1

Global Communication

Background

Introduction

The world of international communication has changed rapidly in recent years. Following World War II, global communication was dominated by the tensions arising from the Cold War, pitting the old Soviet Union against the United States and its allies. Much of the rhetoric, news space, face time, and concern dealt with some aspect of government control of mass communication, or the impact of governments and other entities on free speech, or the free flow of information or data across international borders. Likewise, much of international coverage on both sides of the Atlantic had an East/West tone, reflecting a communism versus democracy wedge. With the demise of the former Soviet Union and communism as a major global force, the factors underpinning international communication shifted dramatically. No longer did crises around the globe create major confrontations between two superpowers. What's more, the end of communism spelled the demise of the Soviets as enemies of the free press and the free flow of information. In many editors' and producers' opinions, it also spelled the end, ignoring, or at least downgrading the importance of foreign news coverage. That clearly changed for a while after September 11, 2001.

Today, the United States stands alone as the world's only superpower. While other economic entities, such as the European Union and parts of Asia, compete daily with the United States in the global marketplace, there is no large-scale foreign military threat to the United States. But today there are new enemies and threats out there. The Taliban, al-Qaeda, the Islamic jihad, suicide bombers, extremists, and a vast array of terrorist cells around the world have taken up new weapons to confront the Western nations. The new weapons are primarily low-tech: smartphones, netbooks, the Internet, social networking sites, video cameras, Twitter, Facebook, and other means. Improvised explosive devices (IEDs) have replaced the nuclear bomb scare of the Cold War era. This widespread terrorist phenomenon has again seen a modest editorial shift to greater coverage of international

affairs. The "good guys versus bad guys" mentality has returned. Terrorists of many stripes are replacing communism as the evil force. The Middle East and other nations harboring and training extremists are the new Evil Empire.

International News

Why is international news important? Essentially we are experiencing an expanding global economy where events in foreign lands impact us on a daily basis. Examples are everywhere. A volcano in a Nordic country spreads choking ash over most of Europe; a revolution in the Middle East impacts the price of gas around the globe; a banking disaster in the United States or Greece shakes the stock markets around the world.

Yet the problem is that though we know the global economy is expanding, the amount of international news coverage overall, particularly in the United States, is declining. Consider that the United States still exerts substantial influence around the world via both hard and soft power. This in turn should translate into a citizenry that is well informed about both foreign events and foreign policy decisions.

This decline is significant when viewed through the prism of how the media contribute to the promotion and expansion of the democratic process both here and abroad. Given this metric the overall decline seems to be accompanied by a parallel decline in support for both foreign aid as well as the promotion of transparent and open democracies around the globe. For example, the Nordic countries have a more internationally focused press and give the highest amount of foreign aid while the United States now ranks eighteenth in terms of per capita giving. Foreign aid for humanitarian efforts is not a major policy issue for the average American, and with decreasing foreign news coverage this downward trend is likely to continue.

Looking back, the golden age of international news coverage lasted from the 1940s to the end of the 1980s. A major boost during this era was the introduction of satellite broadcasting. The three main reasons for the decline are: first, the end of the Cold War and the implosion of the old Soviet Union (editors lost their "good guys versus bad guys" frame); second, the decline of newspaper circulation and revenues (part of this was the result of alternative Internet-based information sources of all types, and the expensive costs of running foreign bureaus); and, third, the global economic crisis of the last decade. Collectively they forced almost all for-profit media outlets to lose enthusiasm for foreign stories, and foreign bureaus were reduced.

Yet despite all of the compelling reasons for more, not less, international news, this coverage continues to decline: the reality is that the proportion of international news across the media is at an all-time low, down from 30 percent 30 or 40 years ago to about 14 percent today. It is as if the global interconnectivity has been cut in half, where the reality is that it has doubled. The interconnectivity has been driven by factors such as the expansion of the global economy, the spread of cable and satellites, along with growing access to the Internet.

A paper presented at the 2012 annual conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication by Katherine Bradshaw, James Foust, Joseph Bernt, and Brian Krol entitled "Domestic, International, and Foreign News Content on ABC, CBS, and NBC Network News from 1971 to 2007" makes the point that "viewers saw far fewer stories about the rest of the world in the three most recent years sampled 1995, 2001, 2007."[1] All three years are in the post-Cold War era. But in their study, which included 1989 (the last year of the Cold War), there were 342 foreign stories on the three major networks compared to only 68 in 2007.[2] Clearly editors and producers across the media spectrum are

showing less interest in foreign news. They see foreign news as expensive in an era of cutbacks. In a lecture, Alisa Miller, head of Public Radio International, explained how in today's media environment, international stories and news have declined: "From a decrease in foreign news bureaus to the prevalence of recycled stories, the news map of our current landscape is both dangerously one-sided and scandalously negligent in its management of the global village."[3] Miller documents the startling statistics about the state of international news coverage in the United States and the same is true in several other places.

Part of the larger problem is the turmoil and uncertainty created by the online phenomena and opportunity for others to provide information, formally or informally. Consider a report in October 2012 by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism:

> even after more than a decade of often dramatic turmoil in the media sector, we are only at the beginning of a longer transitional period. Today, inherited forms of media, especially linear television, still dominate media use, attract a large proportion of advertising, and support the majority of content creation-especially when it comes to news. All of this is likely to change, with profound implications for media as we know them.[4]

During the 1990s, *Time* magazine, the *New York Times*, and network newscasts had been replacing their foreign bureaus and international coverage with a parochial domestic agenda. The terrorism and its followers have put international news back in prime time. In addition to the various government investigations into issues like weapons of mass destruction (WMD), the 9/11 Commission, the Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay prison scandals, war crimes, and public safety have led to a new global agenda and media focus.

International communication refers to the cultural, economic, political, social, and technical analysis of communication and media patterns and effects across and between nation-states. International communication focuses more on global aspects of media and communication systems and technologies and, as a result, less on local or even national aspects or issues. Since the 1990s, this global focus or prism through which interactions are viewed or analyzed has been altered substantially by two related events. The first is the end of the Cold War and the sweeping changes this has brought; this includes political realignments across Europe. The second is increasing global interdependence, which is a fixture of the expanding global economy. The global economic recession demonstrated the interdependence of economies big (like the United States), and small (like Iceland). But this interdependence has more than an economic orientation; it also has a cultural dimension. This cultural dimension, in turn, has three important traits:

1 How much foreign content is contained, absorbed, or assimilated within the cultural domain?
2 How is this foreign content being transmitted (e.g., by books, movies, music, DVDs, television, commercials, mobile appliances, or the Internet)?
3 How are domestic or indigenous cultures, including language, being impacted by this foreign content?

These aspects, issues, and questions are what this book is about. *Global Communication* highlights an international or global approach to the broad range of components that collectively make up the discipline of international communication. Because "we live in an era of new cultural conditions that are characterized by faster adoption and assimilation of foreign cultural products than ever before,"[5] this book investigates in some detail who and

where these cultural products are coming from and why, and addresses issues and concerns about their impact in foreign lands and on foreign minds.

Historically, the US government has orchestrated international communication policy and the many activities relating to transborder communication activities. During the 1950s and 1960s, the US State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the National Security Council, and the Pentagon played central roles within international organizations to promote policies to suit Cold War agendas and objectives. This behavior was evident at a number of international conferences, but it was particularly clear in the US position regarding the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). Ultimately, the hostile rhetoric became so intense that the United States (under President Reagan) withdrew from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in the 1980s. The United States remained outside UNESCO until 2004 and left again in 2012. The United Kingdom withdrew as well and has since returned.

When the Soviet Union disintegrated in the early 1990s, the counterpoint to much of the US rhetoric and foreign policy, whether overt or covert, disappeared. The old rationales – Cold War rhetoric, concern about communism, and fear of nuclear destruction – became less prominent in the new environment of openness and cooperation with Eastern Europe, as well as Russia. Foreign trade replaced concern about foreign media initiatives.

Latin American Media

Latin American media are significantly different from media markets in America and Europe. Several countries in Latin America, such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Peru have experienced political, economic, and social turmoil since the end of World War II. Some other nations continue to be controlled by dictators with military backing. Given this environment, the radio and television industries in these nations tend to be either government-owned and government-controlled or heavily regulated. In a few cases powerful domestic media conglomerates are controlled by wealthy families, such as Televisa in Mexico or Grupo Globo in Brazil. In other Latin American nations, the independent print press frequently is allied with the political and religious elites. There is little investigative journalism since both the state-owned or commercial media do not favor it and several investigative reporters have wound up dead. Although Latin American markets are substantial in terms of population and growing consumer base, they are still relatively underdeveloped compared to their North American and European counterparts, but that is changing. Sallie Hughes and Chappell Lawson discuss the obstacles which Latin American media confront on a frequent basis. They identify

> five general barriers to the creation of independent, pluralistic, and assertive media systems in the region: (a) violence against journalists encouraged by a generalized weakness in the rule of law; (b) holdover authoritarian laws and policies that chill assertive reporting; (c) oligarchic ownership of television, the region's dominant medium; (d) the spottiness of professional journalistic norms; (e) the limited reach of print media, community-based broadcasters, and new communication technologies.[6]

Despite these structural issues, the Latin American environment is changing in terms of governments and mass communication. Many governments moved to a more open and democratic way of attempting to improve overall social and economic conditions for the populace. In telecommunications and mass media systems, there was a noticeable

liberalization, deregulation, and privatization as reform legislation was passed in many Latin American nations. The growing increases in literacy, access to the Internet, and cheaper satellite dishes have collectively moved the debate over media's role in society. Several Latin American countries are clearly at a crossroads; they must decide whether they will follow this new neoliberal path, including broader ownership of the media, or revert to the historical tendency of military coups, government control and ownership, favoritism to elite families, and heavy censorship.

Despite the uneasy balance between old and new, the Latin American market is characterized by two significant phenomena. First, by virtue of the domination of the Spanish language (with the exception of Brazil, where Portuguese is spoken), Latin America has not been as readily inundated with US television shows or films, which carry English-language soundtracks. In contrast, English-speaking nations such as Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom were easy international markets for, first, Hollywood feature films, and then US television programs, followed by music. This language difference led to a second important Latin American media phenomenon. Because these countries were forced to produce their own programming, they created an interesting and successful genre known as the telenovela. Telenovelas are Spanish soap operas that are extremely popular from Mexico to the tip of South America. They have been successful enough to be exported to Spain, Russia, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and many other non-English-speaking European countries, as well as Florida, Texas, and California. Many of the leading telenovela actors and actresses are national celebrities, like soccer stars, in the various regions of Latin America. The export market for telenovelas is expanding rapidly because they cost much less to produce than their Hollywood and New York counterparts.

