacity to mingle multiple cultures that reflect the US’ current hybrid cultural identity and its historical formation as an immigrant’s country. The hybridization argument thus contends that the impact of global culture does not lead to the extinction of the local. Hybrid styles are in essence a result of the combination of modern techniques or American influences with national and political traditions or regional identities. Within this line of argument, theorists have also criticised how the cultural imperialism thesis paid little attention to the notion of *reverse flows* between the First and Third Worlds. Some see this as a result of a reverse type of colonization, including the example of the export of Brazilian *telenovelas* to Portugal, as well as the emergence of regional media markets and cultural production and distribution centres in developing countries, such as the Bollywood film industry in India. Large broadcasters like TV Globo in Brazil and Televisa in Mexico have also managed to provide

global competition, engaging in what some see as a form of *reverse cultural imperialism*, with the exportation of the *telenovela* genre to the Latin American community in a world market. Comparative research has also continuously pointed out how in Europe the dominant preference is for domestic programming, and how US programmes usually are not sought after as much as national content. This perspective on hybridity has also encountered criticism on the grounds that it reflects a reluctance in looking at economic power and the impact of giant media corporations in directing the cultural preference (Curran, 2002). Furthermore, the result of the blending of global with national influences does not in the end constitute “authentic” cultural practice, but rather the commodification and appropriation of the “exotic” by capitalist media corporations which can sell these “multicultural” products in a global market. Examples here can include world music to Bollywood films and tourism paraphernalia. Difference and diversity is thus exploited by the global market to make profit, and not because of a genuine appreciation of other non-Western or Third World cultures. Neverdeen Pieterse (2004, 99) has however criticised the arguments against hybridity as being rooted in a “Marxism versus cultural studies” premises and aligned with the general attacks on “postmodernism”, which see multiculturalism and global culture as a triumph of advanced capitalism and the struggle for recognition and inclusion of hybrids and cosmopolitans, seen as belonging exclusively to “elite groups”, as being less important than the fight for working-class emancipation. Cultures should be seen as hybrid, whilst cultural hybridity is a contemporary reality for both the working and middle classes and is rooted in the history of mankind, which has been one of constant immigration, cross bordering, cultural exchanges and intermarriages. Thus as a consequence of increasing media globalization and expanding multiculturalism in the West, Western self-identities are becoming to be more in contact with the postcolonial “Other”.

This contributes to challenge unquestioned cultural and assumptions about particular groups, mainly rigid racial and cultural stereotypes fixed in place, that were constructed during the colonial order to justify the colonial project and the West’s cultural power and superiority in relation to the rest of the world. As various theorists state, given the decline of Western imperialism and the complexities of the flows between people, trade and culture across the world has made the image of globalization be one of a decentred network of unstable and shifting patterns of power distribution, which has both undermined the core-periphery model. Global communication systems have thus changed the relationship between localities and social circumstances. Globalization theorists such as Held (1999) have also noted how global communication media have facilitated what he calls the emergence of cultural cosmopolitanism, or a cosmopolitan sensibility, due to the increasing speed and intensity of its functioning. As the argument goes, the image provided by the media of distant events and of how people from other parts of the world live has resulted in a celebration of difference, stimulating a cosmopolitan orientation in sectors of the public, the formation of a global civil society, global public sphere or international community, although on the other hand global media and the increasing global flow of people and goods across borders has not destroyed local ties. Thus awareness of cultural difference is a consequence of accelerated globalization of communications, increasing mobility, migration, trade, investment and tourism. Global firms thus engage in marketing strategies (i.e. *Think globally, act locally!*) in order to respond to these multiple identities acquired by increasing global citizens, with international companies such as MTV adapting their brand and content programming to suit local tastes and identities. Another important term used in cultural globalization theory to discuss the relationship between global and local influences is the

concept of “deterritorialization”. As various theorists state, deterritorialization opens up new markets for film companies to explore the life stories of diasporic communities and the need of these deterritorialized populations for contact with their homeland. This has been another line of research which is slowly receiving more attention from media scholars, mainly minority media production and the complexity of cultural flows across national borders. From the 80’s onwards, satellite television has created the means for the catering to these geo-cultural groups in the host countries of Europe and the US, with new communication technologies assisting also diasporic communities in their urge to stay in touch with news and relatives from their native lands. The fact that media systems are transcending the barriers of the nation-state has stimulated globalization theorists to see media globalization as necessarily contributing to erode the power of countries to control, regulate and/or use their media for educational and cultural purposes within national boundaries. Globalization is seen to have changed the very nature of the previous strong relationship that existed between the media and the state. The state continues to matter because it can still play a role in shaping media policy and national television systems. In Europe for instance the state has had a tradition of regulating public service broadcasting in an attempt to use the media to enhance the public good and to provide education and culture to wider sectors of the population independent of social status and economic income. The increase in power of multinational media conglomerates has meant that the state has been undermined in its capacity to subordinate them to a regulatory regime. The expansion of new technologies has thus had a major role in the intensification of the globalization of communications in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the deployment of sophisticated cable and satellite systems. The former has facilitated the capacity for transmission of electronic information and the latter for long-distance communications, and this has been combined with the increase in use of digital methods of information processing. Thus the digitalization of information and the development of electronic technologies has increased the capacity to store information, permitting the convergence of information and communication technologies. Since the 1990’s, deregulation trends in the US and in many European countries concerning broadcasting policy have seen the opening of the television market to cable and satellite as well as the intensification of media concentration in the West through the formation of mergers and between powerful media companies, such as American Online and Time Warner. Technological advancements in computing and telecommunications have enabled media organisations to operate globally and to distribute their products, with the state losing power in regulating what people can watch. Global media today are thus moving across borders and building alliances with local forms. Rupert Murdoch’s News Corporation has had an extensive reach, with subsidiaries in Europe, the US, Asia and Australia. Much of what audiences worldwide receive from the media comes from a small number of corporations, like News Corporation, Disney, Time Warner, Viacom and ITC and associated press agencies (CNN, BBC, Reuters, AP, UPI, Bloomberg). News Corporation owns the Fox channel, *The Times* and *The Sun* newspapers. Murdoch has managed to expand his global media empire through the successful establishment of satellite TV systems worldwide. By the 1990’s, Murdoch claimed to have TV networks and systems that reached more than 75% of the world’s population, having launched satellite systems in Latin America, Japan and India and established agreements with national media systems, including with TV Globo in Brazil, as well as conquering markets in China and India. Murdoch is seen by critics as being too powerful and of attempting to influence national and global politics, including the case of the wooing of the support of *The Sun* for Tony Blair’s election in 1997. The concentration of media firms in the hands of few owners is pointed out by critics as threatening diversity, impeding real competition,

