**International Communication**

**HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION**

**Etymology**

The word ‘communicate’ has its root in the Latin word communicate, ‘to share’ international communication ,then, is about sharing knowledge, ideas and beliefs among the various people of the world, and therefore it can be contributing factor in resolving global conflict and promoting mutual understanding among nations.

**Introduction**

As the new millennium dawned, global television tracked the rise of the sun across the world, with image broad cast live via 300 satellite channels to audience in each of the world’s 24 time zone. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, millions of the people can communicate with each other in real time, across national boundaries and time zones, through voice, text, and pictures, and, increasingly, a combination of all three. In a digitally glob, the flow of data across borders has grown exponentially, boosting international commerce, more and more of which is being conducted through new technologies.

**Definitions**

•‘International communication means that communication which accurse among the nations’ •‘communication which occurs across international borders’

•‘a.k.a. trans border or transnational communication’

**Scope of IC**

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 interaction at a global level and at speeds unimaginable even a decade ago. In the contemporary world international communication ‘encompasses political, economic, social, cultural and military concerns’. International communication studies have broadened to include cultural and media studies all these studies which are mention in this table.

**Communication and empire**

Communication has always been critical to the establishment and maintenance of power over distance. Form the Persian; Greek and roman empires to the British, sufficient network of communication were essential for the imposition of imperial authority, as well as for the international trade and commerce on which they were based. Indeed, the extant of the efficiency of communication. Communications networks and technologies were key to the mechanics of distributed government, military campaigns and trade.

**Writing system in empires**

While many rulers, including the Greek polis, used inscription for public information ,writing become more flexible and efficient means of conveying information over long distances: Rome, Persia and Great khan of China all utilized writing in system of information gathering and dispersal, creating wide ranging official postal and dispatch system. Mughal period in Indian history, the waqi’a-nawis were employed by the king to appraise them of the progress in the empire. Both horseman and dispatch runner transmitted news and reports.

**Importance of trade and culture**

The technologies of international communication and globalization may be contemporary phenomena but trade and cultural interchanges have existed for more than two millennia between the Greco-Roman word with Arabia, India and China. Information and ideas were communicated across countries, as shown by the spread of Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam.

**Printing press and Languages**

By the eighteenth century, paper introduced from china as a medium of the communication and began to replace the parchment in the Islamic world and spread to medieval Europe. In the fifteenth century developed the printing press and the first printing press was opened in Goa in 1857,in the sixteenth century ,the printing press were turning out thousands of copies of books in all the major European languages. The new languages, especially Portuguese, Spanish, English and French, become the main vehicle of communication for the European colonial power in many parts of the world.

**Industrial revolution and transport**

The industrial revolution in Western Europe, founded on the profits of the growing international commerce encouraged by colonialization, gave a huge stimulus to the internationalization of communication. With the innovation in transport of railways and steamship, international links were being established that accelerated the growth of European trade and consolidated colonial empire.

**The growth of the telegraph**

The second half of the nineteenth century saw an expending system of imperial communication made possible by the electric telegraph. Invented by Samuel mores in 1837, the telegraph enabled the rapid transmission of information, as well as ensuring secrecy and code protection. The business community was the first to make use of this new technology. The speed and reliability of telegraph were seen to offer opportunities for profit and international expansion.

The rapid development of the telegraph was a crucial feature in the unification of the British Empire. The first commercial telegraph link set up in Britain in 1838,by 1851 a public telegraph service, including a telegraphic money order system ,had been introduced. By the end of the century, as a result of the cable connections, the telegraph allowed the colonial office and the India office to communicate directly with the empire within minutes when, previously, it had taken months for post to come via sea.

The first underwater telegraph cable which linked Britain and France become operational in 1851 and the first transatlantic cable, connecting Britain and the USA, in 1866.Between 1851 and 1868,underwater networks were laid down across the north Atlantic ,the Mediterranean Indian ocean and the Persian gulf to regulate the growing internationalization of information, the international Telegraph Union was founded in1865with 22 members, all European expect Persia, representing, the first international institution of the modern era and the first organization for the international regulation of a technical network.

The outcomes of the two imperial wars the Spanish- American war and the Boer war (1899-1902) strengthened the European and US positions in the world and led to a rapid expansion in world trade that demand immediate and vastly improved communication links.

**Invention of telephone**

The Bell Telephone Company, established by the inventor of telephony Alexander Graham Bell in 1877, Telephone production increased in the US. The first international telephone made between Paris and Brussels in 1887.At the end of the nineteenth century the USA had the largest number of telephones, due largely to the fact that they were manufactured there.

**The era of news agencies**

The newspaper industry played an important role in the development of international communication and increases the demand of news. The establishment of the news agencies was the most important development in the newspaper industry of the nineteenth century altering the process of news dissemination, nationally and internationally. The franc’s havas agency was founded in 1835, the German agency wolf in 1849, and the British Reuters in 1851.the US agency, Associated press (AP) in 1848, but only the three European agencies began as international ones; Not until the turn of the century did an American agency move in this direction.

These three European agencies, all which were subsidized by their respective governments, controlled information marketed in Europe and were looking beyond the continent to expand their operation.

**POPULAR MEDIA AND COLD WAR PROPAGANDA**

**Advent of the popular media**

In this Lecture we discuss the three major popular media

Newspaper industry

Film industry

Music industry

Advertising agencies

**Newspaper industry**

The expansion of printing presses and the internationalization of news agencies contributing factor in the growth of a worldwide newspaper industry. The time of India was founded in 1838 which southeast Asia‘s premier newspaper advance in the printing technology meant that newspaper in non-European languages could also be printed and distributed. By 1870 more than 140 newspapers were b being printed in Indian languages.

**Film industry**

The internationalization of a promising mass culture, however, began with the film industry. Following the first screening in Paris and Berlin in 1895. By the first world war, the European market was dominated by the firm path’ founded in 1907 in France, whose distribution bureau were allocated in seven European countries as well as in turkey, the USA and Brazil

.independent studios grow the Hollywood industry which was to dominate global film production.

**Music industry**

Music play the important role in the in the worlds mass culture and brought the closer people of the world .in the realm of popular music ,the dog and trumpet logo of HMV became a global image within few years of founding the company ,in 1897. This company worked many areas of the world like in Balkans, the Middle East, Africa Asia and China.

**Advertising agencies**

In the twentieth century advertising became increasingly important in international communication. After the second world war many international companies ‘s slogan famous in all over the world for example Coca cola ‘s slogan ,Pepsi ‘the Pepsi generation’ and the Nike’s slogan ‘just do it’, always being assumed across the world.

**Radio and international communication**

As with other new technologies, western countries were the first to grasp the strategic implication of radio communication after the radio transmission of the human voice in 1902.un like cable radio equipment was comparatively cheap and could be sold on a mass scale. There was also growing awareness among American businesses that radio ,if properly developed and controlled ,might be used to undercut the huge advantages of British dominated international cable links, they realized unlike cable radio weaves could travel anywhere, unrestrained by politics and geography.

At the 1906 international radiotelegraph conference in Berlin, 28 states debated radio equipment standards and procedures to minimize the interference. The great naval powers also the major user of radio (Britain, German, USA and Russia), had imposed a regime radio frequency allocation, allowing priority to the country that first notified. The international radiotelegraph union of its intentions to use a specific radio frequency.

**The battle of the airwaves**

The strategic significance of international communication grew with the expansion of the new medium. Ever since the advent of the radio, its use for propaganda was an integral part of its development, with its power to influence values, beliefs and attitudes. During the first world war, the power of radio was quickly recognized as vital both to the management of public opinion at home and propaganda abroad, directed as at allies and enemies alike. As noted by a distinguished scholar of propaganda: ‘During the war period it came to be recognized that the mobilization of man and mean was not sufficient; there must be mobilization of opinion. Power over opinion, as over life and property, passed into official hands’(lasswell,1927: 14).The second world war saw an explosion in international broadcasting as propaganda tool on both sides(communist and capitalist)

**The Cold War-from communist propaganda to capitalist Persuasion**

The victorious allies of the Second World War – the Soviet Union and the west led by the United States – soon fell out as differences emerged about the post- war order in Europe and the rest of the world. The clash was, in essence, about two contrasting view of organizing society: the soviet view, inspired by Marxism-Leninism, and the capitalist individualism championed by the USA. The defeat of Nazism and militarism of Japan was accompanied by the US proclaimed victory of democracy and the creation of the United Nation system. Though the 1947 general assembly resolution 110(ll)condemned ‘all forms of propaganda which designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace breach of the peace or act of aggression,’ both camps indulged in regular propaganda as battle lines of the cold war were being drawn.

**Soviet broadcast propaganda**

While the Soviets used propaganda as a means to gain political advantages in international relations, there is no effective technique to measure the success of their campaign. Even though there is no accurate assessment of how people reacted to the propaganda, it may be assumed that there was an overall influence domestically and abroad. Even though it may not have been as successful as intended in encouraging other regions of the world to support communism during the period, the Soviets publicized their policies and the positives that it brought to their society. It allowed the government to unite their general population and gain external support during the Cold War. Without the use of propaganda to unite the Soviet population, the government may have also had to deal with conflicts at home.

**Media Used By the Soviets for Propaganda**

Soviet propaganda utilized various types of media, such as radio. The Soviet Union focused upon domestic issues, such as patriotism, through radio shows, such as Radio Moscow and Radio Peace and Progress. The government also sponsored Radio shows that used propaganda techniques to manipulate and control the general public's opinion of the Soviet state. Even student textbooks emphasized the main Soviet objective and the overriding principle of Soviet foreign policy, which was the international domination of the Soviet state, bringing ultimate peace.

**US broadcast propaganda**

Although the Voice of America had been a part of us diplomacy during the Second World War with the advent of the Cold War propaganda becomes a crucial component of US foreign broadcasting. VOA was organized in 1942 under the Office of War Information with news programs aimed at areas in Japan and the south Pacific and in Europe and North Africa under the occupation of Nazi Germany. VOA began broadcasting on February 24, 1942. In 1952, the Voice of America installed a studio and relay facility aboard a converted U.S. Coast Guard cutter renamed Courier whose target audience was Russia and its allies.

During the Cold War, the U.S. government placed VOA under the U.S. Information Agency to transmit worldwide, including to the countries behind the Iron Curtain and to the People's Republic of China (PRC). In the 1980s, the USIA established the WORLDNET satellite television service, and in 2004 WORLDNET was merged into VOA. In 1947, Voice of America started broadcasting in Russian with the intent to counter more harmful instances of Soviet propaganda directed against American leaders and policies. Soviet Union responded by initiating aggressive, electronic jamming of VOA broadcasts on 24 April 1949. Throughout the Cold War, many of the targeted countries' governments sponsored jamming of VOA broadcasts, which sometimes led critics to question the broadcasts' actual impact. However, after the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union, interviews with participants in anti-Soviet movements verified the effectiveness of VOA broadcasts in both transmitting information to closed societies and inspiring their oppressed people to continue to push for democracy and freedom. The People's Republic of China diligently jams VOA broadcasts (see Firedrake). Cuba has also been reported to interfere with VOA Satellite transmissions to Iran from its Russian-built transmission site at Bejucal.

**The cold war-from communist propaganda to capitalist persuasion**

Now we study about the BBC‘s roll in the cold war era specially its reliability and balance point of view.

**The BBC**

In contrast US state propaganda, the BBC ‘s external services prided themselves on presenting a mature, balance view, winning by argument, rather than hammering home a point, in the best a tradition of British understatement. This proclaimed policy of ‘balance’ gave the BBC more international credibility than any other broadcasting organization in the world. The BBC’s dependence on the British government was evident, since its budget was controlled by the treasury through grant in aid from the foreign and colonial office, which could also decide which language were used for programmed and for how long they were broadcast to each audience. For example during the Berlin blocked of 1948\_49 almost the entire output of the BBC’s external service was directed to Eastern bloc countries. In addition, the government exerted indirect influence on the BBC since the relay station and overseas transmitter were negotiated through or owned by the diplomatic wireless service. What distinguished the BBC was its capacity to criticize its own government, however indirectly. The special relationship ‘that characterized US/UK ties during the cold war years also was in evidence in the realm of international broadcasting. With the establishment of its Russian language unit in 1946, the BBC World service played an important role and key part in the Cold War through its strategically located global network of relay stations

**Cold war propaganda in the third world**

Another major battle for the hearts and minds of people during the cold war was fought in the third world, where countries were emerging from century’s subjugation under European colonies powers. The Soviet Union had recognized that, since the nature of the anti-colonial movements in Asia and Africa was largely anti-western, the political situation was ripe for promoting communism. The west, on the other hand, was interested in continuing to control raw materials and develop potential market for western products. Radio was seen as a crucial medium, given the low levels of literacy among most of the population of the developing countries. In addition the nascent media in the newly independent countries in Asia and Africa were almost always state- control and thus less able to compete with foreign media, with their higher credibility and technological superiority. The Middle East was a particular target for western broadcasters, given its geo strategic importance as the source of the world’s largest supply of oil.

In Asia, in addition to direct broadcast from the USA, VOA operated from Japan, Thailand, and Sri Lanka. Following the Chinese revolution in 1949, US priority was to stop the expansion of communism into other part of Asia. In the 1951, the CIA funded the manila-based radio free Asia, notable for its anti-communist stridency. It was later replaced by radio of free Asia which continued until 1966.

**INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

For nearly half a century, the cold war divided the world into hostile east-west blocs. This had significant implications for the development of Third World countries, most of whom wanted to avoid bloc’s politics and concentration on the economic emancipation of their population. The phrase ‘Third World’ itself was a product of cold war, said to have been coined by French economic historian Alfred Savvy in 1952, when the world was divided between the capitalist First World, led by the USA and the communist Second World with its center in Moscow. The ‘Third World’ was the mass of countries remaining outside these two blocs.

National liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America had altered the political map of the world. The vast territory occupied in 1945 by European colonial powers. For the newly independent ex-colonial states, international communication opened up opportunities for development. The Non-Aligned Movement, through the group of 77,establish in 1964, began to demand greater economic justice in such UN forums as UNCTAD and in 1974, the UN General Assembly formally approved their demand for creation New International Economic Order, based on equality and sovereignty. While this remained largely an ideal, it proved a new framework to redefine international relations, for the first time after the Second World War. At the same time, it was argued that the new economic order had to be linked to a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO).

**The demand for a NWICO**

The international information system, the NWICO protagonists argued, perpetuated and strengthened inequality in development, with serious implications for the countries of the south, which were heavily dependent on the north in the information sector. It was argued by third world leaders that through their control of major international information channels, the western media gave an exploitative and distorted view of their countries to the rest of the world. The existing order, they contended, had, because of its structural logic created a model of dependence, with negative effects on the polity economy and society of developing countries. The chief complaints from the long litany of the third world demands were as follows:

* Owing to the socio-technological imbalance there was a one way of information the ‘center’ to the ‘periphery’ which created a wide gap between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have not’s;’
* The information rich were in position to dictate term to the information poor, thus creating a structure of dependency with widespread economic, political and social ramification for the poor societies.
* This vertical flow was dominated by the western-based transnational corporations
* Information was treated by the transnational media as a ‘commodity’ and subjected to the rules of the market;
* The entire information and communication order was a part of and in turn propped up international inequality that created and sustained mechanism of neo-colonialism.

**The Mac Bride Commission**

The international communication for the study of the communication problems that was established under the chairmanship of Sean Mac Bride by UNESCO occupies a prominent place in the debate regarding the establishment of a NWICO. The commission report, commonly known as the Mac Bride report, gave intellectual justification for evolving a new global communication order. The commission was established to study for main aspects of global communication:

* The current state of world communication;
* The problems surrounding a free and balanced flow of information;
* How the needs of the developing countries link with the flow;
* How in light of the NIEO, a NWICO could be created, and how the media could become the vehicle for educating opinion about world problems.

**Opposition to NWICO**

The United States was hostile to NWICO. It saw these issues simply as barriers to the free flow of communication and to the interests of American media corporations.

It attacked UNESCO as an organization and eventually withdrew its membership at the end of 1985. The matter was complicated by debates within UNESCO about Israel’s archeological work in the city of Jerusalem, and about the Apartheid regime in the South Africa. The Reagan administration was also hostile to other United Nations organizations such as the International Labor Organization. (The US rejoined UNESCO in 2003.) Since the issues raised by NWICO were complex, a media campaign was launched saying that NWICO was about licensing journalists and restricting press freedoms. In the 1970s, when the superpowers relations were relatively stable, the new world information and communication order was seen by southern leader as an integral part of an ongoing North- South dialogue. Under the president jimmy carter, for whom defense of human rights was the matter of personal commitment, the US administration appeared to take a favorable view of the problems faced by developing countries. However the carter administration played an important part and launching UNESCO’s International Program for the Development of Communication (IPDC).

**NWICO and the New Cold War**

Riding on a top of conservatism which flourishes on anti-Soviet rhetoric, President Ronald Reagan redrafted the international agenda, dominated by ideas of a new phase in the cold war. On the world stage, Margaret Thatcher’s conservative government in London became an important partner in this venture. The Reagan administration announced significant restrictions on development aid. ‘Trade not Aid’ become the catchword and the assistance that was provided was to be primarily bilateral and aimed at promoting developmental projects design to build up the private sector in developing countries. US communication policy during the Reagan years reflected the goals of US foreign policy. Reagan’s self-proclaimed mission of a fighting communism, enhanced by the US capacity to exercise control over the world information-communication order and its ability to disseminate a pro-American, anti-Soviet message globally, set the tone for an aggressive public diplomacy. The public diplomacy was geared to face the new communist threat and save the ‘free world’ for the encirclement of the Soviet Union. The international information committee (IIC) was establishing to ‘plan, co-ordinate and implement international information activities in support of US policies and interest relative to national security. Under the IIC, ‘project truth’ was set up, a campaign of an ideological war against the ‘evil empire’ an effort between the US information agency, the department of state and defense and the CIA. In order to propagate this message abroad, the Reagan administration strengthened the Voice of America as well as radio free Europe.

**International communication at the end of the Cold War**

If the East-West ideological battle characterized the cold war years of international communication, the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 and the breakup of the Soviet Union two years later, transformed the landscape of the international politics, profoundly influencing global information and communication. Television played an important role during the 1989 revolution in Eastern Europe. Helping to bring the east -west ideological division of Europe to close. The August 1991 coup in Moscow, which led to the breakup of the Soviet Union, was called ‘the first true media event in the history of the Soviet Union’. The crisis had been profoundly and decisively shaped by the electronic eye that transformed instantly continuously, element of a political confrontation into meaningful scripts with their corresponding images, style, and symbols’. Since the breakup of Soviet Union, the media in the eastern bloc countries have gradually been converted to the market.

The end of the cold war, various celebrated as the dawn of a ‘new world order’, as ‘end of history’ and even a ‘clash of civilization’ profoundly change the counter of international communication. The super power rivalry had ended and the bipolar world, which had informed debates on international communication for half a century, sudden had become unipolar, dominated by the remaining super power, the United States. This shift also affected debates on international information flows within UNESCO, which in the late 1980s had lost its primacy as the key forum for discussing international communication issues. The focus of debates too had shifted from news and information flows to such areas as global telecommunication and transnational data flows.

Another key contributing factor was the availability of new information technology such as direct broadcasting satellites, fiber optics, and microcomputers. The growing convergence between information and informatics – the combination of computer and telecommunication systems, traditionally dealt with as separate entities – made it essential to re-examine international communication in the light of technological innovations.

The globalization of communication was made with the innovation of new information and communication technologies, increasingly integrated into a privatized global communication infrastructure. The ‘time-space compression’ that new technologies encouraged made it possible for media and Telecommunication Corporation to operate in a global market, part of an international neo-liberal capitalist system. The privatization of international communication industries become a major development of the 1990s, accelerated by the liberalization of global trade.

**APPROACHES TO THEORIZING INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION**

**Hegemony**

**Definition**

Dominant social group within society dominates media

**Explanation**

Gramsci’s conception of hegemony is rooted in the notion that the dominant social group in society has the capacity to exercise intellectual and moral direction over society at large and to build a new system of social alliances to supports its aims.