On the feature film front, the scene is not as encouraging. Over 60 percent of the theater screens across Latin America regularly show Hollywood films. In Latin America there are few film houses or even nations that can mount and finance blockbuster films to rival Hollywood.

Another difference between North America and Latin America is the role and success of newspapers. In North America, many newspapers have folded over the last decade, and single-newspaper cities are the norm rather than the exception. By contrast, Latin American newspapers are still a substantially growing market, with over 1,000 newspapers in circulation and readership, on a daily basis, in excess of 100 million. Because of the high circulation figures, newspaper advertising is competitive with radio and television, making it a challenge for start-up private stations to succeed. Finally, because newspapers are privately owned, the publishers and editors generally support the movement toward greater democratization as well as government reforms to privatize the communication sector.

Left-Wing Connection: Latin America

In the postwar era, Latin America displayed a unique joint interest in labor unions, priests and nuns pursuing liberation theology as they sought Marxist or left-wing solutions to deal with corrupt regimes, many of which had military connections. Ideological fervor and rhetoric spread across Latin America as unions, clergy, and academics sought to tap the discontent of the peasants to mobilize support for economic and political change. For the most part, their efforts failed, the prime exceptions being Cuba, now Venezuela, and likely El Salvador and Chile. There were occasional major confrontations, such as the uprising in Chiapas, Mexico. In this revolt, the rebels went so far as to exclude the major Mexican broadcaster, Televisa, from their various press conferences. Latin American academics were

particularly critical of North American models, such as open markets, free enterprise, private ownership, and advertising-supported media. They frequently attacked the violence of Hollywood feature films or the wasteland of television shows ranging from *The Simpsons*, to *Baywatch*, to reality shows, to MTV videos. They regarded American junk culture with the same disdain as they did American junk food.

With the demise of Marxism and the end of the Cold War, these same Latin American groups have lost steam and credibility. Labor unions are becoming isolated as democratization begins to take hold in several nations, along with greater economic prosperity. Leftist academics are finding fewer opportunities to promote anti-US media criticism as liberalization, privatization, and deregulation take hold across the communication sectors. Latin American academics tend to write flourishing and lengthy essays critical of American culture with little, if any, empirical data to support their assertions. Today, change is bringing greater media choice, more advertising, less government ownership, and reduced regulatory control of electronic media across Latin America.

The roles of media and culture, together with their impact on economic growth in Latin America, have been demonstrated in the literature. Cultural change and economic change are linked, but as David Holman points out, "the 'McDonaldisation' of all societies is possibly inevitable, but it is possible to eat McDonald burgers, and to wear jeans, without losing any of the most cherished aspects of the national culture."[7] Yet historically Latin American communication scholars have been among the most critical of the United States, even anti-United States, in their writings. The vast majority work from a Marxist platform, which is now stale and suspect with the end of the Cold War. Yet some continue their diatribes, not appreciating how substantially the global communication scene has changed.

What follows is a dramatic example of how the Cold War atmosphere framed media activities in relation to Washington and a Latin American nation, in this case Chile.

Chile–US Government Media Interaction

The 1973 military coup in Chile during the Cold War provides an example of the US government's concern, influence, and backstage role in the US media in dealing with foreign events. In this case, as in others, it is important to realize that frequently the US press corps has little background knowledge, local information or sources, cultural awareness, or even native language skills in preparation for breaking foreign stories. In the past, this weakness was frequently addressed by willing and well-trained US embassy staffers who provided background briefings to visiting US journalists in order to furnish them with "off the record" information and to help them establish meetings and interviews. The information generally was selected to frame, support, and promote US position and foreign policy objectives abroad. Although there is nothing intrinsically wrong with this practice, problems develop when journalists write their stories or file their video clips without acknowledging the substantial influence or assistance of US embassy personnel.

From 1970 to 1973, the US government sought to assist in the overthrow of Chile's democratically elected leftist government. The United States was hostile to Chilean president Salvador Allende, whom US President Richard Nixon had labeled a communist threat. According to the US State Department, Allende had to be removed or he might set an example, and communism spread across South America. When the Chilean military seized power in September 1973, the US government supported General Augusto Pinochet, despite the fact that he had been associated with many nefarious crimes, including supporting Chilean death squads. Pinochet subsequently ruled Chile for 17 years.

The specific role of the CIA cannot be detailed, but it is instructive to examine its relationship with the US media in Chile. Prior to and during the revolution, the CIA directed its Chilean station chief to engage in propaganda. He was to spread misinformation when it suited US objectives. According to the *New York Times*:

> The CIA's propaganda efforts included special intelligence and "inside" briefings given to the US journalist … Particularly noteworthy in this connection is the *Time* cover story which owed a great deal to written materials provided by the CIA. [Moreover,] CIA briefings in Washington changed the basic thrust of the story in the final stages, according to another *Time* correspondent.[8]

The result of this cosy relationship between US foreign affairs officials and foreign correspondents was a *Time* magazine cover story openly calling for an invasion of Chile to thwart the Marxist president and to stop the spread of communism throughout South America. During this era *Time* was a cheerleader for stopping leftists by any means.

The point of this example is not to debate the role of the CIA in ultimately assisting in the overthrow of a democratically elected leader, but rather to focus on the role of foreign correspondents during the height of the Cold War. The US State Department, Department of Defense, and CIA all actively courted US foreign correspondents. The foreign correspondents in turn were to varying degrees willing to accept advice, leads, and in some cases copy from US embassies around the world. This situation was particularly true in countries where English-speaking US journalists did not speak the native language. In these cases, embassy staff and CIA operatives had enormous clout and access. They knew which locals spoke English and were sympathetic to the US position. American embassies set up media interviews and assisted journalists with logistics and acquisition of compatible equipment and other necessities for gathering pro-United States news in foreign venues.

For over a decade, without the *raison d'être* of the Cold War and the anti-communist fervor that once dominated the agenda and mindset at the US State Department and its network of foreign embassies, CIA operatives have been marginalized and replaced by trade representatives. US ambassadors and their staffs courted economists, investors, and the business community. Journalists no longer received priority access or assistance. Indeed, unless journalists are reporting on successful business ventures by US investors or corporations, they have difficulty getting their phone calls returned.

In the post-Cold War era, US embassies focused on trade and the provision of the organizational and logistical work necessary for US corporations to expand exports in these countries or regions. Senior embassy personnel spent the majority of their time seeking out investment opportunities, organizing trade fairs, or identifying new export markets while nurturing existing ones. Within the new reality of US embassy culture and foreign policy there is now a shared emphasis. The business press now shares media attention with security, terror, or war issues. Some US journalists abroad deal with foreign policy and terrorism while others still look at foreign profits, mergers, and acquisitions in the post-Cold War environment.

This book looks at global media; global communication technologies such as the Internet; global advertising; multimedia organizations; European, Middle Eastern, and Asian media; and global events from post-Cold War and 9/11 vantage points. But some historical themes of concern continue to shape the scope and impact of global communication. These themes are best understood by examining where, why, and in what context NWICO emerged. But before we discuss NWICO, we need to note that, from a historical perspective, the role and invention of the telegraph in the mid-nineteenth century

had profound consequences for international communication. This new technology resulted in a paradigm shift from national to international communication.[9] It resulted in information becoming a commodity, particularly for the expanding print press and telegraph traffic. Finally, it also fostered a new breed of journalists – the war correspondent.

History of the War Correspondent

Prior to the Crimean War (1853–6) there had been many wars. What separates the Crimean War from the others is the impressive fact that it was the first to be covered by a foreign correspondent. For example an earlier war of 1812, fought by Canada and Great Britain against the United States, ended in 1815 with the Treaty of Ghent, with Canada and Great Britain as the victors. The treaty was signed in Europe in December 1814, but this agreement did not reach North America until February 1815. During the Crimean War, however, with the newly invented telegraph, it was possible for reporters to send daily dispatches. The new technology of the telegraph had been patented in Europe by Charles Wheatstone in 1838.

The background to the war was a dispute between Russia and France, under Napoleon, over control of the Middle East. The British also had a vested interest in the conflict since they controlled the seas and trade routes, and aspired to continue their colonial expansion in the Middle East. The Russians lost the Crimean War under the Treaty of Paris. Following this, they pulled back from their global expansionist goals. They soon sold Alaska in 1867 to the United States for $7.2 million.

William Harold Russell was the first foreign war correspondent for the London-based *Times*, which was founded in 1785 and is now controlled by News Corp. Three interesting factors emerged from his coverage. First, Florence Nightingale, the legendary nursing pioneer, complained to the British press about how poorly British war casualties were being treated, and about the horrific medical conditions compared to the excellent French facilities. The coverage in the *Times* eventually led to the dismissal of the cabinet minister responsible for the conduct of the war. Second, Queen Victoria of Britain called for a Royal Commission on Health and War (1856–7), but Nightingale was not appointed to the commission because only males were eligible. Third, the impact of the *Times* coverage was so important and explosive that the number of journalists assigned to cover the US Civil War (1861–5) skyrocketed. The London *Times* circulation nearly doubled. In the United States, with over half a million deaths, the pictures and accounts were major copy for the infant print press across both North and South. Several foreign correspondents from Europe also covered the Civil War. For example, British reporters supported the slavery-afflicted South to protect the cheap source of cotton for British factories. Finally, the massive circulation increases also fueled the demand for greater literacy so that many more people could read the war coverage in the newspapers.

New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)

The foregoing examples are indicative of some of the major issues in international communication. In the past, much of this debate focused on the New World Information and Communication Order. NWICO dominated the international communication agenda for decades. It represents:

1 an evolutionary process seeking a more just and equitable balance in the flow and content of information;
2 a right to national self-determination of domestic communication policies; and
3 at the international level, a two-way information flow reflecting more accurately the aspirations and activities of less developed countries (LDCs).[10]

Despite the fact that some proponents still champion this vision, many believe that NWICO can no longer be taken seriously. Even UNESCO, where much of the debate took place, has abandoned it. Yet NWICO may be born again because of the deep divisions which emerged from the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). WSIS is covered in more detail later in this book.

