

# 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 (US) 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 on September 11, 2001.

Today, the US 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 US in the global marketplace, there is no large-scale foreign military threat to the United States. But today there are new enemies' threats out there. The Taliban, Al-Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, the Islamic Jihad, suicide bombers, extremists, and a vast array of terrorist cells around the world have taken up new weapons to confront the US and other nations. The new weapons are primarily low tech:

## 2 Background

smartphones, the internet, social networking sites, video cameras, Twitter, netbooks, and other means. Improvised explosive devices (IEDs) have replaced the nuclear bombs scare of the Cold-War era. This widespread terrorist phenomenon has again seen an 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. 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. Now Afghanistan and Iran are front-page news on an almost daily basis. 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 prisoner scandals, war crimes, and public safety have led to a new global agenda and media focus, returning coverage to the Cold-War era coverage levels.

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 that the interdependence of economies big, like the US, 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 “[w]e live in an era of new cultural conditions that are characterized by faster adoption and assimilation of foreign cultural products than ever before,”<sup>1</sup> 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 in foreign minds.

Historically, the United States 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. The United Kingdom withdrew as well and has also 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. Hard-line Soviet style journalists were either forced into retirement, or they quickly claimed adherence to free press traditions and practices. Several former Soviet dominated nations had become members of the European Union. This included a move to market economies and a media system supporting a free press.

Yet the current international communication landscape is in a state of flux. The vacuum created by the demise of the old Soviet Union had been filled by an atmosphere of economic determinism influenced by the reality of the increasing global economy. Economic determinism and free market beliefs, including global mergers and the pursuit of foreign markets, moved the focus of power and discussion from Main Street to Wall Street. Even the stock markets became transnational entities. More and more American firms, from Hollywood films, Blockbuster, to music, to Microsoft now earn more than 50 percent of their profits from abroad. Eighty percent of MTV's total audience is non-US and this percentage will only continue to expand as the global economy continues to grow in size and importance. Yet now this economic-based media orientation has to be shared with terrorism topics and the heavy costs associated with covering foreign wars, widely scattered terrorist bombings, or global disasters like the Asian tsunami.

The following are two examples of different global communication issues, one concerning terrorism, and one from Latin America. These vignettes reflect the breath and diversity of global communication issues. There are also complete chapters on media matters across Europe, the Middle East, and Asia later in the book.

## Terrorism and September 11, 2001

Not only did the world change as result of the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon; the global media changed as well. In New York City alone, the estimated costs of the terrorist attack exceeded \$17 billion, over 100,000 jobs, and nearly 3,000 lives. All major US news outlets, print and electronic, created special programming or special editions to cover not only the attack itself but also its aftermath. In particular, CNN and the *New York Times* devoted significant coverage, news space, and attention to terrorism. Major television network shows, such as the Emmys, were rescheduled, and Hollywood producers assisted federal government officials in designing media propaganda to counter global terrorism. The US government even created a new high profile Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy position. The main goal was to find a way to improve the US's image among the Muslim world. Yet after a series of disastrous foreign tours led by political partisans with little knowledge of Islam or the Arabic language or culture, the effort was doomed. The issue of public diplomacy from a global perspective is now so important that an entire chapter is devoted to it later in this book.

Related events also kept the 9/11 and War on Terrorism themes alive. Events such as Al-Jazeera's showing of various Osama Bin Laden and other Al-Qaeda videotapes became an issue within the Pentagon, as well as major US television outlets. The January 2002 kidnapping and murder of *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl also became part of the terrorism coverage. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the train bombing in Spain, terrorist actions in the Philippines, and the school massacre in Belsen, Russia, the heavy death toll in India as a small group of terrorists attacked two luxury hotels, gave global media outlets a plethora of new material and evidence of an altered and more dangerous world.

The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon United States (9/11 Commission) held numerous open hearings and its widely read final report in July 2004 gave further life to the post-9/11 media frenzy. In particular, terrorism expert Richard Clarke's strong statements against the Republican administration also kept the commission and terrorism on the front pages and provided a much needed daily windfall for the all-news networks.