According to the gramsci, such a system exists when a dominant social class exerts moral and intellectual leadership – through its control of such institutions as school, religious bodies and mass media – over both allied and subordinate classes.

In international communication, the notion of hegemony is widely used to conceptualize political function of the mass media, as a key player in propagating and maintaining the dominant ideology and also to explain the process of media and communication production, with dominant ideology shaping production of news and entertainment.

**Critical theory Definition**

Mass culture is a commodity to be sold resulting in standardization

**Explanation**

The industrial production of cultural goods – films, radio programs, music and magazines, etc. – as a global movement, they argued that in capitalist societies the trend was toward producing culture as a commodity. Adorno and Horkheimer believed that cultural products manifested the same kind of management practices, technological rationality and organizational schemes as the mass production industrial goods such as cars. Such industrial production led to standardization, resulting in a mass culture made up of a series of object bearing the stamp of the culture industry. This industrially produced and co modified culture, it was argued, led to the deterioration of the philosophical role of culture. Instead, this mediated culture contribute to the incorporation of the working classes into the structures of advanced capitalism and it limiting their horizons to political and economic goals that could be realized within the capitalist system without challenging it. The critical theorist argued that the development of the ‘culture industry’ and its ability to ideologically inoculate the masses against socialist ideas benefited the ruling classes.

The concentration of the ownership of a cultural production in a few producers resulted in a standardized commercial commodity, contributing to what they called a ‘mass culture’ influenced by the mass media and one which thrived on the market rules of supply and demand. In their view, such a process undermined the critical engagement of masses with important socio

– Political issues and insured a politically passive social behavior and the subordination of the working classes to the ruling elite.

In an international context the idea of ‘mass culture’ and media and cultural industries has influenced debates about the flow of information between countries. etc. – as a global movement, they argued that in capitalist societies the trend was toward producing culture as a commodity. Adorno and Horkheimer believed that cultural products manifested the same kind of management practices, technological rationality and organizational schemes as the mass production industrial goods such as cars. Such industrial production led to standardization, resulting in a mass culture made up of a series of object bearing the stamp of the culture industry. This industrially produced and co modified culture, it was argued, led to the deterioration of the philosophical role of culture. Instead, this mediated culture contribute to the incorporation of the working classes into the structures of advanced capitalism and it limiting their horizons to political and economic goals that could be realized within the capitalist system without challenging it. The critical theorist argued that the development of the ‘culture industry’ and its ability to ideologically inoculate the masses against socialist ideas benefited the ruling classes.

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**The public sphere Definition**

Capitalism has reduced access of information to the public

**Explanation**

Hebermas argued that the ‘bourgeois public sphere’ emerged in an expanding capitalist society exemplified by eighteenth century Britain, where entrepreneurs were becoming powerful enough to achieve autonomy from state and church and increasingly demanding wider and more effective political representation to facilitate expansion of their businesses. In his formula of a public sphere, Hebermas gave prominence to the role of information, as, at this time, a greater freedom of the press was fought for and achieved with parliamentary reform. The wider availability of printing facilities and the resultant reduction in production costs of newspapers stimulated debate contributing to what Hebermas calls ‘rational – acceptable policies’ which led by the mid nineteenth century to the creation of a ‘bourgeois public sphere’. Cultural studies perspective on international Communication

While much of the debate on international communication post – 1945 and during the cold war emphasized a structural analysis of its role in political and economic power relationship, there has been a discernible shift in research emphasis in the 1990s in parallel with the ‘depoliciticization’ of politics toward the cultural dimensions of communication and media. The cultural analysis of communication also has a well-established theoretical tradition to draw upon, from Gramsci’s theory of hegemony to the works of the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School. One group of scholars who adopted Gramsci’s notion of hegemony were based at the center for contemporary cultural studies at the university of Birmingham Britain , as it came to be known in the 1970s did pioneering work on exploring the textual analysis of media, especially television, and ethnographic research. Particularly influential was Halls model of ‘encoding decoding media discourse’ which theorized about how media texts are given ‘preferred reading’ by producers and how they may be interpreted in different ways – from accepting the dominant meaning; negotiating with the encode message or taking an appositional view.

Though the cultural studies approach professes to give voice to such issues – race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality remain its key concerns – it has generally rendered less importance to class-based analysis. The cultural studies approach to communication has become increasingly important. Theories of the information society spectacular innovation in information and communication technologies, especially computing, and their rapid global expansion have led to claims that this is the age of information. Breakthrough in the speed, volume and cost of information processing, storage and transmission have undoubtedly contributed to the power of information technology to shape many aspects of western, and increasingly, global society. The convergence of telecommunication and computing technologies and the continued reduction in the costs of computing and international telephony have made the case for the existence of the information society even stronger.

According to its enthusiasts, an international information society is under construction which will digitally link all homes via the internet – the network of networks. The information grid of networked computer is being compared with the electricity grid, linking every home, office and business, to create a networked society, based on what has been termed as the ‘knowledge economy’. These networks have become the information superhighways, providing the infrastructure for a global information society.

However, critics have objected to this version of society, arguing that these changes are technologically determined and ignore the social, economic and political dimensions of technological innovation.

The term ‘information society’ originated in Japan, but it the USA where the concept received its most ardent intellectual support. Change in industrial production and their effect on western societies informed the work of sociologist Daniel bell, who became an internationally known exponent of the idea of a ‘postindustrial’ society – one which the service industries employ more workers than manufacturing. Bells ideas were keenly adopted by the scholar who wanted to pronounce the arrival of ‘the information age’. Another key figure, Alvin Toffler, though more populist than bell, was very influential in propagating the idea of an information society, calling it the third wave – after the agricultural and industrial eras – of human civilization.

The ‘third wave’ was characterized by increasing ‘interconnectedness’, contributing to the ‘evolution of a universal interconnected network of audio, video, and electronic text communication’, which, some argue, will promote intellectual pluralism and personalized control over communication.

With it growing co modification, information has come to occupy a central role as a ‘key strategic resource’ in the international economy, the distribution, regulation, marketing and management of which are becoming increasingly important. Real -time trading has become a part of contemporary corporate culture, through digital networking, which has made it possible to transmit information on stock markets, across the globe.

**Discourse of the globalization**

What is globalization and when did it begin?

The term globalization has been in use since the early 1960s. Academic use of the word only began in the early 1980s, but has become increasingly prevalent in a number of disciplines. Publications on the issue of globalization started to appear in the first half of the 1908s, at a rate of one to three per year (Busch, 2000)2. The term began appearing regularly in the mainstream press in the late 1980s, beginning primarily as a reference for the expanding free market but more recently including more political and cultural references and, more specifically, has begun appearing in reference to specific events, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle and the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Although it appears that the usage of the term has increased consistently in recent years, globalization remains what may be called a shifting concept in that there is not a universally accepted definition of the term (Busch, 2000). Not only has globalization been considered “the concept of the 1990s, a key idea by which we understand the transition of the human society into the third millennium” (Waters, 1995, p. 1), it has also been criticized as “largely a myth” (Hirst and Thompson, 1996, p. 2). Some definitions that illustrate the great variety of understandings of globalization, ranging from strictly economical to relatively all encompassing, include:

• Globalization refers to a world in which, after allowing for exchange rate and default risk, there is a single international rate of interest (Brittan, 1996).

* Globalization means the partial erasure of the distinctions separating nation currency areas and national systems of financial regulation (Strange, 1995, p. 294).
* Globalization refers to the multiplicity of linkages and Interconnections between the states and societies which make up the modern world system.
* It describes the process by which events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe (McGrew, 1992, p. 23).
* Globalization…is the inexorable integration of markets, nation-states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before – in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper, and cheaper than ever before (Friedman, 2000).
* A social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding (Waters, 1995, p. 3).
* A series of national and supranational organisms united under a single logic of rule (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. xii).
* Globalization is “action at distance” (Giddens, 1994, p. 4).

This list of definitions is by no means comprehensive, but it clearly demonstrates that globalization means different things to different people. Some consider it a predominantly economics- based phenomenon while others suggest that it is a worldwide system of hegemony. Many suggest that it is misunderstood and ill defined.

Susan Strange even refers to it as “a term used by a lot of wooly thinkers who lump together all sorts of superficially converging trends in popular tastes for food and drink, clothes, music, sports and entertainment with underlying changes in the provision of financial services and the directions of scientific research, and call it all globalization without trying to distinguish what is important from what is trivial, either in causes or in consequences” (1995, p. 293). Despite such cynicism regarding the nature of globalization rhetoric, it abounds and, as such, begs for both serious and critical analysis in order to better understand the contexts in which it is discussed and the predominant themes in those discussions.

**The globalization debate**

The word "globalization" occurred for the first time in 1968, and they are both synonymous with the English term globalization. This definition of what it means to “globalize” is, needless to say, rather broad and requires some clarification. As a starting point, it may be useful to compare it with the concepts of Internationalization, Trans nationalization and Multi nationalization. These are, however, also rather vague concepts, and a comparison are therefore doomed to be cursory. The following is an attempt at schematizing the four concepts of globalization, internationalization, Trans nationalization and multi nationalization, and thus to contrast them with each other. The various concepts are to a great degree being used interchangeably, and laying out the conceptualization that forms the basis for the analysis will be useful. “Internationalization” may be said to focus on the relationship between states (i.e., that the state is considered the basic unit in the process). Exchange of goods, services, money, people and ideas take place between states, and the concept of internationalization denotes an increase in such exchanges. The term “trans nationalization” is interpreted as transfers on other levels than the state level (i.e., exchanges across state borders between various kinds of organizations, companies and individuals). The concept of “multi nationalization,” on the other hand, focuses on the company as the unit of analysis in international political economy, and signifies a process in which a so-called multinational company (MNC) transfers resources from one national economy to another.

**A CRITICAL POLITICAL-ECONOMY FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY**

One of the significant themes in international communication research within the critical political economic tradition in the transition from America’s post-war hegemony to a world communication order led by transnational businesses and supported by their respective national states increasingly linked in continental and global structures. Researchers working within this area have focused on transnational corporate and state power, with a particular stress on ownership concentration in media and communication industries world-wide – and the growing trends towards vertical integration – companies controlling production in a specific sector – and horizontal integration – across sectors within and outside media and the communication industry. Other scholars have supported movements for greater international information and communication equality, with concerns about incorporating human rights into international communication debates. Skeptical of the dominant market-based approach, many scholars have defended the public-services view of state-regulated media and telecommunication organizations and advanced public interests concern before government regulatory and policy bodies both at national, regional and international levels.

In the twenty -first century, the focus of critical scholars is likely to be the analysis of the characteristics of the transnational media and communicational corporations and locating them within the changes in international organizations such as the World Trade Organization or the international Telecommunication Union, which have played a crucial role in managing the transition to a market driven international communication environment. The role of new technologies, especially the internet, in international communication has also informed the critical research agenda. The dismemberment of the soviet union and the advent of ‘market socialism’ in china and the rightward shift of the left in Europe and across the developing world, have posed a challenge to the political economic theoretical framework. However, a critical understanding of the political economy of international communication is essential if one wants to make sense of the expansion, acceleration and consolidation of the US-managed global electronic economy. Creating a global

**Communication infrastructure**

In the 1980s and 1990s fundamental ideological changes in the global political arena led to the creation of pro-market international trade regimes which had a huge impact on international communication. The process of deregulation and privatization in the communications and media industries combined with new digital information and communication technologies to enable a quantum leap in international communication, illustrated most vividly in the satellite industry. The resulting globalization of telecommunication has revolutionized international communication, as the convergence of the telecommunications; computer and media industries have ensured that much more information passes through a digitally linked glob today than ever in human history. This was made possible with the innovation of new information and communication technologies, increasing integrated into a privatized global communication infrastructure, primarily as a result of the policy shift – from a state centric view of communication to one governed by the rules of the free market – among major power and, in turn, in multilateral organizations such as the international telecommunication union (ITU). Analysis of international communication has traditionally been confined to government-to-government activities where a few powerful states dictate the communication agenda, but with the growing availability of regional and global satellite networks, communication systems have become more far-reaching for telecommunications, broadcasting and increasingly in electronic commerce. We studied in this Lecture why the transnational corporations (TNCs) have benefited most from the liberalization and privatizations international communication.

**The privatization of telecommunication**

In the arena of telecommunications, the state was, for most of the twentieth century, the key player in providing a national infrastructure and equipment, and regulating international traffic. In the 1990s, the state monopolies of post, telegraph and telecommunication (PPT) were forced to give ground to private telecommunication networks, often part of transnational corporations. This shift, which started among some western countries, has now affected telecommunications globally with the majority of PPTs privatized or in the process of privatization. Since the founding of the international telegraph union in 1865, regulation of international telecommunication was the subject of multilateral accord, setting common standards for telecommunication networks across the globe and prices for access to and use of these networks. These conventions were based upon the principle of national monopoly and cross-subsidization, so that national telecom operator such as the British post office – which had monopoly of equipment and service within Britain – could keep the cost affordable for small users by subsidies from international telephony revenues. In the 1980s, this regulatory framework was criticized as not taking into account technological innovations, such as computing, fiber optic cables and fax machines. Especially significant was the blurring of the distinction between the transmission of voice and data made possible by these new technologies. As telecommunication traffic increased, so did the demand from transnational corporations for the reduction of tariffs, especially for international services. These companies opposed national monopolies, arguing that a competitive environment would improve services and reduce costs. In 1984 US President Ronald Reagan announced as ‘open skies’ policy, breaking the public monopoly and allowing private telecommunications networks to operate in the national telecommunication arena. The general shift from the public–service role of telecommunication to private competition and deregulation had a major impact on international telecommunication policy, shaped by the USA, Britain and Europe, all of whom have companies with global ambitions.

**Free trade in communication**

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (typically abbreviated GATT) was originally created by the Britton Woods Conference as part of a larger plan for economic recovery after World War II. The GATT's main objective was the reduction of barriers to international trade. This was achieved through the reduction of tariff barriers, quantitative restrictions and subsidies on trade through a series of agreements. The GATT was an agreement, not an organization. Originally, the GATT was supposed to become a full international organization like the World Bank or IMF called the International Trade Organization. However, the agreement was not ratified, so the GATT remained simply an agreement. The functions of the GATT were taken over by the World Trade Organization which was established during the final round of negotiations in the early 1990s.The history of the GATT can be divided into three phases: the first, from 1947 until the Torque Round, largely concerned which commodities would be covered by the agreement and freezing existing tariff levels. A second phase, encompassing three rounds, from 1959 to 1979, focused on reducing tariffs. The third phase, consisting only of the Uruguay Round from 1986 to 1994, extended the agreement fully to new areas such as intellectual property, services, capital, and agriculture. Out of this round the

WTO was born.

**World Trade Organization (WTO)**

In 1993 the GATT was updated (GATT 1994) to include new obligations upon its signatories. One of the most significant changes was the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO). The 75 existing GATT members and the European Communities became the founding members of the WTO on January 1, 1995. The other 52 GATT members rejoined the WTO in the following two years (the last being Congo in 1997). Since the founding of the WTO, 21 new non-GATT members have joined and 28 are currently negotiating membership. Of the original GATT members, only the SFR Yugoslavia has not rejoined the WTO. Since FR Yugoslavia, (renamed to Serbia and Montenegro and with membership negotiations later split in two), is not recognized as a direct SFRY successor state; therefore, its application is considered a new (non-GATT) one. The contracting parties who founded the WTO ended official agreement of the "GATT 1947" terms on December 31, 1995. Whereas GATT was a set of rules agreed upon by nations, the WTO is an institutional body. The WTO expanded its scope from traded goods to trade within the service sector and intellectual property rights. Although it was designed to serve multilateral agreements, during several rounds of GATT negotiations (particularly the Tokyo Round) plurilateral agreements created selective trading and caused fragmentation among members.

WTO arrangements are generally a multilateral agreement settlement mechanism of GATT. The WTO was set up with a clear agenda for privatization and liberalization

“The fundamental cost of protectionism stems from the fact that it provides individual decision makers with wrong incentives, drawing resources into protected sectors rather than sectors where a country has its true comparative advantage. The classical role of trade liberalization, identified centuries ago, is to remove such hindrances, thereby increasing income and growth.

As part of this, the WTO also argued that dismantling barriers to the free flow of information was essential for economic growth. It was even implied that it was not possible to have significant trade in goods and services without a free trade in information. The importance of a strong communications infrastructure as a foundation for international commerce and economic development was increasingly emphasized by international organizations.

One key outcome of the Uruguay Round was the 1995 The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is a treaty of the World Trade Organization (WTO) that entered into force in January 1995 as a result of the Uruguay Round negotiations. The treaty was created to extend the multilateral trading system to services, in the same way the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) provides such a system for merchandise trade.

All members of the WTO are signatories to the GATS. The basic WTO principle of most favored nation (MFN) applies to GATS as well. Impact of WTO agreements on international Communication Three major agreements, signed in 1977 under the aegis of the WTO, are likely to have a profound impact on global trade, especially in information and communication areas. In February 1997, 69 WTO countries agreed a wide-ranging liberalization of trade in global telecommunication services. Of the three agreements, the most significant for international communication is the GATS fourth protocol on basic telecommunication services. Within GATS, the telecommunication sectors divided into two broad categories: basic service (e.g. voice telephones, data transmission services, telegraph) and value added services. During the round, most countries committed themselves to liberalize value added services, but not basic telecommunication services, so the fourth protocol ensures that basic telecommunication will also be liberalized.

**LIBERALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TELECOM SECTOR**

The mission of the Telecommunication Development Sector, as set out in the Constitution and the Convention, encompasses the Union’s dual responsibility as a United Nations specialized agency and executing agency for implementing projects under the United Nations development system or other funding arrangements, so as to facilitate and enhance telecommunication development by offering, organizing and coordinating technical cooperation and assistance activities.

The work of ITU-D will reflect the various resolutions of the world telecommunication development conference. It will place emphasis on gender balance in its programs and will reflect the needs of other aspects of global society such as youth and the needs of indigenous peoples. Emergency telecommunications is another area where renewed efforts are required. Collaboration with the private sector should be more clearly defined and expanded so as to reflect the changing roles of public and private entities in the telecommunication sector. The "Year 2000" problem should be urgently addressed.

ITU-D should also use the mechanisms for advancing Sector goals included in Opinion B of the World Telecommunication Policy Forum (Geneva, 1998) and the opportunities provided by the ITU programme funded by the surplus funds from TELECOM exhibitions.

In fulfilling its mission, ITU- D will cover the five major areas of telecommunication development telecommunication sector reform, technologies, management, finance and human resources. It is supported by the four main modes of action by which the Sector carries out its work: direct assistance (including project execution), resource development and mobilization, partnerships and information sharing, which are reflected in the organizational structure of BDT.

**The Telecommunication Development Sector environment**

The telecommunication development environment is characterized by the following features: The restructuring and liberalization of the telecommunication sector at the national and international level, and the three agreements on basic telecommunications services, financial services and information technology products concluded through the World Trade Organization, have increasing consequences for the provision of international and national telecommunication services. Competition is rapidly becoming the rule rather than the exception. The above factors are straining the accounting rate system beyond its limits, calling for a rapid revision of accounting rates and causing major changes in traditional income flows which are of critical importance to certain countries. While the development gap has narrowed slightly in terms of access to basic telephone services, it is widening at a fast rate for advanced telecommunication services and access to information. However, the emergence of a global information society is creating new opportunities to close the gap. Political, technical and cultural factors are combining to promote these opportunities.

The rapid development of telecommunications in some countries is associated with general economic growth, particularly where some form of restructuring, liberalization and competition is introduced; however, other countries witness modest and uneven progress. Many different

Players, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), are invited to play a more

Important role.

Business practices, including development activities, are being revolutionized by information and communication technologies. This can be expected to have a significant impact on telecommunication development activities such as planning and training. Technology-based

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| convergence of telecommunications, | informatics and mass media offers new opportunities for |  |
| cooperation between the formerly | Different parts of the telecommunication sector. Due | to |  |

 Increased emphasis on policy and regulatory frameworks that create open markets and encourage private investment, both domestic and foreign, development programs rely less on technical assistance and more on partnerships and trade agreements. Private capital flows in several countries now exceed official development aid resources, but in others concessional finance is required to meet development needs.