An appreciation of its basic premises and of the issues that divided nations remains an important and relevant element in a full understanding of the different views about international communication. Not everyone views the global media flows and control over aspects of the communication scene the same way.

NWICO's ultimate goal was a restructured system of media and telecommunication priorities in order for LDCs to obtain greater influence over their media, information, economic, cultural, and political systems. For LDCs, or peripheral nations, the current world communication system is an outgrowth of prior colonial patterns reflecting commercial and market imperatives.[11] NWICO was promoted as a way to remove this vestige of colonial control. However, Western governments and news organizations vigorously opposed any such plan, fearing it would bring increased government interference with the press, thus ultimately reducing market share and profitability.

In seeking to gain a more balanced flow of information, peripheral regions postulate potential mechanisms that clash with strongly held journalistic traditions and practices in the West. From time to time they called for government control of the media, limited reporter access to events, journalistic codes of ethics, licensing of reporters, and taxation of the broadcast spectrum – all ideas that Western journalists, media owners, and policymakers abhor. Even the call for a "balanced flow" of information, which was approved by UNESCO in the 1970s, was criticized as interference with free press, free flow, and free market mechanisms. Only an open and free flow of information is viewed as being fully consistent with the goals of a truly free press. Yet the critics maintain that the free flow is really a one-way flow – from core nations to other regions of the world, with little or no reciprocity.

Many critics attack the Western press as if it were a monolithic, rational system. They fail to realize that what eventually winds up in Western newspapers, on radio, or on television is determined by a complex, and not entirely consistent, process of decision-making. As Mort Rosenblum explains:

> Correspondents play an important part in selection by determining what to cover in the first place. But most of the process is in the hands of editors at different stages. These are the gatekeepers. Each medium and each type of correspondent operates in a different fashion, but the principle is the same. A correspondent's dispatch first goes to one gatekeeper and then what emerges – if anything – goes on to others. All along the way; the original dispatch may be shortened, lengthened, rewritten, or thrown away entirely. This series of editors determines what is to be eventually shared with the public; and they decide what the American people may never know.[12]

This is an important point. What people in Western or core societies learn about peripheral regions is meager and the result of several gatekeepers. What makes this

successive diminution of information about poor nations so paradoxical is that, both technically and theoretically, there is more international information available today than ever before. The Internet, satellites, fax machines, video discs, portable computers, radio, smartphones, and direct long-distance dialing have collectively replaced the slow and cumbersome dispatches of the past.

But practically, the story is quite different. There are several contributing factors. The major one is simply the high cost of international reporting. The estimated cost to place and equip a single foreign correspondent abroad for one year is $300,000. This has led to a net reduction in the number of reporters that wire services, networks, or individual papers that are willing to post abroad. Second, restrictions ranging from censorship and outright bans to withholding critical interviews past filing time, threats of physical abuse unless proper slants are evident, jailing, or even death all serve to reduce or limit the amount of available copy. Third, the high turnover of foreign correspondents and the pack journalism phenomenon make editors and publishers reluctant to spend time and money to significantly increase foreign coverage. Fourth, the trend toward "parachute journalism," in which large numbers of foreign correspondents, assorted paparazzi, and belligerent camera crews descend by the planeload on international scenes of conflict or natural disasters, tends to trivialize or sensationalize events that are far more complex than a 30-second clip or a few paragraphs can capture. Finally, the lack of public concern, as reflected in the trend toward light, fluffy, gossipy, and trendy journalism, focusing on celebrities or trivia, reduces the incentive for editors to provide in-depth and continuous coverage of a broad range of foreign issues and conflicts. On the print side, in the United States the *New Yorker* magazine, the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Economist*, and the *Washington Post* are clear exceptions.

The reason for this shift in newspapers has been a mix of accounting and fiscal concerns related directly to declining circulation numbers, a movement toward local community journalism, and the Internet taking away readers and advertisers as well. The policies of the media are increasingly governed by marketing experts, who make news decisions to reflect focus-group results, rather than by editors. Clearly, the exceptional and unusual still dominate what is reported. In-depth front-page pieces on population, education, health care, environment, and other development successes are still rare. Rosenblum, in talking about "the System," makes this point:

> Foreign correspondents do often seem to be mad as loons, waiting on some source for hours in the rain so they can write a dispatch which might well end up blotting spilled coffee on an editorial desk back home. Editors seem madder still, suffering hypertension over whether their own man reached some obscure capital in time to duplicate stories available to them by other means. And their combined effort, when it reaches breakfast tables and living rooms across the United States, often appears to be supercilious and sloppy.[13]

This system is geared as much to amuse and divert as it is to inform, and it responds inadequately when it is suddenly called upon to explain something as complex and menacing as a dollar collapse or a war in Asia. Yet it is the American citizen's only alternative to ignorance about the world.

> Because of the system – and in spite of it – most Americans are out of touch with events that directly affect their lives. When crisis impends, they are not warned. When it strikes, they are not prepared. They know little about decisions taken on their behalf which lessen their earnings, restrict their freedoms and threaten their security.[14]

Why is this the case? What are the implications? In an era of so much information, why is there so little useful information? As this book describes in detail, international news coverage is going to change. The question is whether it will improve in accuracy, quantity, and quality, or whether gatekeepers will restrict or heavily censor news. That is why awareness of global media issues and positions is central to understanding international communication. That is also why this book has specific chapters on the Middle East and China, since they are important players in what Marshall McLuhan labeled the "global village."

Two major theoretical outlooks or theories will assist in organizing and understanding the events, trends, and major stakeholders in the rapidly changing field of international communication. They are electronic colonialism and world system theories. Both are described in the following section, and then their interrelationships are outlined. In addition, throughout *Global Communication* certain examples of the media scene or global operations as they reflect and apply to these underlying two theories are commented on.

Electronic Colonialism Theory

Traditionally, mass media research looks either at select micro issues, such as agenda-setting, ownership, or violence, or at a specific medium, such as print, radio, television, or the Internet. Only occasionally do scholars examine the macro aspects of the overall mass communication system. Harold Innis, Marshall McLuhan, Armand Mattelart, Jacques Ellul, Ben Bagdikian, and George Barnett are representative of the macro research school. Electronic colonialism theory reflects much of the current global concerns, particularly with reference to culture, and is a good theoretical concept with which to begin. It provides a theoretical frame for examining the stakeholders and transnational issues.

Global Colonialism

Over the course of history, there have been only a few major successful trends in empire-building. The first era was characterized by military conquests. These occurred during the Greco-Roman period and witnessed the expansion of the Roman Empire throughout most of what is modern Europe, including North Africa. This early era is labeled military colonialism.

The militant Christianity of the Crusades during the Middle Ages represented the second era. The Crusades, with the Catholic pope as patron, sought to control territory from Europe, across northern Africa, to the Middle East. Beginning around 1095, a series of crusades over 200 years resulted in eastern expansion and the establishment of new European colonies promoting Christianity in the Middle East and across Africa. The territories were seized from Muslims, as Western civilization became the dominant international force or hegemony. Relics and treasures from various nations, as well as the Greek Orthodox Church, were plundered and returned to the Vatican as gifts. For example, in 1204 the Crusaders sacked and desecrated Constantinople's holiest cathedrals and shrines. To this day much of the history and treasures of the eastern Greek Orthodox Church are locked in the Vatican's basement. In 2004 Pope John Paul II made a token gesture and returned the bones of two early Greek theologians, but many Greeks are still waiting for the plundered gold, silver, and artworks from this era. This era is labeled Christian colonialism.

Beginning with the invention of significant mechanical advances in the seventeenth century, the third era – of mercantile colonialism – continued until the mid-twentieth century. Spawned by a desire for cheap labor, the importation of raw materials, and ready export markets – created by the colonies – for finished products, the industrial revolution created mercantile colonialism. Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and the Americas became objects of conquest by European powers. France, Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, and the Nordic nations systematically set about extending their commercial and political influence. These expanding empires of Europe sought markets, raw materials, and other goods unavailable at home. In return, they sent administrators, immigrants, a foreign language (usually English), and their educational system, religion, philosophy, high culture, laws, and lifestyle which were frequently inappropriate for the invaded country. None of this concerned the conquerors, such as the vast British Commonwealth, who thought they were doing the conquered a favor. In the 1700s and 1800s international status was a function of the number and location of one's foreign colonies.

During the latter part of this era, industrialized nations sought to extend their influence through transnational corporations that supplemented and extended more traditional means of control. But the common denominator remained a desire for economic advantage – plentiful raw materials, cheap labor, and expanding markets. Mercantile colonialism also included other commercial imperatives such as advertising, government regulation, and laws, including contract and intellectual property rights, which better suited the larger and more powerful industrialized nations than the weaker foreign colonies or regions. These collective actions began the global economy which the United States would master and dominate following World War II.

A key element in the success of mercantile colonialism was the invention of the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg. In the early 1450s Gutenberg produced 200 copies of the Bible. Despite their high cost, the Bibles completely sold out, ushering in a new era of communication. Although he was forced into bankruptcy and eventually died a poor man, Gutenberg provided the means for others to amass incredible wealth and power. Initially, the presses were used to mass-produce religious materials in the vernacular, but soon "penny press" newspapers appeared. Over time the printing press undermined the absolute authority and control of the Roman Catholic Church and European monarchies alike. Also, the demand grew for a literate workforce capable of operating the increasingly sophisticated technology of factory production. The demand for public education and the evolution of mass societies created nations with greater literacy and some disposable factory wages. These phenomena permitted the purchase of newspapers, movie tickets, telegrams, books, and eventually radios.

World Wars I and II brought an end to major military expansion and positioned the industrialized nations of the West in command of international organizations, vital trade routes, and global commercial practices. During the 1950s, the business and economic climate encouraged transnational corporations to grow and to consolidate domestic and foreign markets based on the production of mass-produced goods, from breakfast cereals to cars. As the industrial revolution ran its course, two major changes occurred during the late 1950s and early 1960s that set the stage for the fourth and current era of empire expansion.