forcing smaller players out of the market, and contributing to reinforce conservative views of the world, marginalising dissent or content that does not generate profit or which is seen as challenging to capitalist values. Boyd-Barrett (1998) has argued for a re-conceptualization of imperialism as a process of *colonization of communication space*, highlighting that such a phrase helps us understand which voices get to be heard and which are excluded, making one conscious of communication space as a site of struggle. Although the media industries are not exclusively American anymore as the cultural imperialism thesis would sustain, the global media system today is largely owned by various Western corporations (Japanese, German, British, American), with none of them coming from any of the developing countries, either Asia or South America. Thus in spite of the recognition of reverse flows and that global media companies are not necessarily all American, the case for still understanding cultural globalization through the concept of “Americanization” is still a persuasive one if one looks at global (American) media symbols such as CNN, the success that Hollywood blockbusters encounter worldwide and the exportation of American television series internationally. The US is seen as a model of commercial media to which all other countries, including Europe with its tradition of strong public service broadcasting, are moving towards. The shift in Europe towards commercialization was influenced by American policy and US interests. US programmes are still the predominant non-domestic viewing in most European states, with South European as well as Latin American countries having the highest imports of American programming. Satellite and cable channels, including Sky and MTV, also contain large amounts of US programming. In the case of Latin America, the origins of a market-oriented US style of press can be traced back to the years when South American economies were entering the industrial order. Herman and McChesney (2004) argue that the *global media market* is still dominated by US interests and by the US domestic market. The whole global media system has come to be dominated by 9 or 10 companies: Time Warner, Disney, Bertelsman, Viacom, Tele-Communications INC, News Corporation, Sony, Seagram, General Electric and Philips. They develop in their three tier model of global media Schiller’s revised understanding of cultural imperialism as being “transnational cultural domination”, indicating the shift away from American hegemony towards transnational capitalism and presenting a picture of globalization as a process driven “from above” by giant media corporations supported by deregulation policies of various states. They advocate wider media democratization “from below” and media reform. According to the authors, the global media market is characterised by oligopolistic market competition and is linked to the rise of the global capitalist economic system, having been encouraged by new digital technologies and by the institutions an influence on US foreign policy. CNN broadcast news around the world via a combination of satellites and cable television outlets and was praised for its successful usage of the newest news-gathering technology, the satellite-fed connection. In the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the Qatar based television station *Al Jazeera*, which had been launched in 1996, started to compete with CNN and other international broadcasters, and to provide an alternative network of news about the war. It also strengthened its position in the Arab world as a forum of debate of non-Western views, which for some could assist in challenging the hegemony of American culture and their views on foreign policy. Critics also affirm that transnational media are eroding national media. International satellite TV and video for instance is said to be weakening the Bombay film industry, whilst in Brazil TV Globo has seen a decline in its viewership, power and influence due both to competition from international cable and satellite channels. In terms of what gets globalized, this includes fiction, music, television genres which are considered to have originated in the US, such as talk-shows, TV news programmes, sitcoms

and comedy as well as “infotainment”. The latter is seen as being a mixture of information with entertainment, and is a consequence of the growing commercialization of the media worldwide and the economic pressures which media corporations end up imposing on current affairs to make them more attractive to larger audiences. Transformations in international communication have created the perception for many of increased interconnectedness, of a shrinking of the world. New media technologies and the Internet have intensified this interconnectedness between countries and the rapid spread of information, news, content and programming. Neo-Marxists scholars such as Mattelart and Castells have examined the process of globalization by questioning the impact of technological developments on the ways in which societies, cultures and individuals function and understand themselves. Marshall McLuhan (1911-80) nonetheless was one of the first thinkers to analyse the impact of media technology on society, articulating a theory considered ground-breaking when it came out in the 1960’s, and which consisted in basically saying that the rise of new communication technologies would culminate in the creation of a “global village” capable of enhancing international understanding between people and forging new communities. Computerized technology, satellite TV and the Internet have also contributed to the reduction of the cost of communications, stimulating home-made productions and gradually widening the access of many to these technologies. In his discussion of the impact of technologies on everyday life, Castells (2000), considered one of the main philosophers of cyberspace, has shown how the Internet has revolutionized international information exchange due to its ability in moving data across borders. He has also pointed out how the Internet has become well suited for the expanding individualism of contemporary reality, with consumers using the web to create their own content and distribute it to global audiences. The Internet is also seen as strengthening the cultural identities of diasporic peoples, as well as assisting in social networking and in forging ties with like-minded individuals, social groups and various communities across the globe. In contrast to other communication media, the Internet has been the fastest-growing sector of the media. The expansion of the Internet has been enormous: there were 20 million users in 1995 and 400 million by the year 2000. By 2006, the Internet was considered a global medium, jumping from reaching 3% of the world’s population to more than 15%, mostly in the developed countries, with North America having a penetration rate of 30% and Europe and the Asia-Pacific with 30% as well (Thussu, 2006, 208). Media corporations have been heavily investing in the convergence between the Internet and television and in communication strategies that operate across platforms. American Online and Time Warner for instance merged in 2000 to create an Internet-based media giant which brought together both the old and new media, including film, television, radio, publishing and computing. Giant web portals have also emerged and are contributing to concentrate information, access and profits, with Google “revolutionizing” the way information is processed and used across the world. Significant inequalities remain nonetheless in the capacity of individuals to have access to the Internet and to new communication technologies, both in developing countries as well as within different social strata of advanced societies. This was a central concern of the cultural imperialism debates in the 1970’s, but the issue of the “digital divide” has become much more of a pressing issue now in the current context of expanding globalization of new technologies and inequality in their distribution. Many developing countries in the South for instance cannot meet the high costs of initial investment in the updating of their telecommunications systems and in the buying of equipment and software. The Internet has had a significant political role in facilitating the connection between groups, assisting the activities of social movements in organising “anti-globalization” protests and the mobilization of NGOs and political parties of

civil society groups and voters. It has emerged as a key medium, alongside alternative communications and public media, which is seen by many media scholars, journalists and social activists as being capable of widening media democratization worldwide, of revitalising the public sphere and of functioning mainly as a resistance to the dominance of global communications by a few corporations interested mainly in entertainment and profits

### 15.3 Summary

The decentralized nature of the Internet makes it very different from more traditional mass media, which distribute content created by the media industries. Global messages developed by the media industries are distributed through global media systems, such as CNN. CNN can distribute the same message throughout its worldwide television system. Prior to the 1990s, media systems were primarily national systems, but during the 1990s a global commercial media market emerged. According to McChesney (1999), "the rise of a global media market is encouraged by new digital and satellite technologies that make global markets both cost-effective and lucrative". Contributing to the trend toward media globalization was the formation of transnational corporations, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the World Bank. All of these organizations helped to create a new form of global capitalism that uses global media to disseminate messages to global consumers.

### 15.4 Self Assessment Question

1. Discuss the impact of globalization on Media.

### 15.5 Reference Books

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.



**Lesson-16****INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION****16.0 Objectives**

After reading the lesson, the student, will learn about

- Functions of ITU and its members

**STRUCTURE****16.1 Introduction****16.1.1 Membership****16.1.2 Cost of membership****16.1.3 Vision****16.2. Function of ITU and its membership****16.3 Summary****16.4 Self Assessment Questions****16.5 Reference Books****16.1 Introduction**

ITU was founded in Paris in 1865 as the International Telegraph Union. It took its present name in 1934, and in 1947 became a specialized agency of the United Nations. Although its first area of expertise was the telegraph, the work of ITU now covers the whole ICT sector, from digital broadcasting to the Internet, and from mobile technologies to 3D TV. An organization of public-private partnership since its inception, ITU currently has a membership of 193 countries and some 700 private-sector entities. ITU is headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, and has twelve regional and area offices around the world. ITU is the United Nations specialized agency for information and communication technologies – ICTs. They allocate global radio spectrum and satellite orbits, develop the technical standards that ensure networks and technologies seamlessly interconnect, and strive to improve access to ICTs to underserved communities worldwide. ITU is committed to connecting the entire world's people – wherever they live and whatever their means. Through their work, they protect and support everyone's fundamental right to communicate. They help manage and control emergency services, water supplies, power networks and food distribution chains. They support health care, education, government services, financial markets, transportation systems and environmental management. And they allow people to communicate with colleagues, friends and family anytime, and almost anywhere. With the help of their membership, ITU brings the benefits of modern communication technologies to people everywhere in an efficient, safe, easy and

affordable manner. ITU membership reads like a Who's Who of the ICT sector. They're unique among UN agencies in having both public and private sector membership. So in addition to our 193 Member States, ITU membership includes ICT regulators, leading academic institutions and some 700 private companies. In an increasingly interconnected world, ITU is the single global organization embracing all players in this dynamic and fast-growing sector.