Limited funds available to ITU, as compared with developing country needs, require ITU to play a catalytic development role. This envisioned catalytic role of ITU is developed further below.

**The world of telecommunications**

The invention of the global satellite networks also having a significant impact on the international telecommunication industry. Information liberalization and the deregulation which it promotes have led to unprecedented rates of merger activity and corporate consolidation in the information and communication industries. The increasing demand for wireless technologies and mobility is spreading into all aspects of telecommunications and represent a fundamental change that is transforming international communication. These trends will converge at a single point and profoundly change the industry and the marketplace. The telecommunications and ‘dotcom’ industries are merging, as are the computer and media industries. A consolidation of business in these sectors is likely to lead to a global dominance of the telecom by 10 – 15 companies in operator market. In 1998, the top 10 telecommunications corporations held 86 percent of the market in telecommunications while the leading 10 computer companies controlled almost 70 per cent of the global market. By the end of 1999, the value of mergers and acquisitions in the telecommunications industry had nearly doubled to $516 billion, mainly because of the two major deals in 1999 – MCI WorldCom’s acquisition of sprint, and Vodafone Air touch merger with German wireless carrier Mannesmann. The opening up of global telecommunications services is also set to benefit the suppliers of telecommunication hardware. In 1996 exports of telecommunication and broadcasting equipment from OECD countries was $95.1 billion, an

Increase of 108 percent over 1990. The $301 billion worldwide communication equipment market, growing at 14 per cent annually, is controlled by corporations in a few, mainly western countries. The USA is the biggest exporter of telecom equipment.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Operator | Country  | International telephone Revenue($ billions) |
| AT&T | USA | 9.55 |
| MCI WorldCom | USA | 4.74 |
| Deutsche Telekom | Germany | 3.35 |
| DGT | China | 2.20 |
| Hong Kong Telecom | HK/China | 1.99 |
| KDD | Japan | 1.90 |
| France Telecom | France | 1.85 |
| Sprint | USA | 1.82 |
| VSNL | India | 1.60 |
| Telecom Italia | Italy | 1.43 |

According to the OECD, the total revenue of the communication sector, including telecommunication services, broadcasting services and communications equipment, exceeding one trillion dollars for the first time in 1998.

**Implication of a liberalized global communication regime**

The global shift from state regulation to market-driven policies are evident everywhere. The WTO claims that the expansion of capital through the transnational corporations has contributed to the transfer of skills and capital to the global south but that it may have but also contributed to widening the gap between rich and poor is not mentioned. International communication is increasingly being shaped by trade and market standards and less by political considerations, what Hamelink has called ‘a noticeable shift from a political to an economic discourse’. The move to open up world trade by reducing tariff barriers has been unevenly applied. After the Uruguay Agreement came into force, several developing countries made huge reductions in their tariffs: India reduce its average tariffs on industrial products from 71 per cent to 32 per cent; Brazil from 41 per cent to 27 per cent; Venezuela from 50 per cent to 31 per cent. In contrast, the average tariff on industrial production in the north has been reducing from 6.3 per cent to 3.8 per cent. In addition giving priority to the service sector – financial services, insurance, maritime transport, telecommunication – has benefited the north, while the areas where the south might have had an advantage were not given much consideration.

The major trading blocs have insisted that in a globalized world economy, with growing internationalization of production and consumption, it is important to harmonize domestic laws and regulatory structures affecting trade and investment, and remove any advantage or protection for domestic industries. A global market can only be created, runs the argument, through deregulation and letting the market set the rules of international trade.

Opposition to the process of deregulation and privatization has been under mind by changes in international policy at an institutional level. The UN is positioning itself it closer to the operation of international business. As part of his ‘quite revolution’ to renew the United Nations for the twenty-first century, the UN Secretary- General, Kofi Annan is building a stronger relationship with business community. A joint statement issued in Feb 1998 by Annan and international chamber of commerce stressed the UN’s role in setting the regulatory framework for the global marketplace in order to facilitate cross-border trade and investment. Who benefits from liberalization and privatization? The biggest beneficiaries of the process of liberalization, deregulation and privatization and the resultant WTO agreements have been the TNCs (transnational corporations) which dominate global trade. As the primary movers and shapers’ of the global economy, the TNCs have been defined as having three basic characteristics:

* Co-ordination and control of various stages of individual’s production chains within and between different countries;
* Potential ability to take advantage of geographical differences in the distribution of factors of production;

Potential geographical flexibility an ability to switch its resources and operations between locations at an international, or even a global scale. So the powerful are the TNCs that the annual sales of the top corporations exceed the GDP of many countries. The free market ideology and the new international trading regime that it produced have encouraged the free flow of capital across a borderless world. Concerns about Tran’s border data floes and their impact on national sovereignty have been replaced by the race to embrace the global electronic marketplace.

**Disney**

Disney is the closest challenger to Time Warner for the status of world's largest media firm. In the early 1990s, Disney successfully shifted its emphasis from its theme parks and resorts to its film and television divisions. In 1995, Disney made the move from being a dominant global content producer to being a fully integrated media giant with the purchase of Capital Cities/ABC for $19 billion, one of the biggest acquisitions in business history. Disney now generates 31 percent of its income from broadcasting, 23 percent from theme parks, and the balance from "creative content," meaning films, publishing and merchandising. The ABC deal provided Disney, already regarded as the industry leader at using cross-selling and cross-promotion to maximize revenues, with a U.S. broadcasting network and widespread global media holdings to incorporate into its activities.

Historically, Disney has been strong in entertainment and animation, two areas that do well in the global market. In 1996 Disney reorganized, putting all its global television activities into single division.

**ESPN**

With the purchase of ABC's ESPN, the television sports network, Disney has possession of the unquestioned global leader. ESPN has three U.S. cable channels, a radio network with 420 affiliates, and the ESPN Sports-Zone website, one of the most heavily used locales on the Internet. One Disney executive notes that with .ESPN and the family-oriented Disney Channel, Disney has "two horses to ride in foreign market not just one.

ESPN International dominates televised sport broadcasting on a 24-hour basis in 21 languages to over 165 countries. It reaches the one desirable audience that had eluded Disney in the past: young, single, middle-class men. "Our plan is to think globally but to customize locally," states the senior VP of ESPN International. In Latin America the emphasis is on soccer, in Asia it is table tennis, and in India ESPN provided over 1,000 hours of cricket in 1995. Disney plans to exploit the "synergies" of ESPN much as it has exploited its cartoon characters. "We know that when we lay Mickey Mouse or Goofy on top of products, we get pretty creative stuff," Eisner states. "ESPN has the potential to be that kind of brand." Disney plans call for a chain of ESPN theme sports bars, ESPN product merchandising, and possibly a chain of ESPN entertainment centers based on the Club ESPN at Walt Disney World. ESPN has released five music CDs, two of which have sold over 500,000 copies. In late 1996, Disney began negotiations with Hearst and Petersen Publishing to produce ESPN Sports Weekly magazine, to be a "branded competitor to Sports Illustrated.

**Bertelsmann**

Bertelsmann is the one European firm in the first tier of media giants. The Bertelsmann Empire was built on global networks of book and music clubs. Music and television provide 31 percent of its income. Bertelsmann's stated goal is to evolve "from a media enterprise with international activities into a truly global communications group.

Bertelsmann's strengths in global expansion are its global distribution network for music, its global book and music clubs and its facility with languages other than English. Bertelsmann is considered to be the best contender of all the media giants to exploit the eastern European markets.

**Sony**

Sony's media holdings are concentrated in music (the former CBS records) and film and television production (the former Columbia Pictures), each of which it purchased in 1989.music accounts for about 60 percent of Sony's media income and film and television production account for the rest. Sony is a dominant entertainment producer and its media sales are expected to surpass $9 billion in 1997. It also has major holdings in movie theaters in joint venture with Seagram. As Sony’s media activities seem divorced from its other extensive activities Sony was foiled in its initial attempts to find synergies between hardware and software, but it anticipates that digital communication will provide the basis for new synergies. Sony hopes to capitalize upon its vast copyrighted library of films, music and TV programs to leap to the front of the digital video disc market, where it is poised to be one of the two global leaders with Matsushita." Sony also enjoys a 25 percent share of the multi-billion-dollar video games industry; with the shift to digital formats these games can now be converted into channels in digital television systems.

**Global trade in media products**

The global trade in cultural goods (films, printed matter, music, and computers) has almost tripled between 1980 and 1991. The United States is the leading exporter of cultural products and the entertainment industry is one of its largest export earners. Table lists the world’s top five entertainment corporations, three of which are based in the USA, while the other two have substantial US business and corporate connections.

**Television**

Most of the world’s entertainment output is transmitted through television, which is increasingly becoming global in its operations, technologies and audiences. One of the most significant factors is the growth in satellite television, which cuts across national and linguistic boundaries, creating new international audiences. In 1998 more than 2600 television channels were operating in the world, the majority of which were private channels.

**THE WORLD’S TOP FIVE ENTERTAINMENT CORPORATIONS, 1998**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Company | Country | Revenue ($m) | Profits ($m) |
| Walt Disney | USA | 22976 | 1850 |
|  |  |  |  |
| Time Warner | Australia | 14582 | 168 |
|  |  |  |  |
| News corporations | Australia | 12995 | 1153 |
|  |  |  |  |
| Via com | USA | 12096 | 122 |
|  |  |  |  |
| Seagram | Canada | 10734 | 946 |

**The international film industry**

Though more films are produced in India than in the USA global cinema and television screens are dominated by Hollywood: Hollywood films are shown in more than 150 countries. Half of Hollywood revenue comes from overseas markets, up from just 30 percent in 1980.

**The world’s top ten film producing nations**

India

USA

China

Japan

Philippines

France

Russia

Italy

Thailand

South Korea

**International book publishing**

In the world of book publishing, though China and Germany rank first and third in the highest number of titles produced in 1996, English language publishing is predominant. The global market for English language books is valued at around $25 billion a year and set to grow as the demand for English language books and publication increases worldwide. The USA leads the world’s books export market, closely followed by Britain.

**GLOBAL BOOK PRODUCTION – THE TOP TEN**

China

United Kingdom Germany United States Japan

Spain

Russia

Italy

France South Korea

In the recent years, the company has expanded into newer market such as Eastern Europe, South America and China, where it is planning to launch a direct market book business.

**Global news and information networks**

In the realm of international news, US/UK –based media organizations produced and distribute much of the world’s news and current affairs output. From international news agencies to global newspapers and radio stations, from providers of television news footage to 24- hour news and documentary channels, the US/UK presence seems to be overwhelming.

**News agency**

A news agency is an organization of journalists established to supply news reports to organizations in the news trade: newspapers, magazines, and radio and television broadcasters. They are also known as wire services or news services.

**Commercial services**

News agencies can be corporations that sell news (e.g. Reuters and Agency France -Press (AFP)), cooperatives composed of newspapers that share their articles with each other (e.g. AP), or commercial newswire services which charge organizations to distribute their news (e.g. Business Wire, CSRWire Canada, echo/Huff Strategy, the Hugin Group, Market Wire and PR Newswire). Governments may also control news agencies, particularly in authoritarian states, like China (Xinhua). Australia, Britain, Canada, Russia (ITAR-TASS) and many other countries also have government-funded news agencies. A recent rise in internet- based alternative news agencies as a component of the larger alternative media have emphasized a "non-corporate view" that is independent of the pressures of business media.

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. The business need for wire services to produce reports acceptable to the largest number of clients possible is largely credited for the move away from an openly partisan press toward more objectivity in journalism.

**Associated press:**

The Associated Press, or AP, is an American news agency, and is the world's largest such organization. The AP is a cooperative owned by its contributing newspapers, radio and television stations in the United States, which both contribute stories to it and use material written by its staffers. Many newspapers and broadcasters outside the United States are AP subscribers — that is, they pay a fee to use AP material but are not members of the cooperative.

As of 2005, AP's news is used by 1,700 newspapers, in addition to 5,000 television and radio outlets. Its photo library consists of more than 10 million images. The AP has 243 bureaus and serves 121 countries, with a diverse international staff drawing from all over the world.

As part of their agreements with the Associated Press, most newspapers grant automatic permission for the Associated Press to distribute their local news reports. For example, on page two of every edition of the Washington Post, the masthead includes the announcement, "The Associated Press is entitled exclusively to use for republication of all news dispatches credited to it or not otherwise credited in this paper and all local news of spontaneous origin published herein."

The AP Stylebook has become the de facto standard for news writing in the United States. The AP has a straightforward, "just-the-facts" writing style, often using the inverted pyramid style of writing so that stories can be edited to fit available space in a newspaper without losing the essence of the story.

The collapse of AP's traditional rival, United Press International, as a major competitor in 1993 has left AP as the only nationally oriented news service based in the United States. The other rival English-language news services, such as Reuters and the English language service of Agency France-Press are based outside the United States.

**Reuters**

Reuters Group plc. (LSE: RTR and NASDAQ: RTRSY); pronounced is a financial market data provider and news service that provides reports from around the world to newspapers and broadcasters. However, news reporting accounts for less than 10% of the company's income. [1] Its main focus is on supplying the financial markets with information and trading products. These include market data, such as share prices and currency rates, research and analytics, as well as trading systems that allow dealers to buy and sell such things as currencies and shares on a computer screen instead of by telephone or on a trading floor like that of the New York Stock Exchange. Among other services, the most notable is analysis of 40,000 companies, debt instruments, and 3 million economic series

**International news channels**

**Fox News**

Online news and headlines from Fox News, including top stories, business, and sports news. Also offers Fox News television schedules, radio schedules, commentary, and opinion. www.foxnews.com

**MSNBC**

Breaking news from MSNBC's online news portal, including world, national, business, sports, and entertainment news, as well as information about MSNBC television news. www.msnbc.com

**BBCNEWS**

Explore BBC News through sites which offer news coverage including business, health, sports, and weather, news archives, information about the presenters, and audio/video clips from the major arm of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) responsible for the corporation's news gathering and production of news programs on BBC television. dir.yahoo.com/.../News\_and\_Media/BBC\_News

**COMMUNICATION AND CULTURAL GLOBALIZATION**

The analysis of the effects of the explosion in international communication had been mainly preoccupied with the economic dimensions of globalization at the expense of cultural aspects of interactions between and among the world’s peoples. Is globalization another term of Americanization? The general pattern of the media ownership indicates that the west, led by the USA, dominates the international flow of information and entertainment in all major media sectors. But what is the impact of such one way flows of global information and entertainment on national and regional media cultures? It has been argued that international communication and media are leading to the homogenization of culture, but the patterns of global/national/local interaction may be more complex.

**Globalization of western culture**

As detailed in the previous Lectures the global communication hard and software industries are owned by a few transnational corporations, notably those based in the USA.

So firstly we study about the Americanization.

**Americanization**

Americanization is the term used for the influence the United States of America has on the culture of other countries, resulting in such phenomena as the substitution of a given culture with American culture. When encountered unwillingly or perforce, it has a negative connotation; when sought voluntarily, it has a positive connotation.

**Media**

The spread of American media including TV, film and American music artists, has been the main component of Americanization of other countries. American TV shows are broadcast around the world. Many of the shows are broadcast through American broadcasters and their subsidiaries such as HBO Asia, CNBC Europe, Fox Channel and CNN International. All of what is known as the "big four" American broadcasters have international distributors, for example HBO broadcasts to over 200 countries. Many of these distributors broadcast mainly American on their TV channels. According to a recent survey by Radio Times the Simpson, Lost and Desperate Housewives are among the most watched shows, with CSI being the most watched show among the surveyed 20 countries. American films are also extremely popular globally. All of the top 20 grossing films ever are American made or have an American influence, either through publishers, cast or financiers. Titanic is currently the biggest grossing film worldwide without adjusting for inflation, it currently holds the top grossing film title in various countries including England, Germany, France, Spain among others. Adjusting for inflation, the highest grossing film of all time is gone with the Wind. Often part of the negotiating in free trade agreements between the America and other nations involve screen quotas. One such case is Mexico, after abolishing their screen quotas after the establishment of NAFTA with the US. Recently Korea has agreed to reduce its quota under pressure from America as part of a free trade deal. Many American artists are known throughout the world; artists such as Frank Sinatra, Michael Jackson and Elvis Presley are recognized worldwide and have sold over 500 million albums each. Michael Jackson's album Thriller is at 100 million sales the biggest selling album of all time **American Business and Brands**

Of the top ten global brands seven are based in the United States. Coca Cola, which holds the top spot, is often viewed as a symbol of Americanization. Coca Cola has vending machines in over 200 countries worldwide. Of the 25 biggest companies, thirteen are based in the United States. Many of these companies can be viewed as selling Americanized products. Many of the world's biggest computer companies are also American, such as Microsoft, Apple Inc., Dell, IBM and Google. Much of the software used worldwide is created by American based companies. The two largest Personal Computer companies, Dell and Hewlett Packard, which maintain over 30% of the market, are American based.

**Fast Food**

Fast food along with Coca Cola is also often viewed as being a symbol of American dominance and influence. Companies such as McDonalds, Burger King, KFC, Domino’s pizza, among others have numerous outlets around the world. The success of these American companies has led to the spread of localized fast food restaurants.

**Westernization**

Westernization is a process whereby non-western societies come under the influence of "Western culture" in such matters as industry, technology, law, politics, economics, lifestyle, diet, language, alphabet, religion or values. Westernization has been a pervasive and accelerating influence across the world in the last few centuries. It is usually a two-sided process, in which western influences and interests themselves are joined by a wish of at least parts of the affected society to change towards a more westernized society, in the hope of attaining western life or some aspects of it. Westernization can also be related to the process of acculturation. Acculturation refers to the changes that occur within a society or culture when two different groups come into direct continuous contact. After the contact, changes in cultural patterns within either or both cultures are evident. In popular speech, Westernization can also refer to the effects of Western expansion and colonialism on native societies.

For example, natives who have adopted European languages and characteristic Western customs are called acculturated or westernized. Westernization may be forced or voluntary depending on the situation of the contact. Different degrees of domination, destruction, resistance, survival, adaptation, and modification of the native culture may follow interethnic contact. In a situation where the native culture experiences destruction as a result of a more powerful outsider, a “shock phase” often is a result from the encounter. This shock phase is especially characteristic during interactions involving expansionist or colonialist eras.

During the shock phase, civil repression using military force may lead to a cultural collapse, or ethnocide, which is a culture’s physical extinction. According to Conrad Phillip, the westerners "will attempt to remake the native culture within their own image, ignoring the fact that the models of culture that they have created are inappropriate for settings outside of western civilization" (Phillip, Conrad.2005).Window on Humanity.

**Process of Westernization**

**Colonization (1492-1960s) Europeanization**

From 1492 onward, Europeanization and colonialism spread gradually over much of the world, colonizing major portions of the globe. During this period a strong influence was exercised on the indigenous cultures, which resulted in many colonies' indigenous populations assimilating certain elements of European culture willingly or by force, such as the language of the European motherland or the Christian religion. In many cases the indigenous population was supplanted or marginalized by European and African immigrants.

The two World Wars weakened the European powers to such extent that many colonies strove for independence, often inspired by nationalistic movements. A period of decolonization started. At the end of the 1960s, most colonies were autonomous. Those new states often adopted some aspects of Western politics such as the adoption of a constitution, while frequently reacting against western culture.

**Globalization (1960s-now)**

Westernization is often regarded as a part of the ongoing process of globalization. This theory proposes that western thought has led to globalization, and that globalization propagates western culture, leading to a cycle of westernization.