The two major changes were the rise of nationalism and decolonization, centered mainly in developing nations, and the shift to a service-based information economy among core nations. The service economy relies substantially on satellites, telecommunications, and computer technology to analyze, transfer, and communicate information. It renders obsolete traditional national borders and technological barriers to communication. This

Table 1.1 The four eras of global colonialism

Military colonialism	1000 BCE–1000 CE
Christian colonialism	1000–1600
Mercantile colonialism	1600–1950
Electronic colonialism	1950–Present

fact has significant implications for industrial and non-industrial nations alike as the military, religious, and mercantile colonialism of the past was replaced by the "electronic colonialism" of today and tomorrow (see Table 1.1).

Electronic colonialism represents the dependent relationship of poorer regions on the post-industrial nations which is caused and established by the importation of communication hardware and foreign-produced software, along with engineers, technicians, and related information protocols. These establish a set of foreign norms, values, and expectations that, to varying degrees, alter domestic cultures, languages, habits, values, and the socialization process itself. From comic books to satellites; computers to fax machines; CDs, DVDs, and smartphones to the Internet, a wide range of information technologies make it easy to send and thus receive information.

The issue of how much imported material the receiver retains is critical. The concern is that this new foreign information, frequently favoring the English language, will cause the displacement, rejection, alteration, or forgetting of native or indigenous customs, domestic messages, or cultural history. Now poorer regions fear electronic colonialism as much as, perhaps even more than, they feared the mercantile colonialism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Whereas mercantile colonialism sought to control cheap labor and the hands of laborers, electronic colonialism seeks to influence and control the mind. It is aimed at influencing attitudes, desires, beliefs, lifestyles, and consumer behavior. As the citizens of peripheral nations are increasingly viewed through the prism of consumerism, influencing and controlling their values, habits, and purchasing patterns becomes increasingly important to multinational firms.[15]

When viewers watch the television show *Baywatch*, they learn about Western society and mores vicariously. *Baywatch*, which began in 1989, hit a peak in the mid-1990s when more than one billion people a week in nearly 150 countries viewed it. With shows like this, along with *Dallas*, *The Cosby Show*, *All in the Family*, *Friends*, and *Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*, foreign viewers began to develop a different mental set and impression of the United States. Another example is *The Simpsons*, the longest-running prime-time animated cartoon ever developed. The show has now surpassed 300 episodes and is widely distributed around the globe. It has a leading cartoon character, Homer Simpson, who generally behaves as a moron and places his family and friends in bizarre situations. The show and characters thrive on portraying distasteful aspects of US life, culture, education, and community. Yet the program has been so successful that not only does it continue, but it has also spawned other weekly animation shows such as *South Park*. Likewise, movies such as *Basic Instinct*, *Rambo*, *Scarface*, *Silence of the Lambs*, *Natural Born Killers*, and *Texas Chainsaw Massacre* deliver the trappings of an alternative lifestyle, culture, language, economy, or political system that go far beyond the momentary images flickering on the screen. Electronic colonialism theory details the possible long-term consequences of exposure to these media images and messages to extend the powerful multinational media empires' markets, power, and influence.

Not surprisingly, the recent rise of nationalism in many areas of the world seeks to counter these neocolonialist effects. Many of these newer nations are former colonies of European powers. Their goal is to maintain political, economic, and cultural control of their own history, images, and national destiny. It is within these cultural issues that students of journalism, cultural studies, communication, and telecommunications find theoretical, policy, and research interest. For example, issues that concern both developing nations and the industrial ones, and frequently find them on opposing sides, are the performance and role of international wire services, global television networks, advertising agencies, and the Internet.[16]

History of Electronic Colonialism Theory

Prior to World War I, when international communication consisted primarily of mail, some newspapers were crossing national borders, as was limited electronic communication, which was a mixture of wireless and telegraph systems using Morse code. There was no international communication theory.[17] Also, the feature film industry was in its infancy, but there were examples of movies created in one nation being shown in another nation. For example, Hollywood exported to both Canada and Mexico some of its major films, even at this early stage. Likewise some European films were exhibited in movie houses in other nations.

This early communication era was dominated by the systematic exploitation by powerful European nations of foreign colonies that were to be a source of cheap labor and raw materials. In turn, these resources were manufactured into finished goods and sent back to the various colonies. Many of the onsite colonial leaders were either government officials or wealthy European families who dispatched many locals to rural or remote areas. Examples of this phenomenon are the Maori tribes in Australia and New Zealand, Native Indians across North America, Zapatistas in Mexico, French Canadians in Quebec, and many tribes across Africa. Given the pervasiveness of Great Britain's colonial empire, the non-commercial British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), which was founded in 1922, was also exported as the operating model for many new radio systems that were being started across the globe. Reuters, then a British wire service, covered British expeditions for English-language newspapers.

During the late 1920s and 1930s, there did emerge an alternative workers' culture which promoted a grassroots orientation to art, culture, and some local media. Labor organizations sought to promote folk art, decentralize the bourgeoisie orientation of the elite cultural industries, like opera, and promote local media with a non-commercial orientation. During this phase there emerged a European group of critical scholars, now referred to in the literature as the Frankfurt School. A group of philosophers which included Herbert Marcuse, Jürgen Habermas, Max Horkheimer, and Theodor Adorno developed a body of theory critical of power elites. To some extent they planted the seeds of electronic colonialism theory by focusing academic attention on ownership and power issues.

Many labor-based and critical initiatives became mute for two major structural reasons: the Great Depression and World War II. It was only after the end of World War II in 1945 that there were substantial international expansion of the mass media and transborder activities involving communication as well as cultural products. Global advertising also became a growth area. In addition, many of the academics associated with the Frankfurt School relocated to North American universities and some American critical scholars would take up the cultural imperialism track or viewpoint over time.

On December 10, 1948 the United Nations recognized the growing importance of the interaction of culture and the arts within the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 27 of the 30-article proclamation states:

1   Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
2   Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is author.[18]

National government media services, such as the BBC, the United States' Voice of America, and Canada's Radio Canada International, along with many others, began to expand their activities to multiple languages, with a strong desire to promote the fundamental concepts of free speech, free press, and democracy, particularly in light of a campaign to thwart, counter, or indeed stop the growing global threat and rise of communism. Most short-wave, government-backed radio services promoted a Cold War agenda in their broadcasts.

In the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, the debate about international communication moved to the halls of UNESCO in Paris, France. Certain constituencies, such as the old Soviet Union countries, academics in Nordic and Latin America countries, and some social democratic party forces across Europe, began to express early concern about the negative impact of Western culture and the global economy. Although there was significant support for non-commercial media systems, there was also concern expressed about the global syndication of Hollywood films and television shows, along with the impact of music, particularly that emanating from the United Kingdom and the United States, under the banner of rock and roll. This debate about the importation of junk culture, much like junk food, hit a responsive chord at UNESCO.

During the 1980s, under the philosophical mantra of US President Ronald Reagan, a new era of privatization, liberalization, and deregulation not only took hold in North America, but also across Europe, strongly promoted by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom. There was a significant emphasis on market forces, free enterprise, and entrepreneurship, and a strong reversal of any type of sympathy or support for non-commercial media, government regulation, or public ownership of telecommunication systems. Market forces also led to a flurry of mergers and acquisitions across the communication sector. Consolidation created global giants and this trend continues. In 2004 WPP, a British-based advertising firm, purchased the US-based Grey Global and Sony of Japan bought MGM. One new global player deserves to be singled out – Ted Turner created a satellite-delivered all news network, Cable News Network (CNN), in 1980, which would come to alter global news, as well as other broadcasting practices, significantly.

Finally, during this period, there were three seminal documents that formed the basis for a school of cultural imperialism. To some extent these were forerunners to the eventual development of electronic colonialism theory. In particular, Herbert Schiller's 1969 work entitled *Mass Communication and American Empire*, Tapio Varis's work for UNESCO and his 1974 article entitled "Global Traffic in Television," and Jeremy Tunstall's 1977 book, *The Media Are American*, served as a new catalyst and basis for promoting critical research in terms of analyzing international communication flows, impact, and imbalances.[19] Critical scholars such as Dan Schiller and Bob McChesney, along with others, are still carrying on some of the research. Yet it was not until the 1990s that a major new group finally emerged as a global non-governmental organization (NGO).

The International Network for Cultural Development (INCD) was established in 1998 to defend cultural expression and cultural diversity, and to promote national and multilingual cultural expression. It sought to promote genuine authentic media rather than, or indeed to counter the impact of, the dominance of English-language mass media which controlled the flow of cultural products across national boundaries. INCD took up the debate on international communication with new vigor and sought out new global participants, including senior government officials. They were opposed to multinational communication corporations promoting a homogenized global culture. INCD, along with UNESCO and several academics, sought to align itself with government officials to promote an alternative to the market-based, free enterprise capitalist system, which was clearly dominating global communication and served the interests of mainly American, Japanese, and European media conglomerates. A major goal of INCD is to promote through the auspices of UNESCO an international convention that now defines and aims to protect cultural and linguistic diversity along with support for open artistic expression.

Much of the dominance that occurred since the middle of the twentieth century has been documented in my 1981 work entitled *Electronic Colonialism: The Future of International Broadcasting and Communication*.[20] This early work, along with the first edition of *Global Communication*, documented and expanded the literature about international communication. Collectively these works laid the groundwork and further amplified the theory of electronic colonialism. It is this theory to which we now turn and add additional details.

What is Electronic Colonialism Theory?

Just as mercantile colonialism focused on empires seeking the toil and soil of others, frequently as colonies, so now electronic colonialism theory (ECT) looks at how to capture the minds and, to some extent, the consumer habits of others. ECT focuses on how global media, including advertising, influence how people look, think, and act. The aim of ECT is to account for how the mass media influence the mind. Just as the era of the industrial revolution focused on manual labor, raw materials, and then finished products, so also the information revolution now seeks to focus on the role and consequences concerning the mind and global consumer behavior.