### ***16.1.1 Membership***

An organization based on public-private partnership since its inception, ITU currently has a membership of 193 countries and over 700 private-sector entities and academic institutions. ITU is headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, and has twelve regional and area offices around the world. ITU membership represents a cross-section of the global ICT sector, from the world's largest manufacturers and carriers to small, innovative players working with new and emerging technologies, along with leading R&D institutions and academia. Founded on the principle of international cooperation between governments (Member States) and the private sector (Sector Members, Associates and Academia), ITU is the premier global forum through which parties work towards consensus on a wide range of issues affecting the future direction of the ICT industry.

### ***16.1.2 Cost of members***

ITU Member States and Sector Members pay in contributory units and, above a minimum amount, may freely choose their annual contribution. Organizations that have a specific focus can choose to participate in the work of a single study group as an Associate. Academia, universities and their associated research establishments benefit from preferential rates, as do Sector Members from some developing countries.

### ***16.1.3 Vision***

Virtually every facet of modern life – in business, culture or entertainment, at work and at home – depends on information and communication technologies. Today, there are billions of mobile phone subscribers, close to five billion people with access to television, and tens of millions of new Internet users every year. Hundreds of millions of people around the world use satellite services – whether getting directions from a satellite navigation system, checking the weather forecast or watching television from isolated areas. Millions more use video compression every day in mobile phones, music players and cameras. ITU is at the very heart of the ICT sector, brokering agreement on technologies, services, and allocation of global resources like radio-frequency spectrum and satellite orbital positions, to create a seamless global communications system that's robust, reliable, and constantly evolving. The global international telecommunications network is the largest and most sophisticated engineering feat ever created. You use it every time you log on to the web, send an e-mail or SMS, listen to the radio, watch television, order something online, travel by plane or ship – and of course every time you use a mobile phone, smart phone or tablet computer.

## **16.2 Functions of ITU and its membership**

ITU makes phone calls possible: whether to the office next door or to a friend in another country. ITU standards, protocols and international agreements are the essential elements underpinning the global telecommunication system. ITU coordinates the world's satellites through the management of spectrum and orbits, bringing television, vehicle GPS navigation, maritime and aeronautical communications, weather information and online maps, and enabling communications in even the remotest parts of the planet. ITU makes Internet access possible. The majority of Internet connections are facilitated by ITU standards. ITU helps support communications in the wake of disasters and emergencies – through on-the-ground assistance, dedicated emergency communications channels, technical standards for early warning systems, and practical help in rebuilding after a catastrophe. ITU works with the industry to define the new technologies that will support tomorrow's networks and services. ITU powers the mobile revolution, forging the technical standards and policy frameworks that make mobile and broadband possible. ITU works with public and private sector partners to ensure that ICT access and services are affordable, equitable and universal. ITU empowers people around the world through technology education and training.

### **16.3 Summary**

ITU is committed to connecting the entire world's people – wherever they live and whatever their means. Through their work, they protect and support everyone's fundamental right to communicate. They help manage and control emergency services, water supplies, power networks and food distribution chains. They support health care, education, government services, financial markets, transportation systems and environmental management. And they allow people to communicate with colleagues, friends and family anytime, and almost anywhere.

### **16.4 Self Assessment Question**

1. What are the Function of ITU and its membership?

### **16.5 Reference Books**

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

**Lesson-17****INTERNATIONAL REGULATION IN AN ERA OF  
MULTI-GOVERNANCE****17.0 Objectives**

After reading the lesson, the student, will learn about

- Role of Electronic Media
- Public opinion on Governance

**STRUCTURE****17.1 Introduction****17.2 Electronic Media and Civil Society****17.3 Partial Public Opinion****17.4 Summary****17.5 Self Assessment Questions****17.6 Reference Books****17.1 Introduction**

The 1970s were a period of widespread criticism of established political systems and quests for alternatives to them. After the optimistic faith in technology and political solutions that characterized the early post-war years and the spirit of the 1970s provided an aperture for a questioning of the international character and roles of mass media. With questioning came demands on the part of third world countries for stronger international regulation of the media system, demands formalized in the call for a new international information order. The issue of a New World Information and Communication Order that occupied the UNESCO agenda of the 1970s is unique in that for once, international diplomacy and policy-makers acknowledged the international character of the media, their structures, world-views and markets. Some of the developments of this past decade could be discerned on the horizon even at the time of the endeavour for a NWICO. Indeed, increasing concentration of media ownership, monopolization of markets, and a decline in diversity were among the complaints the third world countries and others raised. But, it was quite impossible to envisage the breadth and depth of what was to come in the closing decades of the century. The globalization in the media system spurred by deregulation and privatization, concentration, commercialization and, not least, new information technology, could not be foreseen in its manifold entirety. It was these developments that ultimately sealed the fate of NWICO as an issue. The globalization of the media has accelerated and the digital divide has widened in recent years, and international information and media issues are once again in focus on the international agenda. The consequences of strong actors'

operations on the global media market also occupy many media scholars today. Even if the points of departure and terms of reference used today are quite different from those of the 1970s, 'development' is still bound up with the modernist project of the Western world. Today, however, solutions to the problems and issues are not sought in top-down steering and regulations on an international scale. Contemporary society is far too complex for that, and discourages the thought of 'a new international order' of the local to the global. One of the main items on the agenda today is *The World Summit on the Information Society, WSIS*. Arranged by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) in partnership with, among others, UNESCO, under the high patronage of the UN Secretary- General, the WSIS will be held in two sessions: December 2003 in Geneva and November 2005 in Tunis. The "anticipated" outcome of the Summit is "to develop and foster a clear statement of political will and a concrete plan of action for achieving the goals of the Information Society, while fully reflecting all the different interests at stake". One of the fundamental ideas behind the WSIS has been to create a more inclusive Information Society and to bridge the digital divide in a North-South perspective. Over the course of a series of Preparatory Committee meetings the agenda of the session in Geneva appears to have become oriented toward telecommunication and Internet-related issues in an increasingly technical perspective. Many voices, not least within the civil society, have called for more attention to media, human rights and communication rights in the final document from the WSIS. That is to say, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, not least its Article 19 which emphasizes freedom of expression, and the principles of the free flow of information, the free circulation of ideas, freedom of the press, participation in the communication process, the right to communicate, cultural diversity, and so forth are once again in focus. It will require hard work to ensure that the Information Society, or the Knowledge Society in UNESCO's usage, is equate with the attainment of basic economic, social and political rights for people around the world. The significance of the WSIS will depend on the extent to which national governments, the private sector, the civil society and other relevant stakeholders are brought into the continued work toward these goals. The challenges facing those engaged in issues of development and mass communication are thus many and multifaceted. The politicians, practitioners and researchers in this sector must be mindful of the past and of the shadows it casts, yet take care not to mistake those shadows for the realities of the day.

## 17.2 Electronic Media and civil society

The specific power of mass media is due to its capacity to motivate political actors to become interested in specific themes. According to this, theoreticians refer to the *mobilizing function* of mass media. In contrast with this, the Net lacks the ability to dramatize problems in a way that political systems must take care of them. On the Net, there is no strategy for clustering different perspectives and discourses so that they may represent transcontextual themes and perspectives and that they could be answered by political decisions. This is one of the main reasons why people often complain about the lack of order and orientation on the Net. So, at least for the moment, mass media cannot be replaced by electronic communication networks, as only mass media guarantees this kind of transcontextual clustering of topics and is able to force political reactions. But we assume that the Net enlarges the possibilities of citizens of articulating their interests. Considering this, the Net will influence political public opinion to a large extent, because new domains of discussion and new discourse forms will enlarge current ways of generating public opinion.