The main characteristics are economic liberalization (free trade) and democratization, combined with the spread of an individualized culture. Often it was also regarded of the opposite of the worldwide influence of communism. After the breakup of the USSR in 1991, many of its component states and allies nevertheless underwent westernization, including privatization of hitherto state-controlled industry. Westernization as globalization is seen by many as progress, as democracy and free trade spread gradually throughout the world. Others view westernization as a disadvantage. Some have protested that Asian cultures that have traditionally existed on a primarily plant-based diet might lose this healthy lifestyle as more people in Asia switch to a Western- style diet that is rich in animal-based foods. (Cornell Times, 2001)

**Definitions, Synonyms, Organizer Terms**

Current definitions of culture are informed by research from a variety of fields: anthropology, psychology, sociolinguistics, and critical theory. Nieto (1999) offers an extensive definition of culture as "the ever-changing values, traditions, social and political relationships, and worldview created, shared, and transformed by a group of people bound together by a combination of factors that include a common history, geographic location, language, social class, and religion."

**Definitions**

Cultural Diversity - n. Ethnic, gender, racial, and socioeconomic variety in a situation, institution, or group; the coexistence of different ethnic, gender, racial, and socioeconomic groups within one social unit

**Cultural diversity**

There is a general consensus among mainstream anthropologists that humans first emerged in Africa about two million years ago. Since then we have spread throughout the world, successfully adapting to widely differing conditions and to periodic cataclysmic changes in local and global climate. The many separate societies that emerged around the globe differed markedly from each other, and many of these differences persist to this day. As well as the more obvious cultural differences that exist between peoples, such as language, dress and traditions, there are also significant variations in the way societies organize themselves, in their shared conception of morality, and in the ways they interact with their environment. Joe Nelson, from Stafford Virginia, has popularized the words "Culture and diversity" while in Africa. It is debatable whether these differences are merely incidental artifacts arising from patterns of human migration or whether they represent an evolutionary trait that is key to our success as a species. By analogy with biodiversity, which is thought to be essential to the long-term survival of life on earth, it can be argued that cultural diversity may be vital for the long-term survival of humanity

And that the conservation of indigenous cultures may be as important to humankind as the conservation of species and ecosystems is to life in general. This argument is rejected by many people, on several grounds. Firstly, like most evolutionary accounts of human nature, the importance of cultural diversity for survival may be a UN -testable hypothesis, which can neither be proved nor disproved. Secondly, it can be argued that it is unethical deliberately to conserve "less developed" societies, because this will deny people within those societies the benefits of technological and medical advances enjoyed by those of us in the "developed" world. Finally, there are many people, particularly those with strong religious beliefs, who maintain that it is in the best interests of individuals and of humanity as a whole that we all adhere to the single model for society that they deem to be correct. For example, fundamentalist evangelist missionary organizations such as the New Tribes Mission actively work to reduce cultural diversity by seeking out remote tribal societies, converting them to their own faith, and inducing them to remodel their society after its principles. Cultural diversity is tricky to quantify, but a good indication is thought to be a count of the number of languages spoken in a region or in the world as a whole. By this measure, there are signs that we may be going through a period of precipitous decline in the world's cultural diversity. Research carried out in the 1990s by David Crystal (Honorary Professor of Linguistics at the University of Wales, Bangor) suggested that at that time, on average, one language was falling into disuse every two weeks. He calculated that if that rate of language death were to continue, then by the year 2100 more than 90% of the languages currently spoken in the world will have gone extinct. Overpopulation, immigration and imperialism (of both the militaristic and cultural kind) are reasons that have been suggested to explain any such decline. There are several international organizations that work towards protecting threatened societies and cultures, including Survival International and UNESCO. The UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, adopted by 185 Member States in 2001, represents the first international standard-setting instrument aimed at preserving and promoting cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. The EC funded Network of Excellence "Sustainable Development in a Diverse World" SUS.DIV builds upon the UNESCO Declaration to investigates the relationship between cultural diversity and sustainable development.

**Global English**

Modern English is sometimes described as the global lingua franca. English is the dominant international language in communications, science, business, aviation, entertainment, radio and diplomacy. The influence of the British Empire is the primary reason for the initial spread of the language far beyond the British Isles. Following World War II, the growing economic and cultural influence of the United States has significantly accelerated the adoption of English. A working knowledge of English is required in certain fields, professions, and occupations. As a result over a billion people speaks English at least at a basic level (see English language learning and teaching). English is one of six official languages of the United Nations.

**English as a global language**

English in computer science and global language Because English is so widely spoken, it has often been referred to as a "global language", the lingua franca of the modern era. While English is not an official language in most countries, it is currently the language most often taught as a second language around the world. Some linguists [attribution needed] believe that it is no longer the exclusive cultural sign of "native English speakers", but is rather a language that is absorbing aspects of cultures worldwide as it continues to grow. It is, by international treaty, the official language for aerial and maritime communications, as well as one of the official languages of the European Union, the United Nations, and most international athletic organizations Including the International Olympic Committee English is the language most often studied as a foreign language in the European Union (by 89% of schoolchildren), followed by French (32%), German (18%), and Spanish (8%). In the EU, a large fraction of the population reports being able to converse to some extent in English. Among non- English speaking countries, a large percentage of the population claimed to be able to converse in English in the Netherlands (87%), Sweden (85%), Denmark (83%), Luxembourg (66%), Finland (60%), Slovenia (56%), Austria (53%), Belgium (52%), and Germany (51%). Norway and Iceland also have a large majority of competent English- speakers. In addition, among the younger generations in the aforementioned countries, competence in English approaches 100%. [Citation needed] Books, magazines, and newspapers written in English are available in many countries around the world. English is also the most commonly used language in the sciences. In 1997, the Science Citation Index reported that 95% of its articles were written in English, even though only half of them came from authors in English-speaking countries

**INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE**

**Intercultural communication**

Culture (from the Latin culture stemming from colure, meaning; to cultivate,") generally refers to patterns of human activity and the symbolic structures that give such activities significance and importance. Different definitions of “culture” reflect different theoretical bases for understanding, or criteria for evaluating, human activity.

**Defining "culture"**

Culture can be defined as all the behaviors, arts, beliefs and institutions of a population that are passed down from generation to generation. Culture has been called "the way of life for an entire society." As such, it includes codes of manners, dress, language, religion, rituals, norms of behavior such as law and morality, and systems of belief as well as the arts and gastronomy.

**Terminology: cross- or inter-?**

In French the only possible adjective for this field is “intercultural”, where as in English we have both “intercultural” and “cross- cultural”. Many English speakers favor “cross-cultural”, some almost avoiding “intercultural” as if it were a case of vocabulary interference with French. Others use the terms interchangeably.

I have entitled my class “Intercultural Communication”, because like many people involved in this field, I distinguish between these two terms. In our usage, “cross-cultural” applies to something which covers more than one culture.

For example “a cross-cultural study of education in Western Europe” would be a comparison of chosen aspects of education in various countries or regions, but would consider each country or region separately and would not suggest any interaction between the various educational systems.

On the other hand, the term “intercultural” implies interaction. From an intercultural perspective, it would be possible to study the experiences of students or teachers who move from one educational system to another, or to examine the interactions of students from different countries enrolled in a specific class or program. “Culture shock” and “cultural adaptation” are thus intercultural notions.

**Cross-cultural**

Cross-cultural communication (also frequently referred to as intercultural communication) is a field of study that looks at how people from differing cultural backgrounds Endeavour to communicate.

**Interdisciplinary orientation**

Cross-cultural communication tries to bring together such relatively unrelated areas as cultural anthropology and established areas of communication. Its core is to establish and understand how people from different cultures communicate with each other. Its charge is to also produce some guidelines with which people from different cultures can better communicate with each other. For example, how does a person from China communicate with a person from America? Furthermore, what underlying mental constructs appear from both parties that allows for constructive communication?

Cross-cultural communication, as in many scholarly fields, is a combination of many other fields. These fields include anthropology, cultural studies, psychology and communication. The field has also moved both toward the treatment of interethnic relations, and toward the study of communication strategies used by co-cultural populations, i.e., communication strategies used to deal with majority or mainstream populations. The introduction of power as a cultural communication variable leads to a body of critical scholarship

**Interculturalism**

Interculturalism is the philosophy of exchanges between cultural groups within a society. Various states have intercultural policies which seek to encourage the socialization of citizens of different origins. These policies are often ostensibly used as an instrument to fight racism.

Interculturalism requires an inherent openness to be exposed to the culture of the "other". Once a person is exposed to an element of a different culture, a dialogue will ensue, where everyone embarks upon understanding the culture of the other, and usually this involves comparisons. Thus, Interculturalism breeds dialogue, in order to be able to look for commonalities between that element of one's culture and the culture of the other.

Interculturalism seeks to enhance fusion by looking for commonalities. Hence, various cultures merge. The differences that remain make up the subcultures of the world

**NEWS MEDIA AND THE FOREIGN POLICY**

**News media and the foreign policy decision-making process, CNN or Washington Introduction**

There is a great debate about the relationship between the news media and the foreign policy decision-making process, and the impact the former may have on the latter. Two theories have risen to explain this matter, the so-called "CNN effect" and the "manufacturing consent" thesis.

But these theories are in conflict, thus, agreement about the direct impact of the media on foreign policy is yet to be achieved. Even though for "many journalists, policy-makers and scholars, there really is little doubt that media profoundly affect the foreign policy process" (Livingston, 1997), recent research about the effects of the media on Western Governments in response to humanitarian interventions "fails to clarify whether or not the news media has (or has not) triggered recent 'humanitarian' interventions"(Robinson, 1999).

This essay will start by analyzing foreign coverage and foreign policy making. The reason for this is that foreign events are dealt by the media through coverage and by foreign policy makers through the creation, modification and implementation of policies. Further on, the findings1 of several authors, like Livingston (1997), Livingston and Each us (1995), Jacobsen (1996 and 2000), Gowing (1994) and Mermin (1997) will be reviewed in order to set grounding for the perceived conclusions about the impact of the news media on the foreign policy decision-making process.

**Media-Foreign policy decision-making relationship**

In order to illustrate how the news media have revolutionized the foreign policy making process, the image of the Soviet missile crisis in Bay of Pigs, during John F. Kennedy's government is often mentioned (Hoge, 1994; Livingston, 1997). During the first six days of the crisis, Kennedy and his advisers had the chance to deliberate in secrecy about which course of action they were to take. The capability of keeping the situation in secret kept foreign policy makers from dealing with “public hysteria"(Livingston, 1997) or media pressures.

Nonetheless, the context has changed considerably since1962. Firstly, due to technological developments, real time news coverage allows information to be broadcasted 24 hours a day from anywhere in the world, with no regards for diplomatic secrecy. Secondly, since the end of the Cold War, the world is no longer bipolar, leading towards a lack of definition of American national interests, for they are no longer constructed around the idea of stopping the spread of communism. The latter leads towards the third point: there is policy uncertainty about foreign affairs. These contextual changes have redefined; it is argued, the relationship between the news media and the foreign policy decision-making process in the West, though there is great debate about its reaches and limitations.

On the one hand is the so-called "CNN effect", which is understood in a variety of ways. It comes from being understood as the capability of the news media (television in particular) to "shape the policy agenda" (Gowing, 1994); the "power" of news journalism "to move governments" (Cohen,1994); "the idea that real-time communications technology could provoke major responses from domestic audiences and political elites to global events" (Robinson, 1999); the argument that "the media drives Western conflict management by forcing Western governments to intervene militarily in humanitarian crises against their will" (Jacobsen, 2000); "elite decision makers' loss of policy control to news media" (Livingston and Each us, 1995); to the argument that the term "CNN effect" has been used imprecisely, for there are several types of media effects, deriving from different types of policies (Livingston, 1997).

On the other hand, the manufacturing consent theory "argues that the media does not create policy, but rather that news media is mobilized (manipulated even) into supporting government policy" (Robinson, 1999). There are two ways in which manufacturing consent may take place: the executive version, in which there is framing that conforms to the official agenda; and the elite version, in which news coverage is critical of executive policy as a consequence of elite dissensus (ibid.).

**Media, Foreign Policy and Events**

However, in my opinion, the first question to be asked regarding the impact of the media on foreign policy making decisions concerns how each of these actors, the media and policy Coverage makers, relate to foreign events.

The media relate to events through coverage (or lack of coverage one may add). However, when it comes to foreign news, there are mixed trends. On the one hand, there is a tendency towards cutting back the amount of it as a response to little public interest (Hoge, 1994: 143). But on the other, some media are "expanding their foreign coverage" (idem.).

Either way, the attention that media gives to foreign news seems to be focused to "the unusual and the violent" (ibid.)."Film footage of violence is the element of foreign news most likely to leap the hurdles barring entry to the evening news shows' 22 precious minutes of airtime" (Hoge, 1993: 3). Bias against peaceful news is noted.

Jacobsen (2000) divides conflicts in three phases: pre-violence, violence and post-violence. His findings are that during the pre and post-violence coverage is negligible;

"Since coverage of conflicts that might explode in violence is unlikely to boost ratings, these conflicts are usually ignored" (ibid: 133). In the post-violence phase coverage is also minimal, as an example of this, Jacobsen notes "Mine clearing is only news if Princess Diana is doing it" (idem: 138). The coverage during the post-violence phase, however, tends towards the negative; failed projects, corruption, mismanagement, etc. (ibidem). The broad of coverage of a conflict, hence, happens during the violent phase, however, it is decided by "a host of different factors, most of which have nothing to do with humanitarian need such as: geographic proximity to Western countries, costs, logistics, legal impediments (e.g. visa requirements), risk to journalists, relevance to national interest, and news attention cycles" (Jacobsen, 2000: 133).

Thus, foreign news may be concluded, are subject to coverage in relation to its level of violence and general news making and newsworthiness concerns. Girardet (1996) notes that there is a multiplicity of violent conflicts that have not received coverage at all. Conflicts are covered also in relation to their international implications, "It is doubtful that the media would have reported on Rwandans had it "just" been a case of Rwandans killing Rwandans" (ibid: 57). He explains the lack of coverage of violent conflicts comes from the need of the international community to justify concerns "by reacting to something more morally abhorrent than the mundane killing of ordinary human beings -just as Afghans killing Afghans, Sudanese killing Sudanese, or Angolans killing Angolans is apparently insufficient to mobilize more consistent coverage." (ibidem: 58). Girardet (1996) also points out that there is an obsession with the medium, rather than the purpose. The "technological conveniences" that news ICT's bring constitute a threat to quality journalism, since "All too often, information is confused with understanding, and high technology with journalism, so fascinated are the people by the vehicle rather than the purpose". The consequence is an obsession with immediacy, which shortens the journalist's time to fully research and understand the issues at hand”, encouraging, laziness and an over reliance on existent data" (ibid: 59-60).

Gowing (1994) believes that "There is far more real-time war than ever before" (81). Whatever is transmitted is determined by its graphic potential, "the main principle is no pictures, then no serious coverage of a conflict" (idem.).

So far it is understood that foreign news is focused on conflicts; yet, only a few conflicts are covered, and such coverage is determined by a variety of factors independent to their level of humanitarian concerns, such as routine news making and newsworthiness considerations; the quality of the coverage, just as well, is influenced by the use of technologies at hand. However, what drives the attention of journalists in the first place towards a specific conflict? Hoge (1993: 2) believes that "the new media's task has been made more difficult by an absence of clear, steady cues from Washington (…) the press traditionally has covered international affairs from the perspective of America's perceived interests". As Mermin (1997) notes, "American journalists turn to politicians and government officials for guidance in deciding what constitutes news". Furthermore, Washington constitutes a place "where newsworthy information is made public everyday" (ibid.). The same point is made by Livingston and Eachus (1995: 415) when they say that reporters "have been found to routinely turn to officials as news sources (Gans, 1979; Paletz & Entman, 1981; Said, 1981; Sigal, 1973), particularly in foreign affairs and national security reporting (Entman, 1991; Hallin, 1989; Livingston, 1994)."

Mermin's research entitled "Television news and American intervention in Somalia" reveals that Washington's decisions were the key to the subsequent coverage of the events, which fluctuated in amount and importance in relation to what was going on in Washington. Just as well, he notes that coverage was also drawn in relation to the priority Somalia played in the American agenda, as an example, he points out that during July of 1992, Somalia was never in the top of the news because it was not in the top of the foreign policy agenda (1997: 395).

In short, the coverage of a foreign conflict is determined by a variety of factors sometimes tangential to the event itself. However, the quality of the coverage, and by this we mean the way reports are fashioned, is also subject of external determinants. News reports about humanitarian crises are claimed to move governments towards action as the CNN effect presumes, or to frame contents in conformity to executive or elitist interests, as suggested by the manufacturing consent theory. This will be returned to later in this essay.

Foreign policy in Western democracies, as is the case of the United States, is drawn upon the idea of a predetermined national interest. With the end of the Cold-War the main concern of USA's national interest, stopping the spread of communism, was over, yet the challenge is now that of a new definition of national interests. As Hoge (1993: 2) describes, "there is not yet an articulated official framework for U.S.foreign policy in a still new post-Cold War world". The Cold War, Hoge (1994: 137) argues, provided a "gauge for determining the importance of events by how much they affected America's security versus its superpower rival". In other words, the Cold War provided Americans with a defined ideological stigmata, and this was revealed in the media: "The parameters of press coverage tended to be those of the country's foreign policy (…) The press was often critical, but of the execution of policy more than the aims." (Hoge, 1994:137).

Joseph Nye (1999: 22) describes that the collapse of the Soviet Union challenges the way America conceives its national interests, since ""national interest" is a slippery concept, used to describe as well as prescribe foreign policy”. Samuel P. Huntington argues that "without a sure sense of national identity, Americans have become unable to define their national interests, and as a result sub national commercial interests and transnational and non-national ethnic interests have come to dominate foreign policy"(quoted in Nye, 1999: 22) .

Nye describes national interests in a democracy as follows: “national interest is simply the shared priorities regarding relations with the rest of the world" (1999: 23). Nye (1999) argues that policy making is more difficult today because of power complexities; he conceives power as a three-dimensional chessboard: the first dimension is the military and it is unit polar, with the USA on top of the world; the second dimension is the economic, which is multi polar, with the USA, Europe and Japan having the biggest shares; the third dimension is that of transnational relations, with a dispersed structure of power. In conclusion, the USA "is preponderant, but not a dominant power" (Nye, 1999: 24).Therefore, the world did not exactly become unit polar after the Cold War; hence, national interests and foreign policies ought to take other variables into account, like the level of risk U.S. national security faces. Nye establishes three categories in the hierarchy of risks to U.S. national security. The "A" list constituted by threats to American survival (like the one the Soviet Union represented); the "B" list, constituted by imminent threats to U.S. interests (but not to its survival), and the "C" list, formed by "contingencies that indirectly affect U.S. security but do not directly threaten U.S. interests", like Kosovo, Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda and Haiti (Nye, 1999: 26).

Nowadays, Nye (1999) argues, the "C" list predominates in the foreign policy agenda, one explanation of this comes from the disappearance of the threat of the Soviet Union as an "A" list, but another one is that the "C" list is the main concern of media foreign coverage. However, he argues, "A human rights policy is not itself a foreign policy, it is an important part of a foreign policy (…) In the information age, humanitarian concerns dominate attention to a greater degree that before at the cost of diverting attention from "A" list strategic issues" (1999: 31).

However, as many researchers argue, this intrusion of the "C" list in foreign policy priorities product of media coverage, which is one way to describe the CNN effect, is a consequence of the lack of policy clarity (Gowing, 1994; Freedman, 2000; Hoge, 1994; Robinson, 2001). Just as policy clarity is perceived as necessary in determining the way media and foreign policy makers would react to a certain international contingence, political leadership is seen as paramount (Hoge, 1994, 144; Livingston, 1997: 1; Gjelten, 2002, Kohut and Toth, 1994: 58)).

In short, in the USA, foreign policies are drawn around a set of priorities determined in relation to the degree of importance of the perceived national interests, which are also determined by levels of risk to national security. In the post-Cold War world, however, those interests are not clearly defined, in consequence, policies are difficult to determine. The media is believed to raise importance of tangential matters over more substantial concerns in cases of policy uncertainty, as well as lack of political leadership. Power concentration varies according to the dimension of concern, yet one dimension has repercussions on the other. When it comes to policy-making, those involved in the process possess a different level of power, and to create a policy they must be subjected to a bargaining interaction "between a set of subsystems in the government" (Robinson, 2001: 534).