Consider how culture is conveyed in a multimedia world. Historically grandparents and tribal elders played a central role in recreating, transmitting, and transferring culture. They relied on oral communication along with family, community, or tribal connections. Culture is basically an attitude; it is also learned. It is the learning of shared language and perceptions that are incorporated in the mind through education, repetition, ritual, history, media, or mimicking. The media's expanding role becomes a shared media culture which influences perceptions and values. Examples of media systems that attract heavy users are Hollywood movies, MTV, ESPN, soap operas, CNN, the Internet, and video games. These systems tend to be the output of global communication giants, such as Time Warner, Disney, Viacom, Sony, and News Corp. Collectively they have the real potential to displace or alter previous cultural values, language, lifestyles or habits, activities, and family rituals. This is particularly true for heavy users of one or two external media. Over time, ECT states that these changes can and usually do impact friends, family, and community ties. A virtual community or new friends who replace former community ties share two things: first, a preoccupation with identical media, such as MTV, talk radio, Facebook, or Al Jazeera; and,

second, the embedded media culture that involves new or different messages, perception, learning, and habits. An example of this is the new subculture of black slang. It is at the core of the new media-induced culture for this group. Rap music, movies, concerts, dress, and playgrounds repeat and reinforce this niche linguistic trend.

A way to look at ECT is to think about it as though we go through life wearing various masks. We learn how to play out the appropriate roles, such as child, parent, spouse, student, immigrant, minority, athlete, or boss.[21] But with ECT the masks become somewhat invisible because we begin to think and feel differently, as we become what we watch, do, or listen to. The media become a veil of collective new images, which we absorb into our minds and eventually, even if subtly, we begin to act out, dress, or speak differently as we consume input from the mass media rather than from family, community, or former friends. The socialization process is hijacked by the media empires rather than the colonial empires of days gone by. It is as if we have moved with modernization from a tribal state where culture was located in a fixed territory, region, or nation to a mediated state of mind where we might have more in common with someone or some group halfway around the world via social media or MTV rather than in our own house, school, or neighborhood.

Now with ECT a new culture has emerged that is a global phenomenon driven primarily by large multimedia conglomerates. They control, reproduce, and spread the global flow of words, images, and sounds. They seek to impact the audiences' minds without regard to geography.[22] Their audiovisual products become sold and standardized without regard to time or space. They are marketed to international consumers who come to view their world outlook and buying habits as the logical outcome of a new media culture, as outlined and identified by ECT. For example, many Hollywood films and DVD sales now make more revenue outside the United States than at home, while MTV, Disney, Apple, Microsoft, and Google have more aggressive expansion plans outside the United States than within it. IBM is a good example. Over 70 percent of all IBM employees work and live outside the United States. For many conglomerates the US domestic market is saturated, and thus off-shore sales, audiences, consumers – that is, expansion – is a logical trend that is enabled and explained by the phenomenon of ECT. The leading American communication giants describe themselves as global companies and not US companies. Their corporate strategic plans all focus on expanding global markets and on developing products and services for international consumption. They position themselves as stakeholders, beneficiaries, and advocates of the global economy. They are the foot-soldiers of electronic colonialism.

Another example of the growing focus on international trends and consumers who cannot seem to get enough of audiovisual, mainly American, material is to be found in the movie industry. It is interesting that the international audiences for American movies continue to grow at a rapid rate while domestic movie-goers are declining slightly. This phenomenon appears to apply even to movies which are duds at home but are attractive abroad. Consider two examples. In 2012 the movie *Battleship* made only $65 million in the United States but $238 million globally, and in the same year *John Carter* took in $73 million domestically but $210 million off-shore. This trend also applies to domestic hits that become huge successes internationally. Two prime examples are *Pirates of the Caribbean*, which grossed $241 at home but a staggering $803 million overseas, and *The Croods*, which grossed $143 million at home and $243 overseas. Clearly major American movies companies are aware of this growing trend and it will likely influence what does get produced in the future. Finally, it is additional evidence that the electronic colonizing of the minds abroad will continue unabated.

World System Theory

World system theory (WST) provides the concepts, ideas, and language for structuring international communication. It was proposed and developed by Immanuel Wallerstein.[23] The theory has also been linked to dependency theory[24] in that some of the criticisms are similar to the rhetoric and writings of the critical school of media scholars. Others have applied world system theory to specific sectors, as Thomas Clayton did to comparative education, and George Barnett and Young Choi did to telecommunications.[25] This chapter develops world system theory as it applies to international communication. The previously explained theory of electronic colonialism applies directly to the actions and reactions in the semiperipheral and peripheral zones, as developed by Wallerstein and others. These zones constitute prime export markets for multimedia firms.

World system theory states that global economic expansion takes place from a relatively small group of core-zone nation-states out to two other zones of nation-states, these being in the semiperipheral and peripheral zones. These three groupings or sectors of nation-states have varying degrees of interaction on economic, political, cultural, media, technical, labor, capital, and social levels. The contemporary world structure follows the logic of economic determinism in which market forces rule in order to place as well as determine the winners and losers, whether they are individuals, corporations, or nation-states.[26] It is assumed that the zones exhibit unequal and uneven economic relations, with the core nations being the dominant and controlling economic entity. The core nations have the power and are essentially the major Western industrialized nations. The semiperipheral and peripheral nations are in a subordinate position when interacting with core nations. Core nations exert control to their benefit and define the nature and extent of interactions with the other two zones. Core nations define the relations between the core and the semiperiphery as well as between the core and the periphery. The core provides technology, software, capital, knowledge, finished goods, and services to the other zones, which function as consumers and markets. The core nations also force a neoliberal approach concerning free markets and deregulation with the two weaker zones. The semiperipheral and peripheral zones engage in the relationship with core nations primarily through providing low-cost labor, raw materials, mass markets, or low-cost venues for feature films. Mass media technology (hardware) or products (software) represent the finished goods or services that reinforce and frequently dominate relations between the three sectors. World system theory is useful in examining the cultural industries, mass media systems, audiovisual industries, technology transfer, knowledge, regulatory regimes, and activities of the biggest global stakeholders, which pursue interrelated strategies to maximize corporate growth, market share, revenues, and profits.

Thomas Shannon describes the economic, labor, technology, and other processes among the three zones, as shown in Figure 1.1.[27] Central to these relationships is the learning of appropriate economic values that facilitate modernization. Some of these values are conveyed through advertising as well as in the content of Western core-produced mass media exports. Also central to the relationships among the sectors is a mass communication system that allows the transfer of media materials to create either a broadly based popular culture for a mass market or audience, or alternative cultures for a niche market large enough to encourage imports of select media products or services. The essential point is that, despite criticisms of modernization theory and goals, there are nevertheless clear stages and goals that peripheral nations need to learn, pass through, adopt, or clear as a precondition for advancing to the next zone, the semiperiphery. The nations in the semiperiphery engage in both core-like and periphery-like

Figure 1.1 Relationships in the capitalist world economy
Source: Thomas Shannon, *An Introduction to the World-System Perspective*, Boulder, CO:
Westview Press, 1989, p. 29 © 1989, 1996 by Westview Press. Reprinted by permission
of Westview Press.
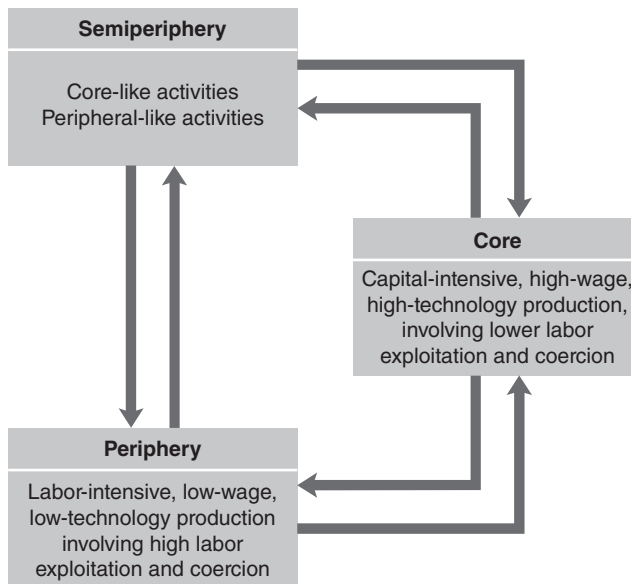
economic and media behavior. They strive to emulate core values over peripheral values
in order to become a core nation over time.

The core nations are generally considered to be the United States of America, the
European Union, without the most recent 10 entrants which are considered to still be
semiperipheral nations, Canada, Japan, Norway, Israel, Australia, New Zealand, South
Korea, Switzerland, and South Africa.

The semiperipheral nations are China, Brazil, India, Chile, Turkey, Mexico, Venezuela,
Argentina, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Oman, Pakistan, Croatia, Iceland, Philippines, and
the 10 new members of the European Union (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary,
Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovak Republic, and Slovenia), which are on the fast track
to become core nations. The European Union provides the necessary leadership and access
to capital and consumer markets to rapidly improve their economies compared to their
former status of being small, marginal nations on the world's stage. Over the next few
decades China, Brazil, and India are also likely to become core nations and to rival both the
United States and the European Union as world economic powers.

The peripheral nations – that is, most of Africa, Latin America, and large parts of Asia –
are the least developed nations, frequently referred to as the "Third World" or as developing
countries. This zone has the least trade, the weakest economies, high rates of corruption
and health problems, and the fewest news stories written or broadcast about them, plus the
worst Internet connectivity on the planet. The news stories that do appear about these
countries are negative, focusing on coups, civil wars, or natural disasters. Industrialization,
which is central to the rise of capitalism and capitalists, has yet to reach this peripheral zone.
Literacy – the ability to read newspapers, books, or magazines – is also lacking in this zone.
A defining characteristic of the peripheral zone is the agrarian nature of their economies.

Figure 1.2 Breakdown of the three world-system zones, 2013
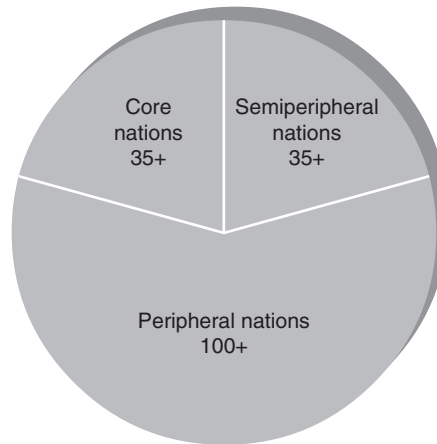
They lack influence or power in defining their relations with the core, with the major exception of being able to ban all foreign media imports, as Iran, North Korea, and other authoritarian regimes have done (see Figure 1.2).