### 17.3 Partial public opinion

Partial public opinion is characterized by variable non-governmental and non-economical associations and assemblies (that is, community pressure groups, political associations, etc.). According to Habermas, these pre-institutional forms of public opinion often contradict general public opinion produced by mass media and form an important space of resonance for the problems and interests of citizens. Mass media cannot exist without this foundation of deliberate associations, because otherwise, the formal structure and the clear professional separation between the producers and the auditorium would not be able to mediate between politics and citizens. Partial public opinion, like these non-formal associations, is more characterized by authenticity, creativity and sensibility; that is to say, partial public opinion is more open towards those problems and interests which are not represented in public opinion generated by mass media.

#### *Problems confronting interactive media*

The social benefit of interactive media is confronted by some fundamental problems, which may limit the *signal function* of computer-mediated communication. So, it is possible to argue against our interpretation by considering that even in industrialized countries, only a very small part of the population has access to the Internet. For many people, the personal computer and related equipment which would enable them to participate in on-line discussions is still too expensive. And in countries of the so-called "third world," the situation is even worse: most of the inhabitants of these countries do not even have a telephone connection. Therefore, the possibility of participating in democratic decision-making processes is restricted to a very small, prosperous part of the population. Another problem is the financial resources are a necessary precondition of participation. Studies of "net-surfers" have shown that most of the active users of the Internet not only possess sufficient money and technical competence, but also a specific educational and cultural background which includes competencies such as speaking

### 17.4 Summary

The issue of a New World Information and Communication Order that occupied the UNESCO agenda of the 1970s is unique in that for once, international diplomacy and policy-makers acknowledged the international character of the media, their structures, world-views and markets. Some of the developments of this past decade could be discerned on the horizon even at the time of the endeavour for a NWICO. Indeed, increasing concentration of media ownership, monopolization of markets, and a decline in diversity were among the complaints the third world countries and others raised. But, it was quite impossible to envisage the breadth and depth of what was to come in the closing decades of the century. The globalization in the media system spurred by deregulation and privatization, concentration, commercialization and, not least, new information technology, could not be foreseen in its manifold entirety. It was these developments that ultimately sealed the fate of NWICO as an issue.

### 17.5 Self Assessment Question

1. Discuss the role of Electronic Media in civil society.

## 17.6 Reference Books

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

**Lesson-18****MEDIATING GLOBALIZATION MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS****18.0 Objectives**

After reading the lesson, the student, will learn about

- Meaning of international communication
- Global Mediation

**STRUCTURE****18.1 Introduction****18.1.1 Research in the field****18.2 History of mediated cross-border communication research****18.2.1 The early years: Propaganda research****18.3 The Cold War Decade: Ideological Struggles and alternative approaches****18.4 Summary****18.5 Self Assessment Questions****18.6 Reference Books****18.1 Introduction****Global Mediation**

Social relationships are increasingly mediated and individuals in different locations within and between nations and states are connected to each other through media and communications. The increasing use of media and communications is one of the most striking features of our age and defines the ways we live. Globally, outside our homes, as established hierarchical social and political structures have given way to networks Castells .These networks are non-isomorphic with nation states and increasingly enable individuals to communicate across the borders from their homes. In this way, the private and the public are connected not only to each other but created new plural virtual private and public spaces we have never seen before. We understand that connectivity is part of global mediation. Mediation is a concept that can be used as a starting point for any analysis of contemporary societies, in the same way as, for example, society or social interactions are used in political science or sociology. The concept is required in order to acknowledge that the nature of societies and social relationships have



fundamentally changed and become increasingly mediated through the use of media and communications. This change has broken traditional boundaries of national societies and given birth to new global connections, again characterized by their mediation. Mediation refers to both the material and the phenomenal nature of media and communication. It brings together the study of innovation, technology, production, content and use. Global mediation is a process in which some have more power than other.

### **18.1.1 Research in the field**

Mediated cross-border communication is a scholarly field in communication studies and refers to any mediated form of communication in the course of which nation state or cultural borders are crossed or even get transgressed and undermined (e.g., world news, satellite television, transnational media events). The expression serves as an umbrella term that encompasses different research approaches (e.g., international communication, transnational communication) that can heuristically be differentiated by their specific use of research perspectives, as well as particular levels and objects of analysis. Thematically, research is often concerned with the political dimension of mediated cross-border communication. Examples include studies on the impact of mediated cross-border communication on foreign policy (CNN effect, political change (media and democratization, zapatista effect, boomerang effect), research on official government communication targeting foreign audiences (e.g., certain kinds of International broadcasting, Public diplomacy) and questions on media representations of the developing world (e.g., New World Information and Communication Order). Apart from that, global mass communication ethics and the globalization of entertainment constitute further important topics. An at least implicit common feature to almost all of the aforementioned topics is their general interest in answering the question to what extent nationally, culturally or otherwise defined media systems influence each other, converge or whether they can pertain distinct identities under conditions of mediated cross-border communication. Mediated cross-border communication is considered as becoming increasingly important both as a real world phenomenon and field of research as there has been a steady strengthening of the conditions of globalization and media innovations that offer fast and low-cost forms of cross-border communication since the second half of the twentieth century. However, critics argue that the importance of the nation state remains high; for example, most online communication still takes place between citizens of the same nation state. Also, the responsibility for most broadcasting and press legislation usually rests with individual national states.

## **18.2 History of mediated cross-border communication research**

The history of mediated cross-border communication research is closely related to the three major decades of the 20th century, which stimulated and influenced this field of research thematically, financially as well as ideologically:

- The two world wars in the first half of the 20th century
- The decades of the Cold War in the second half of the century
- The era of globalization since the 1990s until today

### **18.2.1 The early years: propaganda research**

The propaganda operations of the great powers in the twentieth century's two world wars are often considered to have been the initiating driving forces for sustained scholarly interest into mediated cross-border research. Although cross-border communication activities have been set in place by national governments since ancient history it was not until the early twentieth century that such international propaganda efforts were followed by systematic academic research.

### **18.3 The Cold War decade: ideological struggles and alternative approaches**

For decades, the scholarly field of cross-border communication had been influenced by the "Four theories of press". In their seminal work, Siebert et al. (1956) compared the role of the media in four contrasting polities: authoritarian, libertarian, Soviet, and "social responsibility". With regard to the opposition between state and individual, the role of the media in each of the aforementioned systems was said to be organized differently. Even though the book received widespread scholarly attention, it is today commonly criticized for its ideological bias, lack of empirical concern and universal approach. The dynamics of the Cold War era drew further scholarly attention to a second area of mediated cross-border communication research, regarding questions of "third world" development communication. At that time, research was mostly driven by the ideologically motivated assumption that unless the Western nations could "modernize" developing countries – often in the reduced sense of economic growth and a Western idea of modernism –, they would fall under control of China and the Soviet Union. In this context, media were considered as being crucial for the change of attitudes and behaviour of individuals, thus supporting the modernization of countries. An important work to this branch of research represents Daniel Lerner's (1958) "The Passing of traditional society", in which he analyzed Turkey and five Arab states.