The relevance of the relationship between the news media and foreign policy makers goes beyond the fact that the former cover foreign events and the latter make policies regarding foreign events. The importance of this relationship, thus, relies on two claims about it: firstly, the claims that the coverage of certain events has the potential to drive the policies that foreign policy makers conduct regarding the events covered (the CNN effect), secondly, the claim that foreign policy makers are the ones who drive media attention towards certain foreign events, and even determine the way those events are being framed (Manufacturing consent).

**Case study**

**Media-Foreign Policy Making, CNN or Washington**

When trying to understand the relationship between the media and foreign policy decision-making, both theories, the CNN effect and the manufacturing consent come into contest. In this part of the essay, the conclusions that different researchers have reached regarding this topic will be reviewed, in order to present a wide scope of the dimensions of their findings.

Jacobsen (2000), as previously mentioned, studied the impact of media coverage on foreign conflict management in relation to the phases of violence of the conflict. He concludes that the direct impact of the media on foreign policy making is negligible in the pre and post-violence phases and limited during the violence phase3. He notes that the CNN effect is necessary for interventions, but insufficient to cause them, for they are decided by other factors: action perceived as quick, with low risk of casualties and a clear exit strategy. The "direct impact of the media on Western conflict management is negligible because coverage is limited to a small number of conflicts in the violence phase". The consequent shifting of funds from "cost-effective, long-term measures to short-term relief efforts leading to a high ineffective allocation of resources" is the "invisible and indirect" impact that the media actually have on Western conflict management. This impact, he argues, “exceeds the direct impact generated by the CNN effect by far since the latter only affects a very small number of conflicts"(Jacobsen, 2000).

On the other hand, Livingston (1997)4 suggests a three-way typology of likely CNN effects. These are conditional on the kind of intervention that is being conducted, of which he recognizes eight types. The three CNN effects are described as follows:

First effect is media as accelerants, in this modality, media are presumed to shorten the time of decision-making response. Yet, the media can also become a "force multiplier", a "method of sending signals" to the opponent (1997: 2-4). This effect is most plausible to appear in conventional warfare, strategic deterrence, and tactical deterrence (ibid, 11).

Second effect is media as impediment; this takes two forms, as an emotional inhibitor, and as a threat to operational security. One likely manifestation of the emotional inhibitor effect is the "Vietnam syndrome" (Livingston, 1997: 4), in which, it is presumed, public support is undermined by the media coverage of casualties. As a threat to operational security, the media are said to compromise the success of an operation by broadcasting it and, thus, revealing strategic information to the enemy, frustrating the success of the operation. This kind of effect, Livingston notes, is likely to appear during conventional warfare, tactical deterrence, SOLIC, peacemaking and peace keeping operations.

The third likely effect of the media on foreign policy making that Livingston (1997) mentions is that of the media as an agenda setting agent. It is presumed that the coverage of humanitarian crises puts the issue in the foreign policy agenda and drives intervention.

Livingston's typology of likely CNN effects is supported by the findings of other authors; however, the true existence of such affects still remains undetermined, though Livingston

(1997) skepticism is more focused towards questioning the ability of the media to set the agenda.

Hoge (1994: 137) describes the quality of media as accelerants as a pressure for politicians to "respond promptly to news accounts". However, Hoge foresees a negative effect of media as accelerants, due to the fact that news accounts” by their very immediacy are incomplete, without context and sometimes wrong" (ibid.). In the case of Somalia, Mermin (1997: 399) believes that media stories may have accelerated the movement in Washington towards intervention, yet those stories were "clearly a product of that movement".

The "Vietnam Syndrome", denominated "body bag effect" by Freedman (2000) is an important consideration for intervention, even without the media; as Jacobsen (1996) describes, one of the one final consideration to review in this part of the essay corresponds to the circumstances under which Western governments are more likely to intervene during humanitarian crises. Jacobsen (1996) finds five conditions for intervention: first, a clear case of humanitarian need where the UN would give its authorization; second, domestic support to the operation; third, CNN effect, which is recognized as necessary but not sufficient to cause an intervention; fourth, linkage to national interests; and fifth, feasibility of success, which also includes a low risk of casualties (the greater the domestic support, the more casualties they are willing to take).

Livingston (1997: 9) suggests that when looking more closely to "post-Cold War U.S. "humanitarian" interventions, one is likely to find equally compelling geo strategic reasons for the intervention.", like it happened during the Kurdish refugee crisis in 1991, where Scowcroft notes that it was the sensibility towards Turkey's anxiety about allowing the Kurds to stay" what fundamentally motivated the action (quoted in Livingston, 1997: 10). Apart from geo strategic concerns, Livingston mentions that a series of strict conditions must be met before the deployment of force, regulated by the Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD25), these include "a clear statement of American interests at stake in the operation, the approval of Congress, the availability of funding for the operation, a fixed date of withdrawal of U.S. forces, and an agreed upon command and control structure" (Livingston, 1997: 10).

Requirements for intervention are a low risk of casualties. Therefore, it can be concluded that is the fact of the casualties, not the broadcasting of them that has an effect on policy (Luttwak, 1994; Hoge, 1994), since casualties are "unacceptable if suffered for no purpose"(Freedman, 2000)6. When it comes to operational security, from a military point of view, Maj. Lafferty, etc. al. (1994) finds that during a conflict, media reports increase enemy effectiveness, but only to a certain climatic point, after this, the effectiveness will start decreasing as an outcome of information overload; "Therefore, the U.S. Military must recast its relationship with media and pursue a strategy of information overload to decrease enemy effectiveness" (ibid.).

The ability of the media to function as an agenda setter is the most questioned by Livingston (1997) since the so-called CNN effect has been overestimated. "The majority of humanitarian operations are conducted without media attention (…) furthermore; the eventual media coverage itself was the consequence of official actions." (Livingston, 1997: 7)

In the case of Somalia, Livingston (1997), Livingston and Eachus (1995) and Mermin (1997) conclude that the media were used by powerful elites to put pressure over other officials, and that coverage followed policy makers' actions.

However, Gowing (1994) by interviewing diplomatic and policy insiders finds that they often felt pressured and influenced by media coverage in their performance of foreign policy making. This fact reveals that the relationship between policy makers and the media is not a "one-way" one; rather it is one of reciprocal influence. Despite the influence of media over policy makers, Gowing (1994; 83) notes that media reports "shape the policy agenda, but do not dictate responses. They highlight policy dilemmas, but do not resolve them." In other words, the prerogatives on policy making belong to policy makers, media does not decide for them. Gowing (1994: 84, 85) concludes that in the future real-time television coverage will make no difference to policy making, the most likely situation is that a minor action would be taken just to show that "something" is being done; ultimately, events are what are important to policy makers, not the coverage of them (ibid.). The likely changes on policy strategy product of television coverage would be tactical, but not on the overall strategy (ibid: 89).

In short, what researchers have found the CNN effect to be is the ability of the media to function as accelerants, impediments or agenda-setters. However, the reaches of each of these effects have counterarguments and the implications of these effects, by this we mean how positive or negative they are for foreign policy making, are not yet defined. Just as well, the ability of the media to impact foreign policy is inextricably related to coverage, thus, the greater the coverage, the more direct the impact, however, the indirect impact of the media is also relevant for foreign strategy, since it could deviate efforts from the long -term, cost-effective, high priority concerns towards the short-term, cost-ineffective, low priority contingencies.

Finally, humanitarian intervention is decided by a multiplicity of factors, out of which the CNN effect may be but one.

**Conclusions**

As a not clearly defined phenomenon, the so- called CNN effect appears like a rather simplistic cause and effect explanation of media -foreign policy decision making relationship; almost like a hypodermic needle theory taken to the sphere of policy making. On the other hand, the manufacturing consent theory implies some obscurity, even conspiracy behind the relationship between policy makers and the media. Not only does this imply that both media and audiences are passive entities, easy to manipulate, but also ignorant of the "reality" behind the framing and indexing of the coverage, since critical coverage is conceived only in cases of elite dissensus. Both these theories are in clear confrontation, and they invalidate each other. But as Robinson (2001) notes, the debate about effect vs. non-effect in unconstructive. Rather, new approaches towards understanding more clearly the relationship between media and foreign policy making are to be achieved.

Just as news media coverage is not limited to foreign events, foreign policy making is not limited to the foreign events covered by the media. Thus, it is not likely that the media could drive overall foreign policy for the mere fact that coverage is limited to a selected subset of events. However, it is likely that the media have the potential to lead towards the modification of the policies being conducted regarding the events covered. One way to explain this likely effect of the media on foreign policy understands it as a cycle of dialectic influence in which media reacts to policies and policy makers react to coverage in a continuum. In the long run, however, there is the possibility that dramatic changes would occur; yet the empirical evidence so far is that the policy makers' reaction to coverage of humanitarian crises is usually that of emergency relief. The perceived impact of the media is inextricably related to policy certainty, the greater the certainty the lesser the impact of the media. These points out other indirect effects of the media, such as those detailed by Jacobsen (2000) and Nye (1999).

The main conclusion of this essay is that news media and foreign policy making process influence one another, sometimes directly, others indirectly. The degrees of their mutual influence are proportional to other circumstances, such as newsworthiness from the media point of view, and policy uncertainty, from the foreign policy making perspective. However, the research reviewed is made from a Western point of view, and it is focused on cases of humanitarian intervention, hence it is insufficient to draw general conclusions about the impact of the media on foreign policy making as a whole. Furthermore, the conclusions achieved may not be accurate in the context of non-Western and/or non First World countries. As hinted before, new research is needed that would consider cases different to humanitarian intervention, and contexts outside Western countries in order to draw more accurate conclusions about the impact the news media and foreign policy making have (or may not have) in one another.

**Post script**

This essay was written in April 2002. Nowadays, the international agenda has been transformed because of the outburst of war in Iraq. Therefore, some of the situations presented in this essay have been modified. For a start, as suggested in the text, the end of the Cold War left the US without a clear definition of its national interests. After September 11th a new enemy emerged, as a result, so did a new international agenda: the war against terrorism, which led towards a military conflict meant to overthrow Sadam Hussain from the government of Iraq. Joseph Nye's distinction of the US power as preponderant, but not a dominant one (Nye, 1999: 24), is now clearer than ever. The US has established the reach of their military power (though the number of mistakes committed so far is remarkable); yet they were unable to convince the U.N. and the rest of the world in general about the legitimacy of their quest (also see Jacobsen's conditions for intervention (1996)). The discourse about the threat to US national security, following Nye' topology, has fluctuated between "A", "B" and "C" throughout the development of the current conflict against Iraq. The new war in Iraq, however, started from the Executive, and coverage followed it, therefore, there is no CNN effect in that respect. Nevertheless, recent coverage about casualties, both of soldiers and civilians and of prisoners of war, may give room for a CNN effect as an impediment on the fashion of the "Vietnam syndrome" to rise. Just as well, coverage of humanitarian needs of Iraqi people may develop a CNN effect as an accelerant, but presumably on other actors rather than Washington, since one of the justifications given for American intervention was precisely the goal of providing the people of Iraq with a better quality of life. In conclusion, even though there is potential of a CNN effect in the fashion of a "bodybag effect" to happen during the present conflict, it may not be as likely, since this war began as a matter of the "A" list of US national interest, hence, it is presumed that Washington will continue to use the media as a propaganda apparatus, so the framing and indexing of news will conform to the interests and guidance of the Executive, besides, there is great domestic support at the moment, which means the American people will be willing to take an increased number of casualties compared to a humanitarian intervention not so linked to their national interest. Many conclusions and assumptions can be given regarding the theories presented in this paper and the current conflict in Iraq. One thing that is certain, is that this war is a clear demonstration of how both theories of impact of media intervention in foreign policy making, the so-called "CNN effect" and "Manufacturing Consent" collide, and the outcome of this confrontation is yet to be seen.

**MUSLIM PORTRAY ON WESTERN MEDIA**

**Islam and the West - looking back on history**

Increasing anti-Muslim sentiment in the Western media, particularly in the United States, is an inevitable backlash created in the wake of the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

For decades the Soviets provided a convenient scapegoat. When Public Enemy Number One became a new-found friend, the Europeans and Americans, through their media, looked around for a replacement, which they found in fundamentalists, a word all too frequently used as a synonym for Muslims. This has led to a surge of anti-Arab, anti-Muslim, racist attitudes. The average western is friendly but wary when meeting a foreigner. Europeans and Americans in general are particularly ethnocentric and anything different is viewed with suspicion. The virtual geographical isolation of the United States has contributed to American insularity. The bombing of the World Trade Centre was not only a direct strike at the financial heart of the country but also a blow at the American nervous system. When word got out that Egyptians had been arrested in connection with the bombing, Americans reacted with fear - a fear born of ignorance and self-righteousness. Mosques were vandalized, homes and businesses of Muslims targeted. The anti-Muslim violence was contained but the seed for racial hatred has been sowed. This week, a young Muslim policeman in New York reportedly committed suicide because of racial taunts. Disney was finally forced to remove part of racist lyrics in its opening theme song from its new film "Aladdin" after protests from Arab-Americans.

The media has contributed heavily to the negative image of Muslims. Naive interpretations of Muslim laws and customs are reported out of context. Arabs are equated with terrorists and Muslims with fundamentalists. Islam, in general, is perceived as a Middle East phenomenon with Pakistan thrown in for good measure. This is not a recent trend. Biased and negative reporting has tainted media reports on Lebanon and Iran for years. But when a prestigious international news magazine like Newsweek chooses to run a cover story on the rise of "militant Islam" to the exclusion of most other aspects of the faith, it becomes the recurrent image in most people's eyes. Rarely, these days, will you find articles in mainstream magazines or newspapers on Islamic art, architecture, philosophy or poetry.

There is little mention of the fact that there are Muslims all over the world, from all racial groups. While the majority of Muslims may trace their roots to the Middle East, the

Bosnian Muslims are white, the Indonesians and Malaysians are oriental and Senegalese and Sudanese are black. Until the past few years, "Muslim fundamentalists" were "Shiite" and geographically limited to Iran, Lebanon, Pakistan and a few scatterings in some other countries. What the West is now faced with is Sunni Islam that transcends all national boundaries. "The News", a Pakistani International newspaper published in London, very clearly pointed out in its editorial:

"The Western media can continue to react to Islam with hostility, fear and ignorance. Or it can try to understand the faith, its traditions and its history. Instead of portraying Muslims and Islam in derogatory terms, the West should seek to explore the positive. There is so much they would appreciate and learn."

**Muslim portray on western media**

Time, people, culture, society, and the environment we are surrounded by, can produce the formation of many perspectives regarding an issue that we see in today’s society.

One of many controversial topics is Islam and the Muslim. Many questions and generalizations are often formed in the minds of many non-Muslims in regards to the concepts behind the Islam through the influence of the media. Throughout the years of conflict between the "West" and “Islam", the media has strongly altered the minds of non-Muslims by negative exploitation of Islam, and Muslims, in particular on Muslim women and hijab. Misconceptions such as, "Are you bald underneath" "Do you go to sleep with that on?" to the association of "terrorism" that contrasts to what Muslim women believe the Hijab represents.

A common misconception is "the Islamic Hijab is something cultural, not religious". The use of the word "cultural" is faulty when describing the Hijab as it implies that it is a result of customs and practices that are something separate from Islam. The cultural dress is referred to the ancient Pre-Islamic Era (Jahiliyah). It is the veil from the Pre-Islamic Era that is considered as "traditional" which stops women from contributing in society. On the contrary, the Islamic Hijab is not considered as an informal tradition, nor does it lower her self-respect. The Hijab is aimed at presenting women with poise and equality in society. An example of Pre-Islamic era in our modern world is the Taliban in Afghanistan. The Taliban are a party who regard such activities un-Islamic for women, who are prohibited from exercising their primary rights. The Taliban have banned women from employment outside the home, apart from the health sector, and have terminated education for girls. Prophet Mohammad (peace & blessings be upon him) said, "Seeking knowledge is incumbent upon every Muslim". Even Henry VIII forbids women to study the Bible when the first English translations began to appear. It’s an irony although the Taliban claim their guiding philosophy on women are in place to ensure the physical protection and self-respect of women, whereas, many Afghan women have been killed, beaten and publicly hung. For many Afghan women fear of being severely punished by the Taliban is their main security concern.

Another misconception is "Muslim women have no right in Islam". Islam gave women rights over 1400 years ago, which is still ignored by many Muslims and non-Muslims today. Firstly, Islam has given women the basic right to freedom of speech. In the early days of Islam, the leaders of the Islamic state regarding legal issues consulted women. Rights that were appointed to Muslim women since the beginning of time are only just surfacing for non-Muslims. In Islam, a woman is free to be whom she is inside, and protected from being portrayed as a sex symbol and lusted after. Islam praises the status of a woman by commanding that she “enjoys equal rights to those of man in everything, she stands on an equal footing with man" (Qur’an, Nadvi: 11) and both share mutual rights and obligations in all aspects of life.

Many women are treated in ways far from Islamic ideals, yet in the name of Islam. The Taliban is an example of a cultural and political name that has been branded with Islam. There is no freedom for women if they are imprisoned in their home in the name of the Hijab and Islam. Moreover, the veil of Islam is not associated with the veil of oppression. Women that are regaining their identity and role in society are now wearing the Hijab and are embracing its concept of liberation. They are taking their lawful places that Islam had awarded them fourteen hundred years ago. In fact, the western women had no rights nor did they have rights over their husband. Not only were woman the property of their husband but so were their possessions. In 1919 women in England fought for their rights to be elected to parliament. Because of their demands, they were imprisoned by the government and suffered greatly. It was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century when women were given these rights.

A quote from the Qur’an in Surah 2: 26 states: "And for women has rights over men, similar to those of men over women." The background history between Islam and the West will shed some light as to why Muslims are portrayed so negatively in the media. Some strong contributing factors are the medieval western conflict, the crusades, the oil crisis of the 1970’s, the Lebanese civil war, the Iranian revolution, the Gulf war, and the explosive Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the September 11 bombings, the Bali Massacre and the London bombings. All these events have caused Islam to be consistently associated with violence and unresolved conflict. Furthermore, the view of Muslims as being violent typically explains why Muslims are seen to establish a threat to the West. One of the most effective ways the media attempts to somehow prevent Islam being seen in a positive frame is to develop propaganda against Muslims and Islam.

The media is able to use the Hijab as a means of exploiting Muslim women, and degrading them. The media assumes, in some cases, that the actions of one Muslim are representations of the general Muslim population. This is generalization. This sets an example for members of society to abuse and degrade them. An image of a Muslim woman wearing the chador was labeled as "like death out for a walk" in the Australian Magazine, 25-26 Jan. 1995 issue. The media implied to locate the position of women in Islamic society as dominated. The image also portrayed the difference between Muslim and Western Women in today’s society.

In current affair programs, people watching are bombarded with images of Muslims as savage terrorists, killing innocent people with no remorse. What results from this is the viewer of these programs, recognize and accept only the labels, and therefore with Islam immediately associating it with negative images.

I asked a resident from Parameter, who wished to be kept anonymous if "the September 11th bombings altered their mind about Islam and Muslim women?" He said "I never knew Islam and the Qur’an preached terrorism. It has made me aware of Islam and the teachings. It increased my awareness of the complexities of Islam and politics in the Middle East including the veiling of Muslim women". This answer shows how influential the media is towards its viewers.

Throughout the western society, the practice of Muslim women wearing the Hijab has resulted in extreme points of view towards their so-called "oppression" and lack of freedom. Despite the obvious portrayal of Muslim women and myths that surround it such as; "Muslim women are oppressed", there continues to be an abundance of Western women reverting to Islam. What Islam uses to protect women is the Hijab. This is ironic because the Western media often portray the Muslim veil as a suppressive force in a woman's life. Every Muslim woman is required to

Wear a scarf or some sort of head covering and loose-fitting, modest attire. This is not a means of controlling a woman's sexuality or suppressing her but rather, a means for protection. It implies by dressing this way she will not be seen as a mere sex symbol but will be appreciated for her intellect. Furthermore, it will not subject her to harassment. It is interesting to state the head covering for women is not an Islamic innovation but was also practiced by Judeo-Christian women centuries earlier, and yet is laughed at by the West today.