World system theory explains well the expansion being played out in international communication. Mass media, including television and feature films, are major vehicles (sound, print, video, and data) for conveying and indoctrinating the two subordinate zones. The dominant capitalist ideology is embedded within the transactional structure, marketing, and strategic plans of the major core cultural industries. The major multinational media conglomerates come from core nations, particularly the United States and the European Union. They seek to influence, expand, and promote their range of cultural products, including books, magazines, movies, music, and so forth, into the two subordinate zones for profit. The software and hardware of international communication are constructed and marketed by core industries and enterprises. They are then sold directly or indirectly (through co-productions, minority ownership, licensing agreements, etc.) to semiperipheral and peripheral nations as quickly as these markets can absorb and pay for them. Just as the general world system theory explains that capitalist ideologies are necessary for the working and expansion of the global economy, so also the major multimedia conglomerates have a parallel goal of directly enhancing their performance, both at home and abroad, by promoting and endorsing core capitalist mechanisms and values within the two subordinate zones. Jim Collins, for example, describes Walt Disney as a visionary who used his company's products "to shape society and its values": "From Israel to Brazil, Sweden to Australia, children grow up with the guiding hand of Walt Disney partly shaping their imaginations and world outlook."[28] This is a classic example of what electronic colonialism is all about. The business leaders of core multinational media firms seek to convert and capture the attitudes, minds, and purchasing behavior of global customers in such a fashion that their products or services are purchased first and frequently.

If the economic, social, and cultural values of core nations are not accepted and internalized by the subordinate zones, then the necessary attitudes and required behavior to purchase core-produced CDs, movies, videos and DVDs, iPods, and books will not develop. Consumer spending is ultimately required in all zones. Core-based cultural industries and ideologies require the successful sale of core goods and services across the other two zones in order to increase market share as well as to join with other core industries such as

automobiles, fast food, equipment, airplanes, computers, and so on, so as to reap the benefits of an expanding global economy The utilization of advertising campaigns for cultural products, which are in many instances customized for the other zones, is also part of the overall capitalist movement.

Advertising itself represents a mini "case study" of world system theory and is covered in Chapter 15. Without going into excessive detail here, it is worth noting that almost all new media outlets worldwide are commercial stations or networks which rely solely on advertising revenue for their income and profits. This gives advertising enormous influence and a central role in the ultimate success of new ventures. Further compounding this dependency is the fact that all of the advertising agencies are multinational corporations from core nations. These core-headquartered agencies bring with them everything from accounting practices, research, graphics, and artwork to placement strategies that are imposed on media customers in the subordinate zones, as part of their comprehensive full-service contracts. Whether the enterprises are in print, radio, television, outdoor billboard, or the Internet, multinational advertising agencies frequently rule in the crucial component of the communication enterprise.

World system theory carries an implied belief that prosperity will accrue to the two subordinate zones as they become more pro-capitalist and expand their markets to include the core nations. But a major part of the prosperity problem is that as core nations expand their cultural artifacts and products to the other zones, these economic transactions often do two things. First, they require foreign customers to purchase core products, with the eventual profits returning to the multimedia conglomerates, most of which are based in Europe or the United States. Second, communication products manufactured in core nations usually displace or replace indigenous cultural products with foreign alternatives and values. Local films, music, books, and so forth in the two subordinate zones must now compete with major advertising and promotion campaigns affiliated with the core products that local firms are simply not able to afford. So in discussing prosperity, one needs to ask – prosperity for whom? Who is being rewarded – a local person or a foreign firm? As core enterprises expand into the subordinate zones, it is the multimedia firms that reap the prosperity in a measure not commensurate with their impact on or assistance in the subordinate zones.

One argument in favor of this imbalance of influence makes the case that labor, central to world system research, does benefit in the two subordinate zones. For example, when movies or television series are produced in the subordinate zones, extras, drivers, local restaurants, and merchants of all trades are involved, or when newspapers, magazines, or records are sold, a commission is paid to the local shopkeeper. Many other examples also illustrate that the subordinate zones do profit by being part of core nation transactions. In fact, core nations actively court other core nations' media firms to undertake business in their countries. Consider the following example, which deals with the filming industry and Canada–United States relations, both of which are core nations.

Many Canadian nationalists are worried about US media and cultural influences. Since the early introduction of radio in Canada, there has been a constant concern about US media spillover into Canadian homes, theaters, and minds. Yet as media giants become more concerned with and focused on global markets and profitability, Canada has increasingly welcomed film-making by Hollywood movie studios and US television networks. Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver are prime locations for US companies producing movies and television series. These productions create thousands of jobs annually and contribute millions of dollars to the Canadian economy. Canada, as the core nation physically closest to the leading core nation, the United States, has to accept the growing role that US, particularly Hollywood, studios play in its economy, employment,

and culture. As media costs escalate, particularly for leading stars, Canada begins to look like Hollywood North. A special report by *Maclean's* (Canada's weekly news magazine) entitled "Northern Exposure" sums up the situation: "Stars want good roles, studios want to save money and create good entertainment. By filming in the Great White North, they can have it all."[29]

Finally, although there is not much specific empirical media research[30] with a world system theory focus, one notable exception is a study by Kyungmo Kim and George Barnett. Their article, "The Determinants of International News Flow: A Network Analysis,"[31] is a good example of the utility of world system theory. They apply both world system and dependency theories. Following a detailed examination of international news flow across 132 nations, they conclude: "the findings of this research reveal the inequality in international news flow between the core and periphery. The Western industrialized countries are at the center, dominating international news flow. Most African, Asian, Latin American, and Oceania countries are at the periphery."[32] Based on a regression analysis of their data, they further conclude:

> This center–periphery structure of the international news flow network has two implications for communication dependency. First, Western industrialized countries are at the position in which they produce and sell international news. In contrast, the peripheral countries consume and depend on their information from the core countries. One way this happens is through the maintenance of historical colonial relationships.[33]

The authors point out that not much truly global research on international news flow has been undertaken for a variety of structural reasons; this study is a major exception. In 2008 Barnett and others produced another empirical piece with a world system framework entitled "The Structure of International Aid Flows and Global News." After examining Agence France Presse (AFP), Associated Press (AP), CNN, and Reuters in terms of coverage, countries mentioned, and the flow of aid, they concluded: "The results indicate that global news coverage is significantly related to aid allocations and relations. Recipient countries with a high level of news coverage receive more aid and have more international relations than those with less coverage."[34]

A similar twist is reported by Clifford Bob in his book *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism*.[35] After examining 45 activists and NGO leaders he concludes that aid goes to those with the most media skills and not necessarily the neediest or most worthy. Getting face time on CNN or the BBC is priceless for an NGO spokesperson during a crisis. Coverage does count. Bob claims that there is a Darwinian struggle for scarce resources among NGOs. Those needed resources could be money, media exposure, or relief aid.

In conclusion, the three zones of WST reflect a world where the living standards are extremely broad. Modernization and globalization have failed to produce the economic and social change that many academics and policy experts predicted. Wallerstein recognizes this:

> The whole discussion from 1945 to today has been one long effort to take seriously the reality that world-system is not only polarized but polarizing, and that this reality is both morally and politically intolerable. For countries at the bottom, there seemed nothing more urgent than figuring out how to improve their situation, and first of all economically. After all, all these people had to do was to see a movie and they would know that there were other people in the world that were better off than they were. As for the countries

at the top, they realized, however dimly, that the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free" represented a permanent danger to world order and their own prosperity, and that therefore something, somehow had to be done to dampen the tinderbox.[36]

The tinderbox is now loaded with terrorists who have two dominant traits: religious extremism and anti-Western ideologies. The Western or core nations have yet to come to grips collectively to solve this global phenomenon.

The Connection between Electronic Colonialism and World System Theories

There is a substantial and important link between electronic colonialism theory and world system theory. ECT posits that mass media when exported carry with them a broad range of values. These values are economic, social, cultural, and sometimes political or religious in nature. Increasingly they carry with them the English language, in terms of music, movies, or the Internet. WST theory elaborates and extends ECT by dividing the nations of the globe into three categories; it then expands on how the core category works to influence the two subordinate categories. Some core nations are concerned about the impact and penetration of ECT as well. Canada, France, the United Kingdom, Israel, New Zealand, and Australia are prime core nations that continually worry about the Americanization of their domestic cultural industries and consumer behavior. They realize that with each additional commercial media outlet more will be spent on foreign syndicated shows, leaving even less money for indigenous productions of all genres.

Nations in the subordinate categories, mainly the semiperiphery and periphery, have a multitude of reasons, whether they be economic, social, cultural, or moral, to be concerned about the implications of ECT. Dependency theory, in relation to attitudinal shifts brought about by repetitive interactions with core businesses, is an example of ECT. For example, since the 1980s there has been a steady stream of research from Latin America on the structural impact, mostly negative, of relations with core nations, particularly the United States, but also with former colonial powers in Europe, particularly Spain. Although much of this research failed to utilize or identify either electronic colonialism and world system theories as being relevant, in retrospect both theoretical constructs have much to offer in terms of organizing and explaining Latin American research and theory.

Just as WST applies to all three zones, so also ECT has different applications in each zone. Utilizing appropriate aspects of both theories will significantly enhance future research in international communication. ECT, with its cultural lens, and WST, with an economic lens, are well suited to examining the global activities of multinational cultural industries jointly.

Communication Forces among Nations

International communication as a commercial sector is an ideal case study of the application of world system theory. Multinational communication conglomerates, major wire services, as well as major advertising agencies are all based in the core zone. When operating in other core nations, or in semiperipheral and peripheral nations, they do so

with a well-refined and strategically set agenda drawn from the capitalist economic system. The semiperipheral and peripheral zones are viewed as prime potential markets for core-based multimedia corporations, which define the relations between the semiperipheral and peripheral nations. Part of the corporate goal is to influence the attitudes and values of potential customers as explained by the theory of electronic colonialism. There is no threat of force (such as military conquest), yet marketing strategies, research, advertising, and economic savvy permit core-zone businesses to influence consumer behavior by creating global mindsets that favor their cultural products and services. Core nations thrive on market-based activities since they make the rules.