### **United Nations Guidance for Effective Mediation**

Preparedness is first and foremost the responsibility of States or organizations seeking to play a mediating role. These entities should be ready to: Commit resources to respond rapidly and to sustain support for the mediation process, including deployment of personnel on a continuous basis for medium- and long term engagements. Select a competent mediator with the experience, skills, knowledge and cultural sensitivity for the specific conflict situation. The mediator should be considered objective, impartial and authoritative and be a person of integrity. The mediator needs a level of seniority and gravitas commensurate to the conflict context and must be acceptable to the parties. Some disputes require discreet engagement, whereas others need more high-profile initiatives. Reinforce the mediator with a team of specialists, particularly experts in the design of mediation processes, country/ regional specialists and legal advisers, as well as with logistics, administrative and security support. Thematic experts should be deployed as required. Undertake conflict analysis and regular internal assessments of the process in order to make adjustments to the mediation strategies as needed. Provide proper preparation, induction and training for mediators and their teams. All team members should understand the gender dimension in their respective areas of expertise. Include a balance of men and women on mediation teams. This also sends a positive signal to the parties with regard to the composition of their delegations.

## 18.4 Summary

We understand that connectivity is part of global mediation. Mediation is a concept that can be used as a starting point for any analysis of contemporary societies, in the same way as, for example, society or social interactions are used in political science or sociology. The concept is required in order to acknowledge that the nature of societies and social relationships have fundamentally changed and become increasingly mediated through the use of media and communications. This change has broken traditional boundaries of national societies and given birth to new global connections, again characterized by their mediation. Mediation refers to both the material and the phenomenal nature of media and communication. It brings together the study of innovation, technology, production, content and use. Global mediation is a process in which some have more power than other

## 18.5 Self Assessment Question

1. Discuss about the evolution of media globalisation.
2. Write about the history of mediated cross-border communication research?

## 18.6 Reference Books

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

**Lesson-19****EVOLUTION OF GLOBALIZATION****19.0 Objectives**

After reading the lesson, the student, will learn about

- History of Globalization
- Need for international communication

**STRUCTURE****19.1 The era of globalization: The 1990s until today****19.2 Dimensions of analysis****19.3 Research perspectives****19.4 Type Cases under study Research Objectives****19.4.1 Level of analysis****19.4.2 Objects of analysis****19.5 International Communication****19.6 Transnational Communication****19.7 Over-estimation of media globalization****19.8 Summary****19.9 Self Assessment Questions****19.10 Reference Books****19.1 The era of globalization: the 1990s until today**

A third major stimulus to the field of study was set into place in 2004 with the publication of “Comparing media systems” . Unlike the “Four theories of the press”, an emphasis was put on the synthesis of empirical findings. Furthermore, the authors tried to avoid the universal approach put forward by Siebert et al., focusing themselves on North America and Western Europe countries. The work has been stimulating a great number of subsequent studies

that try to adopt and modify the models and analytical dimensions (e.g., Political parallelism) of “Comparing media systems” to other parts of the world.

## 19.2 Dimensions of analysis

Research approaches to mediated cross-border communication can be categorized with regard to the respective dimensions of analysis. Wessler and Brüggemann (2012) propose three dimensions of analysis: (1) Research perspectives, (2) levels and (3) objects of analysis. Most entities discussed below are considered to be convergent by nature, thus being open for combination and parallel use. Globalization is indisputably a mega-trend that shapes modern economic developments to a large degree. This paper gives the general outline of the mentioned process basic characteristics that endorse the argumentation related to the unquestionable creation of a global economy, which should function in terms of neoclassical equilibristic hypotheses. This is supported by a registered unprecedented intensification of production factors progress, a radical elimination of information barriers, a dispersion of the liberal and utilitarian behavioral model onto economic and non-economic segments of the contemporary society functioning. Presented in the paper are the assessments of heterogeneous mechanisms functioning in the contemporary economy, which in many ways relativize the mentioned unifying impacts of globalization. Such alternative analysis of the actual global economic processes has in large part been articulated within the evolutionary line of modern economic thought. For this reason, the paper shall first deal with the essential moments of evolutionary economic reflection and point out its dominant representatives in the economic theory, as well as the dominating concepts derived from the evolutionary methodology. The aim is to reveal that a distinct and subtle analysis of the globalization manifestations offers significant scope for the employment of evolutionary economy achievements. If the world economy is regarded as a multilevel structure, then it is affected by different kinds of evolutionary selection mechanisms, which sometimes challenge the ultimacy of globalization homogenizing effects to a great extent. The global economy has actually been experiencing the integrating processes of unprecedented dimensions. The empirically registered fluctuations of relevant economic constituent elements of the economic progress surely demonstrate the functioning of global markets with substantially altered performances and fields of activity. Namely, if the market efficiency is measured with the level of reducing barriers to the flows of work, capital and information, the conclusion that hindrances in providing allocating efficiency of production factors have been eliminated seems to be more than convincing. The empirical indicators of the international intensification of global trade and investment fluctuations may serve well for the mentioned globalization effects identification. Without any intention to elaborate on the comprehensive empirical material, well-known to scientific circles, on the abrupt expansion of global economic transactions, it is sufficient for further analysis to state that two major levers of globalization, the internationalization of production and finances, have reached unprecedented levels, which exceed all previously registered degrees of economic integration (Hirst, Thompson, 1999). Direct investments and international trade are the central channels of globalization. During the last two decades, direct foreign investments have recorded faster annual growth as compared to the global trade, while the global trade was growing faster than the world GDP. The role of international portfolio investments in global capital movements is of equal importance, as their sudden reversible fluctuations undoubtedly influenced the great disturbances in East Asian financial markets by the end of the last century. The Labor movement is a process with the least

intensive production internationalization, although it is not applicable to highly qualified personnel, of course. The development of information technologies, as well as the possibility of fast information transfer at low costs, creates an image of global knowledge of economic protagonists about all relevant aspects of business environment. Pivotal exponents of all the mentioned globalization generators are transnational companies, which economically dominate in many ways over the sovereignty of many countries whose financial systems have increasingly been becoming parts of the transnational financial structures. The mentioned processes could be characterized in the following manner, as well: "... international economy is no longer vertically divided into separate national economies, but it implies numerous levels or types of market activities that horizontally spread over a virtual area – replacing the physical geography of national borders by quasi-geography of market structures, transactional costs and information cyber-space. Finances represent a central mechanism that binds these diversified structures into an integral network – a structure in which relative prices of all goods, services and equities are established." (Jakšić, 1997). The economic internationalization trends undoubtedly reflected in an increasing optimism related to the market omnipotence, which affected the domination of market imperialism as an influential global ideological pattern, are particularly favoured by international financial institutions, the IMF and the World Bank. In accordance with this, the standard of a functioning market system implies a model based on the pronounced individualism of protagonists, on marketing resolutions of as many social conflicts as possible and on marginalizing the role of the state in economic transactions. Globalization and Evolutionary Processes in Contemporary Economy 23 On the economic-theoretical level, the impression is that the above described processes bring the economy closer to a completely determined theoretical framework, incorporated in a neoclassical economic model. Its well-known premises on the at emporal, universal equilibrium in the markets without any factorial barriers, with maximizing individuals unburdened of other irrelevant socio-psychological contents, have seemingly been supported by global economic flows. The removal of barriers to the movements of production factors, reduction of information gaps and domination of a liberal and utilitarian behaviour model of protagonists fully fit into the neoclassical methodological and doctrinal scheme, which should indicate the ultimate triumph of the mentioned manner of evaluating the economic actuality.