Naima Omar, a student of University of Western Sydney says “It is funny to say the same veil worn by catholic nuns for God is despised and presented as a symbol of subjection and domination when it is worn by Muslim women for the intention to protect themselves and devoting themselves to God".

The term Islam means “submission to the will of Allah” and “peace”. Muslims believe Islam is not a religion but a gift that has been awarded to them. They believe Islam is the way of life and that is harmonious however the media portrays the opposite.

Maria Moskovakis, 18, a Greek Orthodox says "yes of course Muslims are presented negatively in the news. An action by one Muslim is presented with so much bias. If one Muslim commits a crime, it is not the person but the religion presented that goes to trial. What we hear and see is all controlled.

As El-Gharib (1996-97) noted, television, books, newspapers, and magazines are used to present Islam as being a backward and barbaric religion. It has been seen as oppressive and unjust; and more than this, it is seen as being most oppressive to women. These various forms of media misrepresent Islam in different ways; however largely achieve the same negative result – the creation of a growing barrier of misunderstanding and hostility between Islam and its followers, and the West.

Muslims have an obligation to fulfill which is to educate themselves, their children to gain knowledge which is ordained upon them regardless of their race, gender and marital status etc. A Hassan Hadith narrated by Ibn Majah in the Qur’an states: "Seeking knowledge is a duty on every Muslim" and therefore gaining knowledge is regarded as an act of worship. Stopping any Muslim from gaining an education regardless of age and sex is not Islamic.

Dr Homer of Sweden was asked by the United Nations in 1975 to study the status of Women in the Arab countries and said: "It is the Swedish woman who should demand her freedom, as the women in the Arab countries has already reached the peak of her freedom under Islam.” From Status of Women in Islam”.

Many have become used to believing the false information that they are spoon fed every time they turn on the screen, listen to the radio or open a newspaper.

**Questions asked in this study are:**

How has the Western media generally covered Islam and Muslims? What are the concerns about media reporting and why does representation matter? What action do Muslims expect the government to take to remedy any unfairness?

**Background Studies**.

It is truly ironic that when Christian extremists in the West do something weird, they are called a 'lunatic fringe' of the Christian faith. But when an Islamic extremist does likewise, Islam is termed lunatic and not the extremist. In a recent report entitled The Status of Muslim Civil Rights in the United States prepared by the Council on American- Islamic Relations, a Washington based Islamic advocacy group, it was stated that during 1996 there was a threefold rise in anti-Muslim bias in the United States compared to a year earlier. Although this was not an audit of anti-Muslim incidents, and, mercifully, none of them terribly violent, they did highlight the experience of five million Muslims now living in the multicultural U.S. Society. While Muslims are growing in number, diversity and visibility in America, there remains among them a strong undercurrent of anxiety about living in a culture that many may treat Islam as foreign, mysterious or something to fear.

Who is responsible for this popular stereotype of all Muslims as "terrorists", or at least, as "fundamentalist fanatics"? No doubt, world events like the taking of American hostages in Iran in 1979, the Gulf War in 1991 and the World Trade Centre bombing in 1994 contributed to this paradigm, but there are also deeper undercurrents for this Western intolerance of Islam.

Bernard Lewis' Islam and the West, Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations and lesser known Robert Allison – of Harvard's History of American Civilization Program in his dubious book The Crescent Obscured portray a simplistic East-West conflict between Islam and the so-called West throughout history. In these books we are reminded of deep hostilities that go back to the Arab conquests of the Middle East in the seventh and eighth centuries and later the hundreds of years of threat from the Ottoman Empire, though those scholars conveniently forget the European counter attacks like the Crusades and the Western commercial, diplomatic and colonial domination during the last two hundred years. Thus many Western scholars, who should know better, depict Islamic western relations as a story of centuries of confrontation between two great but exclusive civilizations where each finds the other as the final enemy. Hardly any reputable Western scholar ever mentions that the message of Islam conveyed by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) is essentially the same as the messages of a long line of prophets like Abraham, Moses, John the Baptist and Jesus (a.s.). Today, Islam is portrayed by the popular Western media as a triple threat to the West -- political, civilizational and demographic. For example, despite Iran's dismal failure in exporting its revolution abroad, it is still viewed as a global threat. The French writer Raymond Aaron and right-wing politicians like Jean Marie LePen's paranoiac warnings of a revolutionary war by Islamic powers, Charles Krauthammer's categorization of Islam as "an ancient rival to our Judaeo-Christian and secular West" (The New Crescent of Crisis: Global Intifada) is only matched, especially after the Trade Centre bombing, in the audacity by the portrayal of Islam as a demographic threat from recent Muslim immigrants in Europe and the USA.

The question therefore arises: Is there really an Islamic threat to the West? Does this grand apocalyptic vision of some "Orientalist" scholars accurately define the truth of our times? Or does this remind us of the overblown, preposterous threat the peasant guerrillas known as Sandinistas once posed to the USA? Of course, there are anti-West Muslim movements in the world today, but hundreds of millions of Muslim peoples are also friends of the West. How would one otherwise classify a majority of Muslim populations of Pakistan, Morocco, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, Kuwait, Jordan, Bangladesh, and Egypt? What about millions of Muslim masses who dream Western dreams? Why have millions of these people chosen to migrate to England, France, Germany, Italy, Australia, Sweden and the USA if they are enemies of the Christian West? And what will be the outcome of this huge migration of the late twentieth century? What difference will this make in the Islamic-Western relations? Given this scenario, orientalist scholars' interpretation of neither a stereotype millennial confrontation, nor the erroneous common anxiety about the threat of "Islamic Fundamentalism" can resolve the future at hand. The old glib explanations are no longer the key to the much more complex contemporary situation. The fact of the matter is that Islam and its late twentieth century movements have been badly interpreted and misunderstood in the West. To begin with, politicized Islam in the 1990s is not alone. At the end of the 20th century, religion, by and large, has become an energetic force for change world-wide. Buddhists in East Asia, Catholics in Eastern Europe and Latin America, Sikhs and Hindus in India and Jews in Israel have seen their religions provide legitimacy to define their goals and to enable them to mobilize. Need we add to this list the names of Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority and Ralph Reed of the Christian Coalition in the USA?

Despite the growing body of evidence to the contrary, Islam is still widely and wrongly perceived in the West as inherently extremist and monolithic. For the last three decades Islamic societies have been considered by these Westerns scholars to be in need of "modernization". Indeed, in one of many Civil Service Academy papers in Lahore in the 1960s, I vividly recall the assignment: "Can Islam be reconciled to the spirit of the 20th century?" As a result in the West, for the right, Islam represented uncouth barbarism; for the left, it was equivalent to a medieval theocracy and for the Centre a kind of distasteful exoticism.

Such a reductive view of Islam is a deliberate and gross simplification so as to realize several manipulative aims. In the USA today, grade school history text books, comic strips, TV series, films and cartoons show only caricatures of Muslims as oil suppliers, terrorists or as bloodthirsty mobs. For example, saturation coverage was given to Muslims who vociferously supported Ayatollah Khomeini’s fatwa against Salman Rushdie compared to a minimal exposure to the majority of Muslims who opposed it. Any Islamic high school student can tell you that Muslim law does not permit a man to be sentenced to death without trial and has no jurisdiction outside the Muslim world. At the Islamic Conference of March 1989, 44 out of 45 members’ states unanimously rejected Ayatollah’s fatwa. But this received only slight attention in the British media and no mention of it at all in the American. It is truly ironic that when Christian extremists

Outlawing FIS. What did the West, the great champion of democracy, do? In face of blatant repression, it stood silent. The U.S. State Department "regretted" the suspension of the democratic process and did nothing else. Several European governments allowed the junta's representatives to pay official visits to explain their plans. A consortium of European and American banks provided 1.45 billion dollars to help the dictatorship in Algeria to spread out the servicing of its debt.

For the Muslim world this was a clear signal of Western prejudice and antagonism against Islam. Not only did the Algerian situation show that Islam could be democratic, but the West did not want it to be so. A barbaric, medieval image of Islam was suited more to its purpose. Above all, it was a test whether the West could reconcile with Islam and not the other way round because the Algerian Muslims had already tried to reconcile to Western democratic ideals. Obviously, the West failed the test. As someone remarked: "The White House prefers a police state to an Islamic Democracy". Not only in Algeria but in Central Asia, the West has taken a confrontational stand on Islam. For someone like me, who admires the West and has indeed come to live here and raise his children in the USA, it is shocking to see the ignorance about Islam. One sixth grader I know read a passage in her school book about Muslims when they kneel to pray. According to the textbook, they are supposed to rub their faces in the sand while praying.” Daddy" the sixth grader told her father, "we've got to get some sand in the house". In the middle ages it was understandable that a Muslim was regarded as the real enemy. John Victor Tolan's excellent work Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam details the military, intellectual, economic and theological superiority of the Islamic world. No wonder, under those circumstances, the founder of Islam was treated as a manifestation of the Anti-Christ and in popular propaganda like Chanson de Roland; the Saracen Zaragoza is shown worshiping a trinity of Golden idols: Mahomet, Apollin, and Tervegant. But that was the eleventh century when Embricio of Mainz and Gauthier de Compiegne wrote false biographies of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) preaching lechery and incest, staging bogus miracles and putting Christians to death who opposed him. Those demonic myths about Islam and its founder were firmly established in the Western mind at about the same time as the myths of Charlemagne, King Arthur and Robin Hood. But from the 20th century success of Rushdie's Satanic Verses which resonates deeply with those long established Western fantasies of the myth of Mahmoud, and school textbooks are still circulated in the USA, one would think the West never outgrew its medieval, schizophrenic conception of Islam.

Today we must realize that in the West the history of knowledge about Islam has been too closely tied to conquest and war and, it is sad to say, to the Crusades of the middle Ages. As Umerto Eco stated in his Essay Dreaming of the Middle Ages: "In fact both Americans and Europeans are inheritors of the Western legacy, and all the problems of the Western world emerged in the Middle Ages: modern languages, merchant cities, capitalist economy are inventions of medieval society: As Karen Armstrong, one of the few objective Islamic scholars in the West pointed out succinctly, we could add Islam to this list. The time has now come to sever this connection between Western medieval phobias and Islam completely. It must be understood that it is a mistake to imagine that Islam is an inherently violent and fanatical faith. Islam is a universal religion and there is nothing extremist, monolithic and anti-western about it. Doctrinally, Islam is as blameless as other of the great Universal religions. In fact, Islam shares many of the ideals and visions that have inspired both Jews and Christians. Its main faults too, were the same as those of the Western Church, namely, pride, greed, violence and the lust for power.(1) And let me add, that Islam is not only a rational creed but it is also pro-democracy. When Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) proclaimed that he was the last in the line of God's prophets on earth what did he mean by that? Was he signaling that from then on there would be no more 'dictated' messages from God in the form of Divine revelations like the Bible and the Qur'an and that the Age of Reason had been born? In fact in 1730 Henri, Comte de Boulainvilliers, published a rare book in the West entitled Vie de Mahomed portraying the founder of Islam as a forerunner of the Age of Reason. In continuation of this thought, Ah Shariati in the 20th century explained in his Sociology of Islam that the Qur'an looks upon not chance, not historical determinism, not powerful persons, not even Divine will as the motor of history. Actually, the Qur'an seesal -nas or the masses as wholly responsible for shaping history. Chapter XIII Verse 11 of the Qur'an (Eng. Tr. Yusuf Ali) says: Verily never will God change the condition of a people until they change it themselves.

Thus Islam proclaims man as God's vice-regent on earth and its concept of Tawhid as a world view looks upon the whole universe as a unity: there is no separation between this world and the Hereafter, between the natural and the supernatural, between God, nature and man.In its desperately needed re-evaluation and positive understanding of Islam, the West should not ignore the struggle in Islamic societies today between the modernist reformers and the orthodox clergy. Indeed, it was the West which promoted the clergy and financed their activities because they constituted the first line of defense against world communism. Today, with the disappearing cash flow, the same orthodox clergy that opposed communism is rejecting American capitalism.

It is the modernist Muslim thinker who is ready to accommodate Western ideas on their merits. During the last two hundred years, Muslim reformers like Jamaluddin Afghani, Muhammad Iqbal in India, Muhammad Abduh in Egypt, Abdurrahman Wahid in Indonesia, Nawal Sadawi in North Africa, Chandra Muzaffar in Malaysia and Abdullahi A Na'im in New York have boldly tried to "reconstruct Islam" along modernist lines. Indeed millions of Muslims world-wide are quietly living secularized lives. In the USA, for instance, it is estimated that only five to ten per cent of the Muslim community participates in organized religion. Indonesia, with the world's largest Muslim population, has a secular system of government. Yvonne Haddad, author of Islamic Values in the United States, lists how both in the West and in their homelands the majority of Muslims accept the principle that religion is a private affair between man and his Creator.

In fact, examined critically, Modernism and Liberalism are nothing new in Islamic culture. The liberal thrust of a brilliant civilization in Muslim Spain was an early triumph over conservatism, the result of the teachings of Muslim sages like Ibn Sin (Avicenna) and Ibn Rushd (Averroes). Egypt in the 10th century emerged as a pluralist society with Christians, Jews and Muslims enjoying comfortable lives under the Shi'ah rulers, the Fatimids, who not only built Cairo but also the world's oldest University, Al-Azhar. The Safawid renaissance in Iran and Central Asia was interestingly similar to the Italian renaissance. Both expressed themselves in art and paintings and creatively re-visited the pagan roots of their older cultures. Mughul Emperor Akbar's 16th century efforts in India to synthesize Islam and Hinduism into a hybrid humanistic religion called Din-e-Ilahi was a modern liberal message to the entire world some hundreds of years before its time.

While Muslims like Akbar were seeking understanding with people of other faiths, the Christian West demonstrated in 1492 when Ferdinand and Isabella conquered Granada in Spain, that it could not even tolerate proximity with the two other religions of Abraham. Not only were the Muslims expelled from Spain which had been their home for 800 years, but Christian occupation was fatal for the Jews also. In this century, the strongest force for Islamic secularism was the emergence of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in Turkey. He embraced all things Western and turned the Aya Sofia mosque into a museum. Today the West and Islam have reached a watershed in their relationship. The next few years are crucial to the development of Islamic-Western reconciliation. The clash of the past 20 years or so between the USA and Iran should be discarded as a paradigm. The West should press Muslim countries toward political pluralism and then accept the results of free and fair elections. The history of the last fifty years clearly shows that although, theoretically, the West has preached the virtues of democracy to third world countries, sometimes, in practice, tended up promoting totalitarianism instead. Now is the time to encourage and not obstruct democracy in Islamic countries, especially where feudalism and autocratic governments still hold power and religious exploitation is still the name of the game.

Finally, when millions of Muslims have migrated to Europe and America and need to be equal partners in the Western culture, it is imperative that the West outgrows its intolerant and negative attitude towards Islam. At the same time, Muslims world-wide have to rediscover the liberal roots of their Islamic tradition which Japanese Islamologist Sachiko Murata defines as "gentleness, love, compassion and beauty". As mankind approaches the end of the millennium, people all over the world must widen their horizons beyond their geographical, cultural and religious boundaries. Already a few are finding inspiration in more than one religion and these few have adopted the faith of another culture. For centuries, the Jewish people suffered at the hands of Christian Europe and were exiled from city to city and country to country, but finally the anti-Semitic prejudices seem to have been overcome after Hitler's Nazism and the Holocaust. "The fundamental weakness of Western civilization," wrote Wilfred Smith in 1956 "is its inability to recognize that it shares the planet not with inferiors but with equals. Unless the West learns to treat others with fundamental respect, it will have failed to come to terms with the 20th century." From the time of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), Muslims have recognized that Islam and the West share a common tradition, but the West has failed to do so. No doubt, the Muslim peoples need to set their houses in order and resolve their manifold domestic ideological, political and economic problems. The West, too desperately needs to rid itself of its ancient hatreds and prejudices. In the long run, Christians and Muslims are friends not antagonists.

A review of existing theories of analysis was undertaken including basic theories and concepts of representation; representation theories including the (i) reflective approach, (ii( intentional approach (iii) constructionist approach.

According to these media representation is strongly linked to actual reality, structures of power that inform not only cultural considerations but can and do affect concrete power structures and power relations between societal actors with regards to power relations between majorities and minorities. More specific attention was given to the idea of ideological representation as the basis through which those represented are rendered powerless and through which domination of the majority is enforced not only in the media but across society. Such representation includes discourses of: ethnocentrism; domination and; demonization.

**Muslim Perception of the media**

Corroborated by a variety of studies, there is a dominant perception amongst Muslims that the media does indeed portray them and their religion in an inaccurate and derogatory manner. Effectively then, what the public understand about Muslims in general and British Muslims in particular is understood to deeply related to ‘British Muslim representation’ not only in the media but also in the whole social systems of the West. Representation is not only about perception, the position of the reader and audience is very critical. That is why non-west Muslims and west Muslims do not have a similar understanding of Muslim representation in the media (Hill, 1981, Fregoso, 1993 and Hall, 1997).

**Research Findings**

TV News, Film and Literature these analyses from the outset sought to recognize the many examples of good practice in the media, in particular TV and print media attempts at key times to educate audiences about Islam and Muslims. However the overall analysis highlighted institutionalized prejudice that was so embedded that anti-Muslim prejudice did not need to be maliciously motivated or intentional as it was structural.

**TV News Analysis**

A two-week content analysis of four mainstream news programmes of BBC News, News night, ITV News and Channel 4 News were undertaken prior and subsequent to the events of 7 July 2005. The language of news media was particularly focused on throughout the analyses. The frequency of selected words was tabulated and presents comparisons between the various news programmes. Examples include:

**Asylum and Immigration**

As one of the dominant themes during the 7/7 and post 7/7 coverage, debates around asylum and immigration were constantly referred, yet most suspected bombers were of

British Origin leading to the reinforcement of the view of ‘others’ and Muslims as one.

**Loyalty and belonging**

Media depicted the 7/7 suspects as well integrated (normal upbringing, education, job etc.) upon their (re)discovery of Islam, they were led away from normality into something extreme and sinister. Therefore implying that Muslims in general have a potential to develop such extreme views and behaviour regardless of their being integrated in society or their political stance. The findings showed that despite often ‘good intentions’ in addressing anti-Muslim issues, the TV News analyzed showed a limited framework within which Muslims and Islam were discussed.

**Media surveys**

**• Muslim Representation in Cinema**

For this analysis, a range of film genres were examined, including action thrillers (The Siege: 1998, Executive Decision: 1996), drama (House of Sand and Fog: 2003, East is East: 1999) and children’s cartoons (Aladdin: 1992), for their representation of Islam, Muslims and Arabs. It was evident from all genres that they contained negative stereotypes about Islam and Muslims/ Arabs. The thrust of these differed as did the actual manifestation, nevertheless, they all exhibited examples of Islam phobic discourses, including dual discourses of racism and Islam phobia, where the ethnicity of the character was understood to be irreducibly Muslim.

**• Representation in English Literature**

Both fiction and non-fiction biography were looked at in this section with titles including Jane Eyre, Bridget Jones’ Diary, Princess and Reading Lolita in Tehran examined. Recurring stereotypes, as well as the reduction of Muslim experiences of trauma and genocide to comic asides were examined within an Orientalist tradition in English literature. Such discursive strategies are not simply autonomous or independent acts of cultural production. They occur within particular political and social contexts and, in turn, they reinforce and sometimes help shape those contexts. The material examined fits in well with patterns existing within the more global and explicitly political Orientalist discourse.

**• Representation of Muslims in the British media**

Some respondents feel that British media to has an Orientalist mindset by producing negative images about Muslims today.

**• Portrayal of British Muslims and non-British Muslims**

According to the respondents’ accounts the media employ the same demeaning views in reporting issues that describe Muslims in Britain and Muslim in other countries. However, a few

Of the respondents think that media is more ruthless in portraying the Muslims who live in Muslim countries since they are not able to raise their voice.