To understand the post-Cold War global communication environment, it is necessary to understand the evolution of the two quite different views of the core industrialized nations, and that the peripheral regions are, after decades of modernization efforts, still locked into the peripheral zone. Indeed, some peripheral nations are now worse off than they were under European colonial masters. Their situation – in terms of economy, health, education, indigenous media, and technology – has only deteriorated over time.

Also, during the 1990s, the movements toward liberalization and privatization saw many nations' state-controlled and state-owned media monopolies coming under siege. The siege was not from an armed military intruder, but rather a mix of three new strong hegemonic communication forces. These forces were:

1   the expansion of cable and satellite broadcasting systems;
2   an avalanche of Western, primarily American, television and movie programs; and
3   the collective rules of the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund.

These three forces, together with hardware, software, and free market rules, radically altered the media environment and balance in a vast number of core and semiperipheral nations between 1980 and today. Whereas only one or two public television channels were the norm for years, suddenly dozens of new channels and choices have appeared on television sets as cable or satellite services became available around the globe. The effect was to create electronic colonies, built mostly around US shows or music, out of a new generation of viewers and listeners around the world.

For years, public broadcasting systems, particularly in Europe, had attempted to enlighten and to inform their audiences. But with new channels came new opportunities to promote entertainment, advertising, market forces, and the clear goal of making a profit. Commercial channels sought out popular programming ranging from *Big Brother*, *Millionaire*, *The Weakest Link*, *Survivor*, *The Simpsons*, to soap operas and reality shows, to *Baywatch*. In their wake, they left smaller audiences for the public broadcasters, which in turn were coming under increasing pressure from politicians and regulatory authorities to do something about their shrinking audiences. At the same time, many commercial broadcasters were seeking increased revenue from public sources. Every new commercial channel that is introduced steals away a portion, even if it is small, of the audience from the public channels. The public networks find themselves seriously challenged by financial, technological, and regulatory forces which are in many cases beyond their control. The new forces all emanate from the core nations to the semiperipheral and peripheral zones. In the latter, the consumption of media from local, sometimes bland, monopolies is frequently being replaced by Western media and foreign values that have had considerable cultural, economic, regulatory, and political repercussions over time.

Breadth of the Problem

The range of global communication activities is extensive indeed. At one end of the spectrum is the large group of developing, or peripheral, nations concerned with basic communication infrastructures, such as the introduction of radio or telephone services. At the other end are the core nations, some of which have been industrialized for over a century while others are concerned with their own survival in the rapidly evolving information age and do not want to become information colonies of other nations. Communication issues related to mergers, transnational data flows, computers, censorship, privacy, and employment in cultural industries are central policy concerns for several industrialized nations, particularly across Europe. This is highlighted by the fact that today more than 50 percent of the US gross national product (GNP) depends on information-based services and industries. This means that future highly skilled employment will be directly related to the ability to supply all aspects of the information chain – hardware, software, and research and development – that are necessary to participate and to be a net winner in the information age.

Clearly, for Western core nations such as Canada, France, Switzerland, Australia, the Nordic countries, and others the fear is that they may become electronic colonies of the United States. This represents a serious threat and challenge to their culture and identity, and to their employment opportunities in the communication sector. It is forcing these countries to rethink their national media philosophies and public support, including subsidies to the arts. Issues related to national sovereignty, culture, language, and electronic colonialism are once again raising questions about the appropriate role of government intervention, fiscal assistance to cultural industries, and media ownership regulations. The emergence of the electronic newspaper, interactive cable services, the Internet, smartphones, and direct satellite broadcasting is raising questions about the role of regulation and the concept of national borders or boundaries Although the specific questions may differ, the basic issues are not far removed from the scope of concerns of peripheral nations in relation to their communication disparities and problems.

Another issue for industrialized countries relates to the growing conflict between economic and national security imperatives. From the beginning, competitive and commercial pressures have affected information flows as media outlets tried to silence the voices of their competitors. Today, the major supporters of the free-flow philosophy are governments responding to pressures from multinational corporate interests – from American Express to Microsoft, IBM, and Time Warner – that are seeking to protect or to extend their corporate (and not necessarily US national) interests. What is good for IBM in selling computer systems to Iran, Cuba, China, or Venezuela, for example, may not necessarily be good for the national, or indeed international, interests of the United States. Yet these corporations and their advertising agencies rely on open borders and open markets, backed by the World Trade Organization, in order to compete effectively in the global economy.

Finally, it should be recognized that much of the pressure and support for the free-flow philosophy is coming from print media, both daily newspapers and major weekly magazines. Their concern is intense and historically genuine. But technology is quickly moving them toward government involvement in the dissemination of their messages. Although print and electronic media are still running on separate legal and regulatory tracks, their paths are expected to converge as print media increasingly rely on electronic information systems such as the Internet to take their messages to consumers. The current wave of newspapers in distress or going out of business will continue. Their fate was predicted as early as 1980.[37] Although the print media have always been regulated to

some degree,[38] they will find themselves increasingly restrained by legislative, regulatory, or court actions that are clearly inconsistent with the spirit of a free press or the United States' First Amendment rights.

What is significant, then, is that international communication is no longer solely focused on the role of the print press and the newsgathering habits of the international news agencies, such as AP and Reuters. It is growing to encompass a broad range of issues that arise from the emergence of the Internet, global broadcasting, global advertising, and the global economy. The further economic decline of LDCs, the pervasiveness of satellite-delivered television programming, and the ability of the Internet to defy traditional means of control are all reigniting the debate about the appropriate environment for international communication, along with the appropriate role of government in global communication policy.[39] Good examples of the transnational problems that have arisen are the WikiLeaks controversy and an online community calling itself Anonymous. In 2010 the WikiLeaks founder and director Julian Assange released 251,287 pages of US embassies' cables, several of which contained embarrassing information. Anonymous is a group of Internet "hacktivists" who expose attempts at Internet censorship or surveillance, and who have hacked into various government websites to expose embarrassing information, for example:

> The hacktivist group Anonymous hijacked the U.S. federal sentencing website early Saturday, using the page to make a brazen and boisterous declaration of 'war' on the US government. The group claims mysterious code-based 'warheads,' named for each of the Supreme Court Justices, are about to be deployed … The statement opens with a lament for Aaron Swartz, the Reddit programmer and Internet activist who committed suicide earlier this month. Promising revenge for his treatment at the hands of a federal prosecutor, the screed veers into some of the most inflammatory – dare we say hyperbolic – language we've seen on a simple front page hack.[40]

The Impact of Social Media

During the Cold War era the three major American national broadcasting networks – ABC, CBS, and NBC – dominated the US airwaves and priority was given to foreign news. But with the introduction of cable systems and broadcast satellites in the 1970s, these telecommunication advances changed news programs forever. Viewers suddenly had many more channels to choose from. One side effect of this explosion of choice is fragmentation of the networks' audiences and a decline in advertising for news broadcasting. Other industrialized Western nations are facing similar problems, but their situation is different from that of the United States. For decades public broadcasters like the BBC had a monopoly on radio and then television broadcasting. But after the end of World War II all public broadcasters faced a plethora of new and aggressive commercial competitors.

A recent report, entitled "One Third of the World's Population is Now Online," shows the movement online and the expansion of information and communication technologies (ICTs) across the globe. The report documents the growing use of information and communication technologies, particularly mobile phone and social media usage in developing countries, and shows that a third of the world's population is now online.[41]

Collectively the online phenomena, the introduction of citizen journalists and professionals online, the continuing fragmentation of the audience, new stakeholders,

and other factors paint a bleak picture for the future of international news. The shift to Internet-based information has tended to cater to rather parochial issues and matters rather than more cosmopolitan and international items. Digital technologies have created perplexing challenges for legacy media outlets as they, and a range of new tech-savvy providers, seek a new business model which reflects the new environment and captures a sufficient audience as well.

Format for the Balance of the Book

The foregoing highlights the general themes of this book. It examines broadcasting, mass media, and news services ranging from MSNBC, MTV, and CNN to television sitcoms and Hollywood export markets. It investigates the roles of the major players, whether they be News Corp, Sony, the BBC, Disney, Bertelsmann, Viacom, or Time Warner. It probes the role of advertising and the influences, as well as future, of the Internet and their ability to transcend national boundaries and beliefs.

The growing importance and significance of other major regions is reflected in new chapters in the fourth edition, which deal with the media in the Middle East, particularly Al Jazeera, in Europe, and in Asia. There is also a new chapter on public diplomacy. It focuses on the important issue of US public diplomacy in a global world of ideas and ideologies.

Global communication of all types is undergoing major re-examination. In order to understand the various factors influencing the processes of international communication, we need to know who the major stakeholders are and how certain economic and technical forces are changing the global media landscape. This book details the changes in the nature, flow, and control of all types of international communication, including news, in the future. In order to accomplish this, the remainder of *Global Communication* outlines the major institutions, individuals, corporations, technologies, and issues that are altering the international information, telecommunication, and broadcasting order. This includes all types of media activities – wire services, Internet, fax, electronic data, satellite broadcasting, journalism, film, radio, television, mobile phone use, and advertising. Traditional assumptions about media flows and priorities are being challenged and altered daily. What follows is a descriptive and analytical portrayal of how certain events, some very recent, are affecting the domestic and foreign information environments of today and tomorrow. Central to the discussion are the collapse of communism, the importance of global media and communication organizations, global wars and their coverage, the influence of global advertisers, and, finally, the substantial and somewhat unanticipated impact of personal computers, mobile devices, and the Internet.

These issues are explained and interpreted through three major movements or theories: NWICO, electronic colonialism, and world system theory. Collectively, they help organize or frame the trends, economics, technologies, and stakeholders involved in the dynamic, globally significant, and expanding role of international communication. Part of the dynamic is the pace of mergers and acquisitions affecting several of the global communication stakeholders. As the global economy evolves and increases in influence, international communication moves in unison with it. The other part is the rapid pace of innovation of technologies which support global communication, and to a large extent make it easier. International communication will have a greater impact on the future of the planet than exploration and transportation combined.

Notes

1. Katherine Bradshaw, James Foust, Joseph Bernt, and Brian Krol, "Domestic, International, and Foreign News Content on ABC, CBS, and NBC Network News from 1971 to 2007", paper presented at the Annual AEJMC Conference, Chicago, 2012, 3.