## **THE ESSENTIALS OF EVOLUTIONARY ECONOMIC ANALYSIS**

Fully recognizing the unifying impacts of globalization, the evolutionary economy offers an alternative insight into the architectonics of contemporary economy. Focusing on the historically unrepeatable times, on the dependent trajectories, as well as on the complex structure of economy, this line of thinking advocates the view of the evolutionary metaphor as a much more acceptable form of analyzing economic phenomena, as compared to the neoclassical deterministic approach based on the mechanistic metaphor. The evolutionary approach implies the existence of variable characteristics in a population (the principle of variability), the intergeneration transfer of variability-bearing characteristics (the principle of heredity) and the fact that random genetic mutations enable greater efficiency in the struggle for survival of some varieties and their domination in a specific population (the principle of natural selection). In this respect, the selection is not a deliberately guided process and its outcome cannot be determined. Various interpretations of the evolution concept differ in the matters of selection unit, selection process certainty or uncertainty, as well as in the matters of selection mechanisms (Hodgson,

1993). Institutional economy holds the evolutionary approach as its major methodological postulate. Contemporary protagonists of institutionalism articulate the evolutionary metaphor, based on institutions as the selection units, in two different ways. Following Veblen's tradition, institutions represent patterns of behavior that are established, through habits in thinking and process of routinization and in the intergenerational manner, in the awareness of individuals and that exert conservatory effects on the economic progress. However, modern post-Veblenians reconsidered the cited inertial role of institutions and specified them also as social mechanisms for the protection from harmful effects of market and technology (Polanyi, 1944, Dugger, 1995). The representatives of new institutionalism are insisting upon institutions as products of a purposeful, premeditated selection of standards, which proved efficient in overcoming potential conflicts in transactions. The institutional structure of society is the result of its striving to assist the market coordination by means of the implementation of different standards into the decisions of relevant bodies (Vanberg, 1999). Both trends of institutionalism are more or less in agreement with the fact that it is unrealistic to observe an individual isolated from the institutional structure which, bridging information limitations, reduces the uncertainty and substantially shapes the individual's economic decision-making.

From the neo-Shumpeterian point of view, the operation of selection mechanisms is evident in the process of competition by innovations. The differential survival of companies in the market depends on their ability to integrate new avant-garde business routines into their functioning. Routines have all the characteristics of evolutionary selection units, taking into account that they are durable and stable and that they represent in a sense the enterprise organizational memory. A targeted purposeful selection of new routines within the enterprise guarantees its profitability. However, the enterprises that are successful in this process significantly change the market environment, and therefore the set of routines needed for successful business operations gets changed, which initiates a new process of selecting routines within enterprises (Nelson, Winter, 1983). Hayek's theory of the evolution of economic systems contains the mechanism of group selection (Hayek, 1973). His assessment of the pricing mechanism as the basic means of coordinating knowledge dispersed among economic protagonists is widely known. However, it is associated with the effects of formal and informal rules, which make the environment more certain, thus additionally facilitating decision-making of the economic protagonists. Many formal and informal rules seem to be incomprehensible or even irrational to the group members, but they follow them because these rules provide superiority in the inter-group competition to their groups and associations. These standards are also regarded as specific mechanisms of cooperation, the character of which determines the efficiency of every economic system.

## **EVOLUTIONARY ECONOMY AND GLOBALIZATION**

There are several conclusions on the evolutionary economy which are relevant for the comprehension of contemporary processes in the global economy. First, there is the hypothesis on a value-neutral and maximizing-oriented individual cannot be sufficient for a behavioral model of contemporary economic protagonists. Institutions, which have resulted from a long-lasting evolutionary selection, substantially shape the choice of individuals and their economic calculus (North, 1995). Furthermore, the statements related to the abundance of information transmitted within the global economy as a contribution to the maximization hypothesis, get a

completely different interpretation in the evolutionary perspective. Since protagonists have limited cognitive capacities to process enormous quantities of economically relevant information, they most often rely on routinized behaviour patterns, institutions, which represent interpersonal repositories of knowledge and which considerably reduce the dimensions of knowledge needed for reactions in an uncertain environment. The abilities of protagonists to utilize the information relevant for the maximizing behavior depend on their institutional environment to a large extent (Langlois, 1986). The impact of institutional fluctuations is also strongly correlated with innovations and technical progress, which still have inadequate treatment within the neoclassical theoretical framework (Bianchi, Henrekson, 2005). Different innovative capacities of protagonists in particular economies and the existence of entrepreneurial spirit and competitive environment are the outcomes of a long-lasting, historically conditioned, evolutionary selection of institutions that stimulate the mentioned behavioral patterns (Castellacci, Grodal, Mendonca, Wibe, 2005). The advancement of technology as a pivotal element of Globalization and Evolutionary Processes in Contemporary Economy 25 globalization may be regarded as a process of institutionalizing new patterns of behavior, associated with a specific technological paradigm. The acceptance of a particular innovation by the economic protagonists represents a process of evolutionary selection, in which specific routines, oriented toward innovative behavior, are gradually becoming institutionalized. Apart from definitely dominant market role, evident varieties of existing institutions take an active part in the global economy marketing process: in bridging information asymmetries, in knowledge creation and transfer, in stimulating the cooperation of protagonists (Stiglitz, 2001). Institutional varieties that are present in different aspects of world economy functioning can serve as the grounds for the statement that the processes of evolutionary selection are operating on it. Notwithstanding the unquestionable unifying processes of globalization, contemporary economy still includes a set of varieties in different stratification levels. In general terms, three actual models of capitalism can be identified, the American, the Japanese and the German one. Each of the mentioned capitalism varieties has a specifically determined purpose of the national economic activity, a relationship towards the state and mechanisms of cooperation. The American capitalism is characterized by the absolute priority of an individual in understanding the economic activity purpose, by the antagonism toward the state economic activities and by legal mechanisms for providing cooperation in the society. The Japanese system is characterized by the preference of cooperative behavior, by long-term commitments of protagonists in transactions, by the cooperation of the state, the corporative sector and banks and by the active role of informal mechanisms reflected in business practices as the instruments of cooperation. The German model represents a combination of the above-mentioned market economy patterns (Gilpin, 2001). Of relevance to the given level is Hayek's concept of group selection, according to which each of the mentioned capitalism models has its own specific formal and informal standards determining the outcome of the inter-group selection among them. It has often been claimed that globalization literally represents a replication of standards of the American model to other economies, pointing out its superiority in the competition against other models of market economy. However, there are also some opinions that the mentioned systems take turns in domination over the global economic order: in the 20th century, during the '70s the German system used to be the replication model, in the '80s it was the Japanese model, while today it is the Anglo-Saxon type of capitalism. The coexistence of the mentioned models of capitalism does not support the thesis on a uniform and guaranteed outcome of globalization developments. Evolutionary selection processes are operating in other stratification levels, as well. The process



of purposeful targeted selection of standards by which economic transactions are regulated is intensive not only on the level of particular national economies, but also in the establishment of large regional integrations. The development of the European Union Communitarian Law is an obvious example of this. On the corporative sector level, the selection proceeds in two stratification tracks. The first is the spontaneous process of selecting enterprises through competition, or their differential survival in the market, which depends on their success in innovating. The innovative potential of an enterprise, on the other side, is conditioned by the process of purposeful targeted selection of specific business routines.

Transnational companies, as principal globalization protagonists, are also the subject of interest for the evolutionary analysis. It is emphasized that, in spite of the international character of business operations, such companies mainly take along the institutional influences and business practices of the economies of their origin (Gilpin, 2001). Although the sector of transnational companies significantly restricts the economic sovereignty of the state and diminishes the power of the conventional instruments of economic policy, it does not imply the disappearance of competition on this level of economic functioning. By selecting appropriate standards and developing adequate institutional frameworks, states strive at making "their own" transnational companies as competitive as possible, and this is regarded as a specific macro-management. Transnational companies are tied to the processes of evolutionary selection in multiple ways. First, numerous companies of the kind incorporate the institutional influences of the countries of their origin. Then, their business strategies often have to be extremely sensible to the institutional environments of the countries they are doing business with. The realization of technological innovations, for their part, implies the operation of selection processes on the level of business routines, which indicates that transnational companies themselves represent specific evolutionary complexes, too. These analyses point out that, considered in the evolutionary conceptual context, the global economy represents a multilayered structure in which evolutionary selection processes are operating in different instances. The evolutionary processes in contemporary economy have significant implications for the comprehension of the globalization process trends and effects.