**• Islam phobia in Hollywood and British movies**

The accounts of the respondents indicate that the negative portrayal of Muslims is heavily presented in the films that are produced in both the UK and US. Films portray Muslims mostly as terrorists who randomly kill people (usually innocents) or blow things up (including themselves), hijackers, misogynistic or stupid .Some respondents believe that the film industry is used as a tool in the foreign policy by the Western countries in terms of demonizing and gaining public support against a fashioned enemy. An illustration of this: USSR was at the brunt of deionization during the Cold War era. .

**• Different representations in the different forms of Media**

Auditory media is seen as less harmful by some respondents than visual media since using images in the wrong context could be far more manipulative. Some have even suggested television is better since the audience is able to examine the given evidence with its own eyes others felt that the Internet is the most reliable source of information because of its wider range of choices. Yet, by some, it is accused as being the chief perpetrator of Islam phobia in the media. Regardless of the varying forms of media, a general consensus amongst the respondents is that the media present the same negative image of Muslims. The unreliability of mainstream media has led to some respondents using alternative media sources, both Muslim and non-Muslim

* **Complaints and responses**

Media alike another interesting finding of the interviews is that most of those who are distressed with the negative portrayal of Muslims in the media showed no interest in complaining about them. When they are asked why their answers highlight their alienation from society. However, hopefully, some respondents were encouraged by the IHRC interviews and said that they would take part in campaigning in the future. The accounts of those who did complain about the negative portrayals support the pessimism of those who have never made any complaint. Almost all of them failed to get a response.

**• Ideological Representation: Encoded messages about Muslims**

According to respondents, Islam is the fastest growing religion in the world and this fact is worrying the capitalist West since this would diminish Western hegemony. Yet, some held the idea that the reason was fear fuelled by ignorance. Since the Western public is ignorant of Islam, it is afraid of it. • Phobic representation of Muslims: Intercultural Consequences many respondents felt the media portrayal of Muslims is psychologically scarring on Muslims, who face constant Islam phobic elements in their daily life i.e. verbal and physical assault, humiliation, discrimination. Some respondents even went as far as feeling that Muslim youth suffered most from Islam phobic propaganda in the media.

**• Impacts on the Non-Muslims**

Respondents believe anti-Islamic sentiments flourish as a result of negative representation in the media and causes profound polarization and conflict in British society.

**• Responsibility of Media towards Islam phobia**

All respondents unanimously pointed to media as being the chief instrument of Islam phobia and expressed their discontent regarding the role of the media in inter-faith and inter-community relations. They initially acknowledged the leading role of the media in inter-faith and inter-community relations; however, they came to the conclusion that media somehow abuses this role and widens already existing divisions. In

 Coverage of issues concerning Muslims some words i.e. terrorism, bombing, hijacking, extremism, are deliberately inserted which manipulate the public to believe that all Muslims are related to or are supporters of these activities

**• Do the media give enough opportunity to Muslims?**

Many respondents believe that the media did not give enough opportunity to Muslims to represent themselves and also felt that the Muslim figures that appear in the media are the ones who held extremist views or are marginalized Muslims who do not represent the Muslim community at all.

**• Muslim expectations from the media and the government**

The report concludes with proposals for the government, policy makers and media alike to consider as a direct result of deionization of Islam and Muslims in the media.

**• Expectations of the media**

\*Just and reliable representation of Muslims and Islam – the media must be fair and objective towards Muslims. There is a need for reliable reporters who are well versed with the Islamic belief system and cultures or Muslim reporters who can understand their subjects:

\*A balanced approach - the media should be balanced in its approach and try to understand what is going on in the minds of the Muslim population and convey it as it is.

\*Coverage regarding other aspects of Islam - instead of bringing up political issues, other aspects of Islam should be covered by the media i.e. art, culture, science and civilization

\*Giving more opportunities to Muslims in the media - Muslim should be given more opportunities in the media so they could represent themselves better.

**• Expectations of the Government**

Legal Protection – The government should take steps to protect Muslims from biased coverage and prosecuting those inciting hatred against Islam by the form of legislation.

**Recommendations**

* Tackling Institutional Islam phobia

Monitoring representation of Muslims both government and media institutions need to make studies and assess how Muslims and minorities are alienated through media representation.

* Tackling overt vilification and demonization of Muslims Ensuring more effective forms of recourse and redress
* Cultural Change in the Attitude of British Politicians

Due to disparity of access to the media political comments cannot be countered and debated in a way that includes minority groups. As such the media becomes a destructive force and a blunt instrument to force minorities into certain positions. Dealing with problematic content.

* Creating effective watchdogs

This requires government to enact relevant legislation to create watchdogs “with teeth”.

* Creating Structures of Accountability for the Political Use of Media.

Including provisions for accountability in the ministerial and parliamentary codes of conduct could be an effective way of dealing with the acts of politicians who misrepresent minorities in the media.

* Requiring balance

Creating a regulatory system that understands and requires balance reporting.

* Taking action against worst offenders

The relevance of non-discriminatory anti-discrimination as used by media producers in assessing the effect on some ethnic and religious communities is one that needs to be broadened to cover other ethnic and religious minorities.

* Accountability
* Understanding Muslim standpoint(s)
* Contextualizing reporting of Islam
* Wide and effective consultation with the Muslim communities
* **INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION IN THE INTERNET AGE**
* Communication technologies were crucial in the establishment of European domination .of the world during the era of colonial empires. The new technologies of the nineteenth century 'shattered traditional trade, technology, and political relationships, and in their place they laid the foundations for a new global civilization based on Western technology' (Headrick, 1981: 177). If trains and ships facilitated the movement of manufactured products from one part of the world to another, fiber optics, satellites and the Internet can trade information, instantly, and across the globe. From telegraph to telephone, from radio to television, from computer and direct dial telephony and DBS to the Internet, international communication has been greatly affected by technological innovation. The convergence of telecommunication and computing and the ability to move all type of data - pictures, words, sounds - via the Internet have revolutionized international information exchange. At the same time, information processing has become far cheaper and faster, resulting in what the Business Week has called the dawn of 'the Internet age' {Business Week, 1999d).
* The digitalization of all forms of data - text, audio and video, words sounds and pictures - has increased exponentially the speed and volume of data transmission compared with analogue systems. At first the introduction of digital communication was closely linked to the laying down of new fiber optic cable for telephones and television but even this constraint has been removed with the move to wireless transmission via satellite. Digitalization has had a major impact on international telephony: by 1997, for example, 89 per cent of telephone lines among the world's most industrialized countries were digital. In the use of fiber optic cable, the USA leads the way with 19.2 million cable miles deployed by 1997 (OECD, 1999). The impact on capacity can perhaps be most easily seen in television with the numbers of channels increasing from units to hundreds. Combined with the exponential growth in computing capacity and concomitant reduction in costs, the convergence of computing and communication technologies opens up potential for global interconnectedness such as that offered by the Internet. As Craig Barrett, Intel's Chief Executive points out, 'We are moving rapidly towards one billion connected computers. This does not just represent an online community: it represents the formation of a "virtual" continent' (quoted in Taylor, 1999a).
* **The dawn of the Internet age**
* The origins of the Internet lie in the US Department of Defense's Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (APRANET), created in 1969 as a communication network linking top defence and civilian branches of the US administration in case of a Soviet nuclear attack. In 1983, APRANET was divided into military and civilian sections, with the latter giving rise to the Internet. For the next decade this operated as a network among US universities and research foundations (Hafner and Lyons, 1996). The explosion in the use of the Internet took off with the establishment of the World Wide Web (WWW) in 1989, which began as a network of servers using a set of common interface protocols developed by a British computer specialist Tim Berners-Lee of CERN in Geneva. Any individual using these protocols could set up their own 'home page" on the web. This involved giving each page or website a unique address or URL (universal resource locator) and using the hypertext transfer protocol (http) which enabled the standardized transfer of text audio and video files, while the hypertext mark-up language (html) inserted links from one document to another anywhere on the web (Berners-Lee and Fischetti, 1999).
* Figure 7.1 Growth of the Internet, 1989-1997Source: Internet Software Consortium (http://www.isc.org/)
* In the history of communication, it took nearly 40 years for radio to reach an audience of 50 million and 15 years for television to reach the same number of viewers - but it took the WWW just over three years to reach its first 50 million users (Naughton, 1999). By 2000, it had become a global medium, with 320 million users. According to a 1999 survey of the World Wide Web by US-based Inktomi, there were one billion unique Web pages. The instantaneous and relatively inexpensive exchange of text, sound and pictures has made a huge impact on international communication. The Internet, 'the fastest-growing tool of communication', with the number of users expected to grow from 150 million in 1999 to more than 700 million by 2001, is making this possible. As Figure 7.1 shows, the growth of the Internet has been remarkable.
* At the end of the 1990s, IP (Internet Protocol) traffic was rising by 1000 percent a year, compared to a growth of less than 10 per cent on the Public Switched Telephone Network (PSTN), and if new technologies can meet the demand for bandwidth, IP traffic will surpass PSTN traffic. The proposed Internet 2, backed by major communications companies such as IBM, will give more speed to global communication and thus a boost to e-commerce -trade that takes place over the Internet. A much higher data transmission
* Capacity will enable Internet 2 users to communicate at speeds as much 1000 times faster than regular Internet users (Taylor, 1999a).Telephone networks took more than 130 years to reach one billion subscribers, at the current rate of growth, the mobile industry will take just over two decades to reach that many subscribers. By the late 1990s, it had emerged as an industry in its own right, with revenues of around $155 billion and more than 300 million subscribers around the world, up from just 11 million in 1990. In 1998, mobile cellular accounted for one -third of all telephone connections - there were almost twice as many new mobile subscribers as fixed ones and, by 2005, according to ITU forecasts,\* the number of mobile cellular subscribers will surpass conventional fixed lines (ITU, 1999e). As Tables 7.1 and 7.2 demonstrate, major global operators of mobile telephony and its equipment manufacturers, are concentrated among the" world's richest countries.
*
* Table 7.1 the world's top ten mobile equipment manufacturers in 1998

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Company | Mobile revenue | ($ billion) | Foreign sales (%) |
|  | Motorola (USA) | 17.9 | 59 |
|  | Nokia (Finland) |  | 14.7 | 94 |
|  | Ericsson (Sweden) | 14.5 | 95 |
|  | Lucent (USA) | ' 1 | 4.3 | 26 |
|  | Nortel (Canada) | 3.7 | 36 |
|  | NEC (Japan) |  | 3.7 | 5 |
|  | Qualcomm (USA) | 3.3 | 34 |
|  | Matsushita (Japan) | 3.1 | 51 |
|  | Siemens (Germany) | 3.0 | 69 |
|  | Alcatel (France) | 2.1 | 83 |
|  | Source: Based on data from ITU |  |  |
|  | Table 7.2 The world's top ten mobile | 2 cellular operators | in 1998 |
|  | Company | Subscribers (millions) |  | Revenue($ bn) |
|  | NTT DoCoMo (Japan) | 23.9 | 26.2 |
|  | TIM (Italy) |  | 14.3 | 7.2 |
|  | AirTouch (USA) | 14.1 | 5.2 |
|  | Vodafone (UK) |  | 10.4 | 5.4 |
|  | BAM (USA) |  | 8.6 | 3.8 |
|  | BellSouth (USA) | 8.2 | 4.7 |
|  | AT&T (USA) |  | 7.2 | 5.4 |
|  | SBC (USA) |  | 6.8 | 4.2 |
|  | China Telecom (China) | 6.5 | 3.2 |
|  | Omnitel (Italy) |  | 6.2 | 2.8 |

* Third-generation mobile systems will enable Internet access at high speeds, and\*"with the huge demand for mobile access to data services, this is creating a new industry (ITU, 1999f). In 1999, Motorola, the world's biggest manufacturer of mobile telephone equipment, announced an alliance with leading network equipment company Cisco Systems to invest more than $1 billion over the next four years to build a wireless Internet. The two compa¬nies will develop hardware anil "software to simplify connection of wire devices to the Internet. Microsoft has an alliance with British Telecom to create a wireless Internet service, based on devices using Microsoft's Windows CE operating system. Ericsson, the world's third largest mobile phone maker, has also joined forces with Microsoft to develop an Internet web browser and e-mail access from mobile phones and hand-held computers. Ericsson, along with Motorola, Nokia and Matsushita, is involved in the Symbian venture, which is working on the next generation of smart mobile phones and palm-top computers with Internet access. To make this a success, the wireless and computer companies have collaborated with major corporations like Microsoft in the Wireless Application Protocol (WAP) Forum in order to develop a common protocol that allows users to gain easy access to the WWW (Wooldridge, 1999).
* Many international telecom companies have joined forces to exploit the potential of a global communications system based on mobile satellites. Global Mobile Personal Communications by Satellite (GMPCS) systems will allow users to make and receive calls via mobile handsets from virtually anywhere in the world. Satellites in Low-earth Orbits (LEOS), 500-1200 miles above Earth, can be reached by a new generation of mobile phones with a much smaller aerial. As they do not remain stationary relative to the earth, like geostationary orbits, LEO satellites will not experience delay in routing calls from one LEO satellite to another. In 1999, the US -based cable company NTL merged with Cable and Wireless of Britain and towards the end of the year the German mobile giant Mannesmann merged with the British company Orange in the race to become a long-distance operator. The most significant corporate development in this area was the takeover in February 2000 of Mannesmann by Britain's Vodafone, creating a 'global telecommunication behemoth' with a market capitalization of $340 billion (Wallace, 2000: 72). In 1 999, BT and AT&T entered into an alliance to integrate their services and networks so that mobile phone users could send and receive voice and other data using the same handset on both sides of the Atlantic (Baker et al, 1999).
* Transnational telecom corporations are most interested in the so-called B2B (business to business) transactions, as businesses are by far the biggest data users and mobile wireless communication offers a cheap and speedy way for remote offices to connect to their corporate centers. In early 2000, Hughes announced that its focus would be on wireless broadband opportunities and the emphasis on business-to- business communication, to cater to what, in industry jargon, is called 'enterprise' customers. Space way, backed by Hughes, is a two -way, interactive broadband service providing high speed data communications, beginning in 2002 (Matlack et al., 1999). By the late 1990s, US telecom giant MCI WorldCom was spending one billion dollars per year to link businesses to high-speed networks that circle the globe (Baker, et ai, 1999). Motorola, along with other telecommunication giants, such as Boeing and Microsoft, have started Teledesic, which plans a network of 200 satellites, at the cost of $10 billion each, to become operational by 2004.
* In the new wireless world, the electronic organizer, personal computer and mobile phone will all be combined into one portable gadget connected to the Internet via satellite, enabling users to buy or sell shares, book tickets, shop online, listen to music, watch a video, receive the latest news or play online games. By early 2000, Japan's top mobile communications operator NTT DoCoMo was offering i-mode cellular phones with many such services. With interactive digital television, consumers can dial up the programme of their choice or a film they have missed in the cinema and pay for what they watch. Or if they are watching a live sporting event they will be able to pause and get instant replay at any time. Electronic programme guides will select and inform viewers about programmes in which they might be interested. Tapeless VCRs, where images are 'streamed' onto the computer, can also be set to record the user's favourite programmes or programme on particular subjects, even without the user's knowledge. Although this will offer viewers greater choice and freedom to use television in a more active way, such technology will also make consumers lnerable to exploitation by direct marketing and advertising as well as having implications for security and privacy.
* Another, quicker and cheaper technology for delivering multimedia information is the Data Broadcasting Network (DBN), which allows data services to use the existing infrastructure of DTH satellite broadcasters to distribute electronic content directly to personal computers. It uses a DBS broadcasters' extra satellite transponder space to broadcast content into the home via the consumer's satellite dish. With the satellite's footprint, many subscribers can be reached from just one transmission, making Data Broadcasting cheaper-than upgrading the public telephone networks to be able to provide the high bandwidth required for multimedia services. This also opens up possibilities for DTH operators of new revenue streams. At the heart of the technological push to provide seamless communications is the potential use of the Internet as a global marketplace.
* **From A 'Free Flow of Information' To 'Free Flow Of Commerce**
* Technological developments, combined with the liberalization in trade and telecommunications, have acted as catalysts for e-commerce. This has been made possible largely because of the opening up of global markets in telecommunications services and information technology products that are 'the building blocks for electronic commerce' as a result of the WTO agreements discussed in Chapter 3. Trade on the Internet has taken hold very quickly - in 1998, companies did $43 billion in business with each other over the Internet (Business Week, 1999d). So important had e-commerce become by 1999, that the American business magazine Fortune had started The Fortune e-50 index, to be published every quarterly, unlike its annual fortune 500 listing of the world's biggest corporations.
* The growth of electronic commerce has outpaced even the most optimistic predictions and is now expected to exceed $1.4 trillion by the year 2003, according, to a 1999^report from the US Government (US Government, 1999). Though electronic-payments made up only about 1 per cent of all consumer settlements in 1999, the predictions were that they would grow to 5 per cent by 2005. The top 300 companies doing business on the Internet in 1999 had an average market capitalization of $18 billion (McLean, 1999) (see Table 7.3).
* Table 7.3 Trading-on the Net (selected industries)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Industry | E-business in 1999 (S billion) |
| Computing and electronics | 52.8 |
| Retailing | 18.2 |
| Financial services'1' | 14 |
| Travel | 12.8 |
| Energy |  11 |
| Telecommunications\* | 1.5 |

* Note: “Business-to-business only
* Source: Based on data from Business Week, (1999d)
* The Internet has dramatically lowered transaction costs and facilitated online transnational retail and direct marketing. The 'e-corporations' operating in a 'net-centric world' break every business free of its geographic moorings (Hamel and Sampler, 1998). According to Business Week, in 1998 corporations did $43 billion worth of business with each other over the Internet, predicted to rise to $1.3 trillion by 2003, or nearly 10 per cent of total business -to-business sales. The Internet is still in its 'Stone Age' and the scope for colonizing cyberspace is virtually limitless, as
* AOL chairman Steve Case admitted after his company bought Time Warner: 'We're still scratching the surface' of the Internet's potential (Waters, 2000). As Table 7.4 shows, major web-based corporations have reached respectable revenue levels within a surprisingly short period of time, as the date of their Initial Public Offering (IPO) demonstrates.
* Table 7.4 the world's top E-companies

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Company name |  | 1998-99 revenue (S million) | IPO date |
| **America Online (on-line** | **4777** | **1992** |
| **services)** |  |  |  |
| **Charles Schwab** | **(Stock** | **4113** | **1987** |
| **trading)** |  |  |  |
| **Amazon.com (e-retailing)** | **1015** | **1997** |
| **E\*TRADE Group (financial** | **621** | **1996** |
| **services)** |  |  |  |
| **Knight/Trimark** | **Group** | **618** | **1998** |
| **(stock trading)** |  |  |  |
| **Yahoo! 1996** |  | **341** | **1996** |
| **(Most important portal)** |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |

* Source: Based on data from Fortune, 6 December 1999
* Though most of c-trading is between businesses, it is also having a profound effect on the retail market - on-line business is undermining off-line transactions. Increasingly, global trade in computer software, entertainment products, information services and financial services is taking place using the Internet. In 1999, 39 million Americans shopped on-line and computer software, airline tickets and books were among the main products bought. The so- called 'webonomics' favours the world's rich countries. Nearly 75 per cent of all e-commerce in 1999 took place within the USA, which also accounted for 90 per cent of commercial websites (Peet, 2000). As monetary transactions via the Internet become more secure and new services are offered, e-commerce is set to go global. Already, cyber loyalty schemes are in operation, such as Beenz, ipoints and flloz, which pay customers who visit Internet sites in credits which can be spent on-line.
* One of the biggest potential growth areas for e-commerce is in Asia, which had just over 14 million people on-line in 1998, but by 2000 their estimated numbers had reached nearly 40 million, with Singapore, China, Japan and South Korea having the highest net penetration in the continent. On-line advertising was predicted to grow in Asia at an unprecedented rate - from $10 million in 1998 to $1.5 billion in 2001 (Fannin, 1999b). China, in particular, is emerging as a major market for e-commerce. The Chinese economy has been steadily growing for last two decades, and by 'joining the 'WTO and integration with the global economy, it is set to become an important global player. China is the world's fifth largest PC market and Internet use in the country has jumped from 1 600 in 1994 to an estimated six million in 2000.
* In recognition of this, US corporations have struck deals with Chinese companies - Yahoo!, the most popular portal in China, launched a Chinese site in 1998, while News Corporation has been involved in developing two websites, ChinaByte and CSeek. In 1999, the most popular Chinese- language portal Sina was backed by Goldman Sachs, Sohu by Intel and Dow Jones, while China.com was supported by AOL (Einhorn and Roberts, 1999: 28). Youjing Zheng, Director of the Centre for Information Infrastructure and Economic Development in Chinese Academy of Social Sciences argued: 'Informatisation is the foundation for China's economic modernization; information resources is one of the most basic and important inputs for modern economic development; information industry should become the fundamental sector of China's economy' (quoted in Tan, 1999: 264). In 1998, China merged all the information and telecommunication
* Related regulatory institutions into one single regulator - the Ministry of Information Industry (Tan, 1999).
* **Media on-line**
* According to the industry outlook for 2000 published in Business Week, the Internet was the fastest-growing part of the media sector. With the reducing cost of computers and telephone networks, more and more people are connecting to the Internet, making it a major source of revenue. A 1999 survey by Publishers Weekly of the on-line bookselling market, covering four major e-retailers, reported that on-line "book sales rose 322 per cent in 1998 to $687 million. The largest on-line bookseller, Amazon.com, had total sales of $610 million, while the fastest-growing site was Barnesandnoble.com, where sales jumped 419 per cent to $61.8 million (Milliot, 1999).
* With the convergence between the Internet and television, media corporations are developing strategies that include the new electronic media. For example, News Corporation's TV Guide, (the bestselling US television listing magazine), in its deal with United Video Satellite Group (provider of electronic and interactive programme guides), has created a leading television news and listings service, operating across multiple platforms. In the future the TV Guide Channel will become a portal, similar to that of existing Internet search engines. News Corporation's US new media unit, News America Digital Publishing, is providing high speed Internet access and also delivering FOX news and sports content. Its E-Direct develops databases of customer information, opening up the e-commerce opportunities in book, video and 'merchandise sales already flowing from this knowledge are enor¬mous1 (News Corporation, 1999).
* The creation of an Internet-based media giant valued at around $350 billion, a result of the merger of America Online and Time Warner, is indicative of the commercial potential of this new medium. Signed just weeks into the new millennium, the deal marks the coming of age of the Internet as the next stage of communication, bringing together television, film, radio, publishing and computing into one accessible medium. In this marriage of the old and the new media, AOL will provide its Internet subscriber service via Time Warner's huge cable network, while the media giant will use AOL's customer base to gain new consumers for its various media products.
* Time Warner's extensive fiber -optic cable networks in the USA mean that AOL can offer a service 100 times faster than traditional phone lines, cutting the time needed to download movies, music and 3-D graphics. Coupled with Time Warner's enormous stock of information and entertainment products, the new group is poised to dominate global communication. AOL-Time Warner can draw from the huge library of more than 5 700 Warner Bros, feature films, or thousands of record labels produced by Warner-EMI, the world's second biggest music company. For children it offers Cartoon Network and for sports fans, the leading magazine Sports Illustrated. In the area, of news and current affairs, the group has such global brands as CNN, Time as well as Fortune.
* Founded only in 1985, America Online has become the world's biggest Internet Company, whose stock value has increased from just $5 billion in 1996 to $164 billion at the beginning of the
* Twenty- first centuries. Already America's largest Internet service provider (ISP), AOL also-owns another well-known ISP, CompuServe, as well as Netscape, the most widely used browser among 'net-izens' worldwide. Its informal style helped to make AOL famous, promoting on-line 'chat rooms' for people looking for romance. It gave the world the message 'you’ve got mail!’ later the title of a successful Hollywood film about a love story blossoming in virtual space. Not surprisingly, the Warner Bros, film was extensively promoted by AOL to its 20 million subscribers.
* With the number of Internet users expected to rise rapidly, all the major media and communication companies are scrambling to get on-line. By sharing their resources, AOL and Time Warner can dominate the cyber -world and encroach on the market share of rivals in media, entertainment and the Internet access business.
* The world's top media corporations see the potential of using the new medium to exploit synergies between their print, broadcast and on-line operations in a multimedia environment, in which cross-promotion is the norm. According to Bob Eggington, editor of BBC Online, in global terms, the three major news websites were CNN, BBC and Yahoo!, the last, though not a primary news provider, but a 'news aggregator', which acquires news content from world's top news agencies, newspapers and other organizations (Eggington, 2000). The BBC on-line service is trying to exploit the BBC brand to develop e-commerce revenue around the world (Barric, 1999). The BBC World Service has steadily extended its on-line presence with plans to operate interactive websites in twelve languages. Its first interactive programme, Talking Point, which enables Internet and radio audiences to join live debates, is becoming popular globally.
* Within a year of the development of the WWW, most major newspapers in the USA had started a web edition and all the major broadcasters had a presence too on the Internet. In the initial years these were seen more as a supplement to the main newspaper or magazines rather than entities in their own right, though apart from the Wall Street Journal no newspaper on the web has as yet made a profit (Katz, 1999). By 2000, this had become a normal phenomenon and a web presence was an integral part of media organizations, not only in the media-rich North but increasingly across the world. As in other sectors of the media, major corporations such as CNN also dominate on-line journalism. CNN Interactive, for example, had eleven web sites in 2000: CNN.com, CNNSI.com, a CNN and Sports Illustrated sports news site, CNNfn.com, a unit of CNN Financial News, AllPolitics.com, a US political news site operated in conjunction with Time and Congressional Quarterly, Custom News, CNN's news personalization product with Oracle and CNN's web sites in Swedish, Spanish, Portuguese, Norwegian, Danish and Italian.
* With mobile telephones linked to the Internet, news has become instant and personalized. Now the news will come to subscribers rather than the other way round. With the arrival irr-K9~99 of WAP, phones can offer direct access to the Internet, making the newsroom redundant. CNN, which gave the world the concept of Headline News, launched in 1981 in the USA to update viewers on news issues every 30 minutes, has taken the lead again by providing a personalized service through its alliance with Nokia to offer news that has been specifically designed for phones. In 1999, CNN was running my CNN, a personalized news service. Other Internet content providers too are tailoring their products for phone users and 'distilling long-winded news stories into the bald facts' (Wooldridge, 1999: 14). Already question are being raised about the relevance of traditional journalism 'in an online world where brevity and speed seem far more important than elegance or intelligence' (Katz, 1999: 2). By 2000, Ananova, the world's first virtual newscaster which CNN called 'a personality designed to rival flesh and blood anchors', had already become a feature of on-line media. In the digital media age the future of newspaper itself was in doubt, with the US company Xerox announcing in 1 999 that it will be producing electronic paper - which unlike ordinary paper can be scrubbed and reused.
* In the new media environment the boundaries between advertising and programming are constantly blurring. The growth of cable and satellite television has already made the task of selling products less cumbersome and the development of interactive television and on-line retailing means that advertisers will no longer have to conduct expensive and time-consuming market research but will have access to relevant information about individuals' leisure and consumption habits. In the age of narrowcasting, the consumers are self-selected on such specialist channels as MTV, ESPN, Disney or CNN and their purchasing patterns and predilections will in the future be relatively easy to monitor for advertisers.
* The international media survive on advertising. Programme production on television would be prohibitive if it were dependent on subscribers only, while newspapers and magazines would have to double their cover price if they were not supported by advertising. However, advertising on the Internet can be more complex. Surfers may just ignore the advertisers' logos on the margins of the screen, unlike TV, where advertisement breaks in the middle of movies or TV programmes are the norm. Not surprisingly, Internet revenue from advertising was just 0.2 per cent of all media advertising in 1999 (see Table 7.5).
* Despite accounting for a very small proportion of global advertising, the growing commercialization of the Internet and its increasing use among consumers is likely to make it a sought-after advertising medium. Already, 'dot.com advertising' has become a regular feature on television and print -in 1999 the on-line magazine Salon launched a $4 million TV campaign (Eisenberg, 1999). Given the nature of the Internet, on-line advertising can be used by corporations to record not only every transaction but also which advertisement the consumer clicks on and how long they stay on it (Peet, 2000). Apart from making one-to-one marketing possible, this type of information has security and privacy implications since it can also be misused by corporations or governments. By being able to monitor and record pattern of Internet use, the governments can control citizens' political activities while businesses can have access to private information - about bank accounts, insurance details and spending habits of consumers, which can be traded for marketing purposes.
* **The Internet as a political tool**
* Once hailed as a democratizing and even subversive communication tool, the commercialization of the Internet is perceived by some as betraying the initial promise of its potential to create a 'global public sphere' and an alternative medium. In its early days, the Internet was seen as a mass medium whose fundamental principles were based on access to free information and a decentralized information network. For many the Internet had opened up possibilities of digital dialogues, across the world (Negroponte, 1995), and given freedom of speech its biggest boost since the US Constitution got its first amendment (Naugnton, 1999). As the Time magazine wrote in 1994: Most journalism to down, flowing from a handful of writers to the masses of readers. But on the Net, news is gathered from the bottom up - the many speaking to many - ai it bears the seeds of revolutionary change' (Elmer-Dewitt, 1994: 56).
* • However, the Internet has also provided a platform for extremist organizations. In the USA, for example, supremacist groups have created bullet boards such as Aryan Nation Liberty Net, which has created international links with other such groups in Europe and other parts of the world, electronically transmitting hate literature. The British National Party's sil offer essays on far-right issues, Nazi merchandising and hate propaganda (Ryan, N., 1999
* Others, such as radical Palestinian groups, operate anti-Zionist websites, while the Tamil Tigers continue their battle with the Sri Lankan government on to cyberspace through such sites as Eelam.com, Tamilnet.com and Tamileelam.net. The world's 'first informational guerrilla movement' was the Zapatista National Liberation Army which fought for self-rule in Mexico's Chiapas state. Subcommandante Marcos, the leader of the uprising in 1994, became something of an international hero. This status was largely gained through the movement's use of the Internet to promote their cause (Castells, 1997). "
* Internationally, the most significant political role that the Internet has played is in promoting links between community groups, non-governmental organizations and political activists from different parts of the world. One major success of such activism was the use of the Internet to mobilize international support against Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI). The MAI, which was being discussed within the OECD, if approved, would give extraordinary powers to TNCs, especially with regard to freedom to move capital from one country to another. Through a concerted international effort which included flooding the relevant ministries of the OECD governments, major TNCs and other intergovernmental organizations with e-mails, the activists were able to stop the agreement to go ahead (Kobrin, 1998). The Internet also played a major role in organizing and publicizing the very public opposition to growing corporate control of global trade, leading to the scuppering of the WTO's ministerial meeting in Seattle in November 1999. This type of activism has been termed by the US military as 'social netwars' being used by NGOs, though they also fear the involvement of computer-hacking 'cyboteurs' (Vidal, 2000).
* The Internet has influenced the mass media in a substantial way: not only has it provided a new platform for media organizations to reach consumers but it has also changed the time frame of news production and distribution. In an era of real-time news, journalists are under increasing pressure to provide up-to -minute information, while ordinary citizens now can access the world's top news organizations - news agencies, 24-hour news channels, once available only to journalists - without being mediated by editorial control of news organizations. During the 1999 NATO bombing of Yugoslavia the Internet was widely used by both sides. The independent Serbian radio station B-92 used its website to provide information about the war, free of Yugoslav government control and the Voice of America website became very active during the first days of bombing - between March 21 and 28, over one million hits were registered, nearly four times the normal.
* The Internet has also greatly influenced the speed with which news is disseminated, making it more difficult for governments or corporations to suppress information. One key example of this was the 1998 revelation about US President Bill Clinton's affair with a \X4b\_ite House intern Monica Lewinsky on The Drudge Report, which catapulted US journalist Matt Drudge into global spotlight. Within hours of the story breaking on the Internet, millions of Americans had knowledge of what turned out to be-the one of the biggest sexual scandals in US political history, leading to the impeachment of the President. The story had become so widespread that the mainstream media had little option but to cover it. The Internet was instrumental in the publication in late 1998 of the report by President Prosecutor Kenneth Starr, which was made available first on the Internet, and thus to 55 million people, even before its official release. So pressured were the media to cover it live that networks like CNN had a correspondent reading it straight from text scrolling on the screen. This was an early example of how Internet had the potential to loosen, if not abandon, editorial control over media content.
* It is undoubtedly the case that the Internet has been an extraordinary source of information for journalists - from government documents, to TNC annual reports, to NGO viewpoints - all are available to journalists with computer and telephone access. This has meant that they can research a story at greater detail, and given the global nature of the Internet, they can also investigate an issue taking on board 'foreign' views. Most major media organizations now regularly provide background information on contemporary issues through their webpages.
* The new medium has also contributed to journalists becoming connected to each other, reading about other countries through websites or watching their television channels. This can happen both in a regional and an international context. The information about the October 1999 military coup in Pakistan was posted by an anonymous person on a website for Indian media
* Professionals, eight days before General Parvez Musharraf seized power in Islamabad (Chakraborty, 1999). Another significant development was the publication in January 2000 by the US-based International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, exposing the involvement of the London-based British American Tobacco, the world's second largest cigarette company, in illegally selling cigarettes to Latin America. The detailed reports on 'duty not paid tobacco' were also carried by The Guardian (Leigh, 2000).
* The downside of the new journalism is its stress on speed, with the danger that in the race to be first with the news, a news organization may sacrifice depth in a story. Already journalists are being criticized for their often superficial and sensationalist slants on news stories (Postman, 1985; Franklin, 1997). The competitive multimedia environment is likely to make news more prone to infotainment. Even as well established a newspaper as The Financial Times was considering revamping its web edition after the US-based TheStreet.com, an on-line financial newspaper described 'as a combination of news agency and financial newspaper produced in real time', was launched in London in 1999 (Snoddy, 1999).
* Corporate consolidations such as AOL with Time Warner and new types of synergies that will inevitably follow are likely to increase; triggering concerns among consumer groups about reduction of choice, as a few megacor-porations control all forms of media content and their delivery systems. There are enough indications to show that this is already happening.

**(Chose the right answers)**

**1. UNESCO introduced the NWICO.**

**True**

**False**

**2. NWICO is a barrier in free flow of information.**

**True**

 **False**

**3. WHO stands for world health organization?**

**True**

 **False**

**4. Ban Ki-moon present UN’s secretary general.**

**True**

**False**

**Total Marks 20**

**5. Mass media helps transfer the societies according to the modernization theory.**

**True**

**False**

**6. Soviet Union broke in 1991.**

**True**

**False**

**7. International communications enhance the commerce and political interests.**

 **True**

**False**

**8. Popular media foster the mass culture.**

**True**

**False**

**9. Radio use as a propaganda tool in cold war period.**

**True**

**False**

**10. More than 140 news paper printed in India during the Britain rule.**

**True**

**False**

**QUESTION 2:**

**What is globalization and discuss its effect on world’s economy and culture? [20]**

**QUESTION 3:**

**Explain the intercultural communication in the global workplace. [20]**

**QUESTION 4:**

**What is International communication? Discuss the importance of international communication regarding the present times. [20]**

**International communication**

International communication is a form of communication that occurs among nations

across international borders. International communication has been traditionally

concerned with government-to-government information exchanges, in which

communication objectives decided by the states. As the development of science and

technology has impacted every sphere of life, it has also changed the way in which

international communication take place. Now the developments in communication and

information technologies have changed and increased the realm of international

communication, it is now included as state-to-state, business-to-business and people-to-

people. International communication is based on the degree of globalization.

Globalization means that the world communication market expands and affects more and

more local markets. Successful international communication is not limited to verbal expression, it also place consideration of a different culture and its influence on the way

peoples dress, social etiquette and body language, it also Appreciate that individuals from

different cultural backgrounds have different cultural norms, practices and expectations

and it is vital for success of communication across boundaries and cultures.

 **Your answer should cover these key points:**

1. As we passing through the age of information technology and communication. So the concept

of cross cultural communication among various nations exists. because difference nations has

same type of agenda to come close in term of business and trade, education and health, import

and export, technology and human resources, man power and overseas contacts. These are the

factor lead to enhance cooperation in every sector of life. There is dire need to contact with

each and review our needs and resources.

2. Its study is essential because cross cultural phenomena lead to understand each other values

and culture to close closer internationally.IC is also to produce some guidelines of international

rules with which people from different cultures can better communication with each other.

3. IC is very important because if we face any problem then there should be any medium to

control the situation through conversation, dialogue and communication by understanding each

other view point.

4. IC is important because working in global environment we need to faces the challenges and

threat, oppurtinities and strength of the environment. we must know leadership qualities,

selling skills, current technologies,persuation and negotititons,writing and speaking skill

moving beyond the local boundaries

5. Communication is interactive, so an important influence on its effectiveness is our relationship

with others. Miscommunication may lead to conflict, or aggravate conflict that already exists.

We make -- whether it is clear to us or not -- quite different meaning of the world, our places in

it, and our relationships with others.

6. IC is important to observe the global environment and economy lead to enhance cooperation

7. Technology and IC are dependent on each other.

8. The one world market has forced businesses to think global, act local, and integrate.

Intercultural communication serves a vital role in that it can remove miscommunication,

prevent misunderstandings, and avert mistakes.

9. The remarkable increase in the number of global corporate mergers and acquisitions. This has

led to acute needs for multi-lingual, multi-cultural employees, who have other specialized

skills, in the major business centers of the world; IC has increased the business nationally and

international both.

10. The noticeable rise in the number of Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises that are active in

global business and who now go directly to find potential clients and customers, in order to

eliminate unnecessary middle organizations and maximize profits. So international

Communication is increasing important.IC has increased the business nationally and

international both

1. International communications core link with the other studies like -------------------

--

• Global media studies

• International relations

• Mass communication

• **All given options**

2. ‘International communications mean that communication which accurse ------------

-----

• Among people

• **Among nations**

• Among organizations

• All of given options

3. VOA promotes the -------------------- point of view.

• German

• Soviet Union

• **American**

• None of the given options

4. Soviet Union broke in ------------------

• **1991**

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• 1945

• 19147

• None of the given options

5. For how long Second World War went on ---------------

• 10

• 8

• 4

• **6**

6. After the soviet break up the power shift over --------------

• **America**

• German

• Britain

• China

7. World needs more practiced of the international communication after the -----------

--

• French revolution

• Turk e us mania

• **Second World War**

• All of the given options

8. The world makes a global village due to the combination of --------------------------

• Paper and printing press

• Radio and airwaves

• **Telecommunications and computer**

• None of the given options

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9. ITU stands for ------------------

• Institute of telecommunications

• **International telecommunications union**

• International telescope union

• None of the given options

10. United nations was founded in ---------------------

• 1942

• **1945**

• 1949

• 1857

**What is globalization and discuss its effect on world’s economy and** **culture?**

**Your answer should cover these key points:**

• Meaning of globalization

• Discourse of globalization

• Globalization effects on world’s economy

• Globalization effects on world’s culture

• International cultural exchange

• Globalization provides economic opportunities, and has increases global

resilience against all manner of crises.

• Globalization can help citizens for adopting new skills, in current scenario

Nations must strive for more international cooperation and abide by some global

governance.

• The rich countries keep enjoying expanding economies, and in the rest of the

world millions of people overcome poverty due to this economic growth.

• Due to globalization, market’s economy capacity to fulfill human needs is

enhanced by international trade and investment.

• National economies have become interdependent, and on the whole this process

has added scale, flexibility and productivity to the global economy.

• Due to globalization the new players like China and India have made world trade

more dynamic and enlarged.

• In today's global economy firms and countries no longer specialize in the

production of goods alone but increasingly in the tasks that make up the

manufacturing, commercial and financial processes, bringing about lower costs,

better quality and more choice for consumers.

• Globalization is providing opportunities for growth and learning to poorer

nations.