The global media coverage also shifted, putting on the radar renewed emphasis on the Arab-Israeli conflict, Muslim culture and communities, the plight of the Palestinians, and the labeling of Hamas as a terrorist organization. . The mass media also began running pieces about the disastrous Vietnam War and began making quagmire analogies to the Iraq War. The US election of President Obama signaled a policy shift to remove US troops from Iraq but at the same time to redirect and increase efforts in Afghanistan against the war-lords and the Taliban.

The BBC also got caught up in the war coverage issue. The BBC presented a piece about the contentious WMD rationale and interviewed a British expert,

David Kelly. He claimed that the evidence was “sexed up” to support the WMD claim. Shortly thereafter he committed suicide as a direct result of the stress caused by the media frenzy surrounding his testimony. Following that, the BBC management began a formal investigation, known as the Hutton Report, and several lapses in journalistic integrity by the BBC were noted. Senior BBC officials resigned as a result of the report as well.

In terms of the mass media itself, prior to 9/11 much of the literature on network television news focused on the preponderance of bad news. Phrases like “if it bleeds it leads” were common in terms of framing and understanding what was going to dominate the nightly newscasts, both locally and nationally. Post-September 11, this news mantra became the global mantra and other world broadcasters became either enthralled or captivated with the horrors of war and scattered terrorist acts, beginning with Afghanistan and the raids on Taliban-resistance fighters. Iraq and the gruesome beheadings of kidnap victims became common fare on the BBC World Television Service and CNN, as did the horrific pictures and tales of abuse and torture by US military coming out of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal. In fact, the internet was central to exposing the prison scandal. In Iraq US soldiers were sending pictures and e-mails back home to their family and friends. This is how the circulation of pictures moved from the internet to mainstream mass media, such as CBS’s *60 Minutes*. The US military also tried to adapt and come up with a reasonable policy, which appeared elusive, concerning soldiers that were blogging their daily activities in Iraq on the internet, much to the chagrin of not only their field commanders, but also the Pentagon in Washington. The Iraq war became known as the first internet war.

In 2005 British soldiers were prosecuted for Abu Ghraib type torture in a jail near Basra. The European media were outraged at the abuse photographs. Some media began referring to the US and British military in Iraq as a coalition of the shameful.

Finally, the post-9/11 media environment, which was dominated by a great deal of sympathy for the position and activities of the Bush administration, has come under some criticism. FOX network, Judith Miller of the *New York Times*, Sinclair Broadcasting and others were labeled as public relation apologists for the White House and Pentagon. There was also the failure by the mainstream media to examine critically the Patriot Act, ghost detainees, or military oversight at the Guantanamo Bay, wire-tapping of American citizens, and basically no tough questioning of Attorneys General, or the FBI and CIA. CBS news anchor Dan Rather openly accused his fellow journalists of lying down and fearing the White House or FBI subpoenas, or other retribution, if they pursued high-profile stories or questioned the War on Terrorism.<sup>2</sup> A notable exception was *The New Yorker’s* Seymour Hersh. He withstood the orchestrated criticism of his magazine pieces and his book, *Chain of Command: The Road from 9/11 to Abu Ghraib*. In the book, he details how the torture and acts of humiliation by the US military in Iraq were an outcome or fallout of the US disregarding the Geneva Convention and proceeding without the United

Nations' full support. Speaking at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism in the fall of 2004, Richard Sambrook, Director of the BBC's World Service and Global News Division made critical comments about the US media being less than objective in their post-9/11 coverage, particularly of the war in Iraq (Sambrook, 2004). Seth Lewis and Stephen Reese after studying the framing process at a major American newspaper concerning the coverage of the War on Terror state that:

In response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the Bush administration advanced a War on Terror to justify security policies at home and military intervention abroad, exemplified by continuing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. As a rhetorical device for marshaling resources and defining the terms of the debate, the War on Terror has emerged as a powerful ideological frame.<sup>3</sup>

Basically the new War on Terror represented a quantum change in US foreign policy. Anything done in the name of national security was permissible and any challenge, even by the media, represented weakness and a lack of understanding the new Bush–Cheney war, including torture, ideology.