### 19.3 Research perspectives

Three different research perspectives are commonly applied to the field of mediated cross-border communication;

- the “comparative perspective”
- the “influence perspective”
- the “transgression perspective”

As a “meta-method”, the comparative perspective is common to the vast majority of studies in this academic field and can be combined with all subsequent methods, perspectives, levels and objects of analysis.

(1) The “comparative perspective” (Comparative research) seeks for similarities and differences as well as processes of convergence and divergence between different entities such as national media systems or organizations. With regard to research goals, two basic comparative

research designs can be differentiated (Przeworski&Teune, 1970; Meckstroth, 1975). The “Most different systems, similar outcome design” aims to compare heterogeneous media systems to identify general statements which are (relatively) invariant concerning the systems within which observations are made (e.g., in a survey of journalists from seventeen explicitly different countries, Hanitzsch et al. (2010) extracted relatively invariant cross-national structures of perceived influences on journalism). By contrast, the “Most similar system, different outcome design” stresses the individual causes of observed differences between a given number of media systems. The rationale behind this second approach is that causes of intercultural or international differences are thought to be easier to interpret when the cases under study share many similarities (e.g., Hallin and Mancini said that one of the main reasons for focusing on Western media systems in their seminal work from 2004 as to reduce the number and complexity of variables).

### **19.4 Type Cases under study Research objectives**

Most different systems, similar outcome Media systems with contrasting structural features Identification of predictor variables of relatively invariant cross-national/cultural outcomes. (1)Most similar systems, different outcome Media systems with similar structural features Identification of predictor variables of individual country/culture-specific outcomes

(2) The “influence perspective” focuses on patterns of exchange, influence, dominance and resistance in the relationship between two or more entities. Studies that follow this perspective ask, for example, to what extent American mass media are in some respects dominant and exert influence to other media systems worldwide (Americanization of the Media, New World Information and Communication Order).

(3) The “transgression perspective” is looking for mediated cross-border communication that leads to structures and processes beyond traditional nation state or cultural borders [[e.g., European public sphere), whereas the aforementioned influence perspective is stronger connected to the idea of fixed entities.

#### **19.4.1 Levels of analysis**

(1) “Individual/group”, (2) “organization”, (3) “state/society”, (4) “linguistic/political/cultural areas“ and (5) “the world/global level” constitute the five levels of analysis. It is important to note that these levels are (a) not hierarchal (e.g., mediated cross-border communication between groups in social media constituted by individuals from different places worldwide) and that (b) unit of analysis and record unit are not necessarily one and the same (e.g., foreign coverage of multiple newspapers as recording unit, which then get aggregated, compared and analyzed on a nation/society level).

#### **19.4.2 Objects of analysis**

A broad range of objects of analysis is subject to mediated cross-border communication research: (1) “media publics”, (2) “media contents”, (3) “media products”, (4) “media structures” and (5) “societal actors”. For example, in their study from 2004, Hallin and Mancini ask for the

relationship between media and politics, hereby analyzing (among others) the development of national mass circulation press, literacy rates and the autonomy of journalists from societal actors (such as political parties and the government) from a comparative perspective Research approaches

### **19.5 International communication**

International communication research is concerned with communication that crosses nation state borders without actually contesting them. The field of international communication is characterized by an influence perspective, comparing for example news flows between national media systems in order to analyze, for example, structures of dominance and resistance. While this perspective has been central to the field of international communication throughout the 1960s and 1970s, there has been increasing criticism since the 1980s, with scholars arguing that it would lack to be able to explain the complexity of mediated cross-border communication and its effects.

### **19.6 Transnational communication**

Being a more recent and emerging research approach, transnational communication is concerned with communication that transcends nation state borders, thus undermining their importance and eventually leading to structures and processes of transgression. Examples include: TV channels such as CNN, whose program is no longer directed toward particular national or cultural but global audiences. Media events such as the U.N. climate summits which contribute toward a globally defined identity. Transnational civil society such as Amnesty International who contribute to the definition, awareness and spread of global issues such as human rights. Especially the Europeanization of national public spheres has attracted major scholarly interest covered by this research approach (e.g., Wessler, Peters, Brüggemann, Kleinen-von-Königslöw, & Sifft drawing light to questions like for example to what extent discourses in European countries converge, or show signs of discursive integration and collective identification.

### **19.7 Over-estimation of media globalization**

Hafez argues that the qualitative dimension of mediated cross-border communication may be much different compared to what some scholars assume it would be. Speaking of the "myth of media globalization", Hafez warns not to confound technical potentials of media innovations with their actual use. For example, Hafez refers to statistics saying that while many people have access to foreign TV channels; the majority mainly uses national or local channels. Similar to that, most people use the Internet as a 'local medium', as the bulk of accessed websites and communication stays within national borders. The increasingly multilinguistic character of the Internet may even further the fragmentation of the World Wide Web into separate public spheres. Such notions concerned with the use of media correspond to insights on the level of media contents gained by an international comparative study of online-news websites conducted by Quandt (2008), who found that in most cases coverage is much limited by the traditional, national context, concluding that online-news may not be as "global" as one might expect. In accordance with these findings, Halavais (2000) reported after surveying more

than 45,000 pages that although geographic borders may be removed from cyberspace, the 'real world' social structures keep inscribed online: the number of hyperlinks that cross international borders are significantly less compared to those which stay within national borders.

### **19.8 Summary**

A third major stimulus to the field of study was set into place in 2004 with the publication of “Comparing media systems” . Unlike the “Four theories of the press”, an emphasis was put on the synthesis of empirical findings. Furthermore, the authors tried to avoid the universal approach put forward by Siebert et al., focusing themselves on North America and Western Europe countries. The work has been stimulating a great number of subsequent studies that try to adopt and modify the models and analytical dimensions (e.g., Political parallelism) of “Comparing media systems” to other parts of the world.

### **19.9 Self Assessment Questions**

1. Write about the evolution of globalization?
2. Discuss about the global communication.

### **19.10 Reference Books**

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Norbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.

**Lesson-20****GLOBAL INITIATIVE FOR INCLUSIVE INFORMATION AND  
COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY****20.0 Objectives**

After reading the lesson, the student, will learn about

- Information and Communication Technology
- International cooperation mechanism

**STRUCTURE****20.1 Introduction****20.2 Background on ICT Accessibility****20.3 International Cooperation Mechanism****20.4 Participation to WIPO negotiations on copyrights exemptions****20.5 International cooperation mechanism****20.6 Summary****20.7 Self Assessment Questions****20.8 Reference Books****20.1 Introduction**

The role of international cooperation is particularly important in matters of accessibility to information and communication technologies and assistive technologies. Indeed, there is no need to demonstrate that information technologies products and services are driven by global market forces, global vendors and international standards. In such context, states parties can achieve little in isolation.

**20.2 Background on ICT Accessibility**

In fact, by adopting national standards inconsistent with international standards, States Parties can unwillingly fragment the market which in turn can cause dis-economies of scale and increase costs for end-users, including persons with disabilities. Such result would in fact contradict the disposition of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) calling for States Parties to make available affordable solutions to persons with disabilities.