2. Bradshaw et al., "Domestic, International, and Foreign News Content," 3.

3. Alisa Miller, "The News about the News," at http://www.ted.com/talks/lang/en/alisa_miller_shares_the_news_about_the_news.html, accessed September 5, 2013.

4. Rasmus Kleis Nielsen, *Ten Years that Shook the Media World*, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, at http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/documents/Publications/Working_Papers/Nielsen_-_Ten_Years_that_Shook_the_Media.pdf, accessed August 8, 2013.

5. Hong-Won Park, "A Gramscian Approach to Interpreting International Communication," *Journal of Communication* 48(4) (1998), 79.

6. Sallie Hughes and Chappell Lawson, "The Barriers to Media Opening in Latin America, *Political Communication* 22 (2005), 9–10.

7. David Holman, "Economic Policy and Latin America Culture: Is a Virtuous Circle Possible?" *Journal of Latin American Studies* 31 (February 1999), 176.

8. *New York Times* (September 13, 1998), WK 7.

9. Jill Hills, *The Struggle for Control of Global Communication: The Formative Century*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

10. There are several ways of defining and categorizing the nations of the world. Frequent dichotomies include North/South, East/West, developed/underdeveloped, socialist/capitalist, industrialized/developing. Another system categorizes according to core, semiperipheral, and peripheral. Although the system is far from perfect, this book will use the following categories. Western nations include the industrialized nations, which according to the World Bank are Australia, the United Kingdom Canada, Finland, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, United States, and Germany. Most of these are situated in the North and are core nations. The peripheral nations are located mainly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America – generally to the South.

    It should also be noted that nations are continually obtaining independence or moving back and forth on both the political and the economic continua. Examples include Russia, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Mexico, Brazil, the former Yugoslavia, Venezuela, and Poland. No definition will fit accurately over time. Therefore, the terms are used for the sake of convenience, because they reflect the major global parties involved in the NWICO debate. These categories also apply to the theories of electronic colonialism and world system which will be detailed later.

11. Ha-Joon Chang, *Bad Samaritans: The Myth of Free Trade and the Secret History of Capitalism*, New York: Bloomsbury, 2008.

12. Morton Rosenblum, *Coups and Earthquake*, New York: Harper & Row, 1979, pp. 1–2.

13. Rosenblum, *Coups and Earthquake*, pp. 1–2.

14. Rosenblum, *Coups and Earthquake*, pp. 1–2.

15. Cultural reproduction theorists view international media initiatives as a means of reproducing and socializing students in peripheral nations into knowledge systems that make them more compatible with Western ideals and, equally important, Western consumer values. Cultural reproduction theorists see foreign mass media as reproducing and socializing the populace of other nations into a knowledge system or frame of mind that will make them more compatible with or sympathetic to foreign ideas and consumer values. See Alan Hedley, "Technological Diffusion or Cultural Imperialism? Measuring the Information Revolution," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 39(2) (June 1998), 198–213. Hedley states: "Also flowing from this analysis is the potential for cultural dominance that the information revolution may foster. However, unlike previous technological revolutions, what are at stake are the very minds and thought processes of those dominated. Only powerful nations currently have the ability to choose the type of information society most compatible with their cultural institutions" (p. 210). Edward Goldsmith focuses on the role of transnational corporations and their expanding development of the global economy: "The new corporate colonialism is thus likely to be far more cynical and more ruthless than anything we have seen so far. It is likely to dispossess, impoverish and marginalize more people, destroy more cultures and cause more environmental devastation than either the colonialism of old or the development of the last 50 years. The only question is. How long can it last?" ("Development as Colonialism," *Ecologist*, 27(2) (March–April 1997), 69–78, p. 76).

16. The major global stakeholders for all these sectors are detailed in later chapters. Some readers may want to refer to these chapters now.

17. Jill Hills, *The Struggle for Control of Global Communication*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

18. United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 1948.

19. Herbert I. Schiller, *Mass Communication and American Empire*, New York: A. M. Kelley, 1969; Tapio Varis, "Global Traffic in Television," *Journal of Communication* 24(1) (1974), 102–9; Jeremy Tunstall, *The Media Are American*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1977.

20. Thomas McPhail, *Electronic Colonialism: The Future of International Broadcasting and Communication*, rev. 2nd edn, Newbury, CA: Sage, 1986.

21. David Napier, *Righting the Passage: Perceptions of Change After Modernity*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

22. Al Reis and Jack Trout, *Positioning: The Battle for Your Mind*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 2001.

23. Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, New York: Academic Press, 1974; *The Modern World System III*, San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1989; and "National Development and the World System at the End of the Cold War," in A. Inkeles and M. Sasaki (eds.), *Comparing Nations and Cultures: Readings in a Cross-Disciplinary Perspective*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1996, pp. 484–97. A definition of world system theory, along with a fine review of research trends, is contained in Thomas Hall's "The World-System Perspective a Small Sample from a Large Universe," *Sociological Inquiry* 66(4) (November 1996), 440–54.

24. André Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969; Barnett Singer and John Langdon, "France's Imperial Legacy," *Contemporary Review*, 27(2) (May 1998), 231–8; Alvin So, *Social Change and Development: Modernization, Dependency, and World System Theory*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990.

25. Thomas Clayton, "Beyond Mystification: Reconnecting World System Theory for Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review* 42 (November 1998), 479–94; George Barnett and Young Choi, "Physical Distance and Language as Determinants of the International Telecommunications Network," *International Political Science Review* 16(3) (1995), 249–65.

26. Or groups of nation-states such as those in NAFTA, the European Union, ASEAN, or MERCOSUR.

27. Thomas Shannon, *An Introduction to the World-System Perspective*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989.

28. Jim Collins, "Shaping Society," *USA Today* (September 23, 1999), 19A.

29. "Northern Exposure," *Maclean's* (October 11, 1999), 71.

30. John Comer, Philip Schlesinger, and Roger Silverstone (eds.), *International Media Research: A Critical Survey*, London: Routledge, 1997.

31. Kyungmo Kim and George Barnett, "The Determinants of International News Flow: A Network Analysis," *Communication Research*, 23 (June 1996), 323–52. See also G. Barnett, T. Jacobson, and S. Sun-Millar, "An Examination of the International Communication Network, *Journal of International Communication* 3(3) (1996), 19–43; G. Barnett, "A Longitudinal Analysis of the International Telecommunications Network: 1978–1996," *American Behavioral Scientist* 44(10) (June 2001), 1638–55; G. Barnett, B. S. Chon, and D. Rosen, "The Structure of International Internet Flows in Cyberspace," *NETCOM (Network and Communication Studies)* 15(1–2) (September 2001), 61–80.

32. Yon Soo Lim, George Barnett, and Jang Hyun Kim, "The Structure of International Aid Flows and Global News," *Journal of International Communication* 14(2) (2008), 139.

33. Kim and Barnett, "The Determinants of International News Flow," 344.

34. Lim, Barnett, and Kim, "The Structure of International Aid Flows and Global News," 134.

35. Clifford Bob, *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

36. Immanuel Wallerstein, "After Developmentalism and Globalization, What?" *Social Forces* 83(3) (March 2005), 1265–6.

37. In 1980, after examining a series of emerging videotext systems across North America, I realized that the newspaper industry was a prime target for eventual competition from a coalescing of electronic inventions. For example, in chapter 1 of a public policy study, entitled "The Electronic Newspaper," I predicted in prescient fashion basically what is unfolding today.

   What does all this mean, or what should it mean, for daily newspapers? Basically, it means the door-to-door newspaper as we know it today is on the skids. While it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the rate of transition to the electronically disseminated newspaper, it is reasonable to believe that a major part of this transition will occur within the twenty-first century. Clearly, it will not be an overnight change. Certain newspaper services will slowly be transferred to a computerized videotext system. As more and more of these services leave the prototype stage and begin operating as subscription services, the financial viability of the print newspaper will become increasingly challenged. At the same time, the financial ability of information providers to develop and to encourage additional information services will increase (T. L. McPhail, *The Future of the Daily Newspaper: Public Policy Issues*, Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1980, pp. 5–6).

38. This refers to journalistic limitations. Most agree that there should be no limitations on the political, economic, or social consequences of investigative journalism, but clearly there are legal limitations. These include the laws related to libel, slander, defamation, obscenity, and so forth that do constrain what is printed or aired. For example, in 2004 US Federal officials used the Intelligence Identities Protection Act of 1982 to charge journalists from major media outlets with illegal activities.

39. Another forum of nations is the International Network for Cultural Diversity (INCD), which began with a meeting in Canada in 1998, followed by meetings in Mexico, Greece, Switzerland, South Africa, and Croatia, plus a growing number of regional meetings. These meetings focus on cultural identity, cultural policy, and the impact of cultural globalization. A growing concern of the member nations is the treatment of cultural industries, particularly television, film, and magazines by the World Trade Organization (WTO). The INCD group, which does not include the United States, views the WTO's policies as favoring the one-way flow of Hollywood and New York products around the globe to the detriment of local cultures. One policy option being floated at INCD meetings is the removal of cultural goods and services from WTO agreements. This initiative has major implications concerning global trade for the major stakeholders detailed in later chapters.

Finally, Canada is providing leadership for the INCD group for the obvious reason that it is on the cutting edge of becoming an electronic colony of the United States to a very large extent. It has become a branch plant of US media empires. The foreign content of Canada's mass media is staggering: 98 percent of theater revenues are for foreign, mainly Hollywood, films; 83 percent of magazines sold are foreign, for example *Time*, *People*, and *Sports Illustrated*; 80 percent of music sales in all formats are foreign; and more than 60 percent of television programming on the three national networks comes from other nations, despite decades of electronic media content regulations, along with handsome financial subsidies, from the Canadian federal government.

40. Chris Taylor, "Anonymous Hacks US Government Site, Threatens Supreme 'Warheads,'" *Mashable* (January 26, 2013), at http://mashable.com/2013/01/26/anonymous-hack-government-website-declares-war/, accessed August 7, 2013.

41. *The World in 2011 – ICT Facts and Figures*, Geneva: ICT Data and Statistics Division, 2011, at http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/facts/2011/material/ICTFactsFigures2011.pdf, accessed August 7, 2013.