The lack of a critical stance by the media could also be said about coverage of the war in Afghanistan. But the war in Afghanistan is fundamentally different from the Iraq war. The latter was a war of choice not related to 9/11. The Afghanistan war on the other hand was related to 9/11. Osama Bin Laden and the Taliban were all over various caves and towns across the region. They were a clear terrorist threat. But even the media got caught up in a battle of frames as the US military command pushed one approach and the NATO command pursued another. Michael Phillips of the *Wall Street Journal* calls it a PR war. He reported on June 1, 2009 that the US command was back at providing body counts of enemy Taliban killed in Afghanistan. Phillips states:

The practice has revealed deep divides in military circles over the value of keeping such a score in a war being waged not over turf, but over the allegiance of the Afghan people. Does it buck up the troops and the home front to let them know the enemy is suffering, too? Or does the focus on killing distract from the goals of generating legitimacy and economic development?<sup>4</sup>

Not since the Vietnam war have body counts become a media strategy for the US military. In contrast, the 42 nation NATO command is solidly against the practice. They want to convince the people of Afghanistan that they were there to aid them, not kill them. The issue came down to a battle for the minds of Afghans being the primary goal of the NATO forces, whereas the US military were concerned more about the minds of the voters and politicians back home in terms of continuing their support for the nearly decade long war with no victory in sight. Body counts and civilian victims were of less importance to the US military command than their public relations push at home. NATO attempted to set the frame or media agenda as one supporting the tenets of a civil society, including a free press; the US command set the frame quite differently employing a tactic from

the Vietnam era where the dead played a role in stoking support for the war effort. The public diplomacy aspect and negative fallout in terms of alienating the Afghans, including their prime minister, were ignored by the Pentagon. This is surprising given the efforts of the US State Department to place public diplomacy near the top of its agenda for the Muslim world. More is said about this important aspect in a later chapter of this book.

## Latin American Media

Latin American media are significantly different from media markets in North 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 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 reports have wound up dead. Although Latin American markets are substantial in terms of population and growing consumer base, they still are 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.<sup>5</sup>

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 crossroad; 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, which speaks Portuguese), 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 Great Britain 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 create their own programming, they created an interesting and successful genre known as telenovelas. They 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 other non-English speaking European countries, as well as Florida and California. Many of the leading actors and actresses are national celebrities, like soccer stars, in the various regions of Latin America. The export market is expanding rapidly for telenovelas 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 people. 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 among labor unions, priests and nuns pursuing Liberation theology, and academics, which were frequently of like mind as they sought Marxist or left-wing solutions to 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 saw American junk culture with the same distain through which they saw 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 takes 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 role of media and culture, plus their impact on economic growth in Latin America, has been demonstrated in the literature. Cultural change and economic change are linked, but as David Holman points out, “[T]he ‘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.”<sup>6</sup> Yet historically Latin American communication scholars have been among the most critical and particularly 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 involving 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 when 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 as preparation for breaking foreign stories. In the past, this weakness frequently was 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 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 United States government sought to assist in the overthrow of Chile’s democratically elected leftist government. The United States was hostile to Chilean president Salvadore Allende, whom US President Richard Nixon had labeled a communist threat. According to the US State Department, Allende had to be removed, or he could set an example and communism could 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.

Without detailing the specific role of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 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.<sup>7</sup>

The result of this cozy 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-US 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.