Equally important in terms of promoting global standards is the need to ensure global interoperability between information infrastructure and assistive technologies. Finally, one of the challenges and opportunities which States Parties need to tackle is that, while solutions exist to make ICT accessible and many free open source assistive solutions are available, few disabled persons benefit from those around the world. In order to address those issues and anticipating the adoption of the Convention by many countries, the United Nations Global Alliance for ICT and Development, in cooperation with the Secretariat for the Convention at UNDESA, staged the creation of G3ict – the Global Initiative for Inclusive ICTs. G3ict was designed since inception as a multi-stakeholders advocacy initiative exclusively focused on issues related to accessible and assistive technologies. Since inception, all research and capacity building programs produced by G3ict have involved an international network of industry, disabled persons and public sector organizations in order to take into account their input and address issues with a global perspective.

### 20.3 International cooperation mechanism

Based upon G3ict experience over the last four years, there are four strategies for international cooperation which States Parties should contemplate:

***Participation to standards activities.*** Currently the main organizations dealing with ICT accessibility standards are ISO and its regional standards development affiliated organizations (ANSI, ETSI etc.); ITU, W3C-WAI. While those organizations have produced considerable standards work, they remain largely unknown from policy makers and even from industry. It is also worth mentioning that developed countries are over-represented and developing nations under-represented in the various accessibility committees of those standardization organizations. However, the CRPD stipulated that States Parties shall promote accessibility standards. Hence, a significant gap between guidelines and practice.

***Enforcing accessibility standards via public procurement.*** Government's purchases of ICTs represent a very large portion of any national IT market. Governments, by applying accessibility standards in their lists of specifications can influence industry behavior, help build national expertise in support services and lead by example. While there is no mention of public procurement in the CRPD itself, the reporting guidelines issued by the United Nations SG do include such question. Existing coordination of public procurement has been informally established by the U.S. Access Board which invited international participants to its TEITAC sessions, a multi-stakeholder committee charged with the definition of public procurement ICT standards including the EC, Japan, Canada and Australia. Aligning requirements for accessible broadcasting and telecommunications services can be a relatively simple task within the context of each major family of global equipment standards. Solutions exist which are proven for television, mobile phones, fixed phones and web sites. The International Telecommunication Union (ITU), in cooperation with G3ict, is promoting such approach through systematic capacity building programs on all continents. This sector represents the greatest opportunity for short term results for persons with disabilities since one single entity controls in most countries a few operators serving the entire population. It is also worth noting that regulatory authorities exist in most countries today:

## **Promotion of Assistive Technologies**

International cooperation in the field of assistive technologies is a more complex challenge. Assistive technologies require a very strong training and support “ecosystem” to deliver results for persons with disabilities. Governments typically intervene via three main channels to promote assistive solutions for persons with disabilities: national education systems, workplace accommodation and rehabilitation services. Current international cooperation in those three areas can be summarized as follows:

### **Education**

Today, most ratifying countries do have programs in place to provide reasonable accommodations to students with disabilities in schools and universities, including ICTs, systems and contents. Little cooperation exists however in this field and exchanges of experiences are simply not happening in any significant way internationally. G3ict entered into a partnership agreement with UNESCO to develop ministerial level policy and programmatic exchanges starting in 2011. It is also organizing in cooperation with WIPO, ITU, UNESCO and Indian NGOs a workshop on this topic in October 2010 in New Delhi, the results of which will serve to identify capacity building priorities for future programs. UNESCO is involved since many years in promoting education for students with disabilities and its programs have reached a large number of countries in including in matters of technology. UNESCO’s constituent include government department overseeing education in most countries and is therefore well positioned to develop capacity building programs and foster international cooperation.

### **Workplace**

There is little cooperation in matters of ICT accessibility for the workplace in the world today. ILO is currently launching a network of companies and institutions to promote the employment of persons with disabilities. It is likely that such program will include a component on reasonable accommodation with ICT accessibility and assistive technologies good practices sharing.

### **Rehabilitation Centers**

Exchanges in the field of rehabilitation are occurring through well-established professional organizations. Promoting assistive technologies is critical when providing support services to persons who acquired a disability following an injury of disease and who are trying to rejoin the workforce or other regular activities. Because of the close association with medical professions, rehabilitation services do have a tradition of exchanging technical and good practices information. There is however no formal systematic international cooperation program on assistive technologies in place as of today among UN agencies – to our knowledge. One of the common challenges among countries promoting assistive technologies is the weak support and services “ecosystem” which they can rely on. In addition, frequent technology changes, a highly fragmented industry, a lack of interoperability and non-coordinated government initiatives among agencies make this entire field a very difficult to improve upon.

## 20.4 Participation to WIPO negotiations on copyrights exemptions

One important area of international cooperation is the current negotiation of a new treaty led by WIPO on copyrights exemptions to allow access to copyrighted contents by persons with disabilities via digital means. Unlike in the case of standardization bodies, developed and developing countries both anticipate actively to those discussions. It is worth noting that the negotiation was actually initiated by several Latin American countries.

## 20.5 International cooperation mechanism

G3ict's will continue to pursue its mission in cooperation with United Nations affiliated agencies in order to reach out appropriate government agencies in each country: telecom addition, the World Bank, regional development organizations such as UNESCAP and other agencies like UNICEF, do offer excellent venues for international cooperation in the field of accessible and assistive technologies policies and programs. In parallel, G3ict continues its close involvement with leading standards development organizations including ITU-T, ISO and W3C-WAI, IT professional organizations as well as disabled person's organizations. One important aspect of any capacity building program is the need to associate multiple stakeholders and disabled person's organizations in particular. ICT accessibility is an area which cannot be promoted effectively without the full participation of all parties concerned. G3ict also observed that the active participation of disabled person's organizations in capacity building programs for government officials and private sector leaders is a critical factor of success, notably by building the necessary momentum of the dialogue required to develop policies and programs. Finally, G3ict believes that without standardized measurement of accessibility in various domains, driving change through policies will remain illusory. Several governments have proven the effectiveness of measuring accessibility of various services such as e-government web sites and publishing results. The attached presentation summarizes the key findings of the first G3ict progress report. G3ict plans to develop in coordination with ITU, UNESCO and ILO a first attempt to develop a benchmarking tool by utilizing aggregated country data from annual surveys conducted by those agencies, in addition to G3ict own data collection process. G3ict will reconvene the same Research Committee regulators with ITU, education agencies with UNESCO, workplace accommodation with ILO, possibly rehabilitation centers with WHO, if such cooperation is possible. In which had helped design the first survey and included participants from international institutions, disabled persons, industry, academia and observers from the OHCHR.

## 20.6 Summary

In fact, by adopting national standards inconsistent with international standards, States Parties can unwillingly fragment the market which in turn can cause dis-economies of scale and increase costs for end-users, including persons with disabilities. Such result would in fact contradict the disposition of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) calling for States Parties to make available affordable solutions to persons with disabilities. Equally important in terms of promoting global standards is the need to ensure global interoperability between information infrastructure and assistive technologies. Finally, one of the challenges and opportunities which States Parties need to tackle is that, while solutions exist



to make ICT accessible and many free open source assistive solutions are available, few disabled persons benefit from those around the world.

### **20.7 Self Assessment Questions**

1. Discuss the about the Importance of International cooperation among the nations.
2. What is the role of UNESCO in Promotion of Assistive Technologies?

### **20.8 Reference Books**

1. H.D. Fischer and J.C. Merrill : International Communication. Many Voices, One World's report.
2. Cees Hamelink : The Politics of world communication.
3. R. C. Stevenson : Communication, Development and Third World.
4. William Hachten : World News Prison.
5. Nerbert Schiller : National sovereignty and International communication.
6. Rosemary Riguter : Whose News.