The terrorist piece and Chilean example reflect the dramatically changing landscape confronting international communication. This book looks at global media, global communication technologies, such as the internet, global advertising, multimedia organizations, Europe, the Middle East, 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 New World Information and Communication Order emerged. But before discussing NWICO, from an 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 (Hills, 2002).<sup>8</sup> 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 would separate the Crimean War from the others was the impressive fact that this war was the first to be covered by a foreign correspondent. For example an earlier war of 1812, between Canada and Great Britain against the US, ended in 1815. Canada and Great Britain declared victory with the Treaty of Ghent, ending the war. It was signed in Europe in December 1814. But this agreement did not reach North

America until February 1815. With the newly invented telegraph, however, it was possible during the Crimean War for reporters to send daily dispatches. The necessary new technology was the telegraph, which was 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 region. The Russians lost the Crimean War under the Treaty of Paris. Following this loss the Russians pulled back from their global expansionist goals. They soon sold Alaska in 1867 to the US for \$7.2 million.

William Harold Russell was the first foreign war correspondent for the London-based *Times*, which was founded in 1785 and now is controlled by News Corp. Three interesting factors emerged from this coverage. First, Florence Nightingale, the legionary nursing pioneer, complained to the British press about how poorly the British war casualties were treated, and the horrific battlefield 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 US, with over half a million deaths, the pictures and accounts were major copy for the infant print press across the north and south. Several foreign correspondents from Europe also covered the Civil War. For example, the UK reporters supported the slavery-afflicted South to protect the cheap source of cotton for British factories. The UK press for centuries has been blindly supportive of the monarchy and the national government's policies, right or wrong. 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 almost two 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).<sup>9</sup>

Despite the fact that some proponents still champion this vision, many believe that NWICO is no longer a serious international issue. Even UNESCO, where much of the debate took place, has abandoned it. Yet NWICO may become a born-again matter because of the deep divisions which emerged from the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). The 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 complete 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.<sup>10</sup> 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 will bring increased 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 a 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.

The concerns of the Western press about NWICO are not merely theoretical. Because it legitimates a governmental role in the dissemination of information, several nation-states continue to support and implement policies based on NWICO. In Africa, for example, the government of Liberia, through its Ministry of Information, released an edict restricting press access to the internet. Journalists need a government permit, which limits the information they can cover. Because no permit or license has ever been issued for use of the internet, this activity basically is prohibited.

The nations of Africa are not alone in their attempts to intervene and establish restrictive regulations concerning international websites. For example, in the Middle East, Islamic opposition to media, including the internet, is widespread:

First satellite television, now the Internet. Computer-literate Saudi citizens, already spoilt for satellite choice, are about to be swamped by a wave of imported material on the Internet. After considerable delay, the government is expected to announce on October 19th [1998] which local companies have been chosen to deliver this Trojan horse of miscellaneous information into Saudi Arabia's pristine households. The Saudi government long ago decided that unfettered access to foreign websites would introduce a torrent of political and religious debate, not all of which would be welcomed by the regime.<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup>

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, videodiscs, 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 are willing to post abroad. Second, restrictions range 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 expend 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 *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 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. Without the Cold War, there was no strong focus for international news. With no counterpoint or dramatic confrontations between East and West, there were no engaging images to attract the public's attention to international coverage. The terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the aftermath of terrorist bombings around the globe has changed all that. But even that coverage and carnage has been decreasing over time.

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.

This system is geared as much to amuse and divert as it is to inform, and it responds inadequately when suddenly called upon to explain something so 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.<sup>13</sup>

Why is this the case? What are the implications? In an era of so much information, why is there so little useful information? The Western press warns that this situation would worsen under NWICO. The idea of licensing foreign correspondents is seen as the first of many steps that collectively will result in fewer reporters being acceptable to authoritarian nations and only favorable, pro-government

news stories being permitted out of many of them. As this book describes in detail, international news coverage is going to change. The question is whether it is going to 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 terms of 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 (ECT)

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. The concept of NWICO offers another macro approach. 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.

## Four Epochs of Global Colonization

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 represented the second era during the Middle Ages. 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 and 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 art works from this era. This era is labeled Christian colonialism.

Beginning with the invention of significant mechanical advances in the seventeenth century, the third era – mercantile colonialism – continued untamed until the mid-twentieth century. Spawned by a desire for cheap labor, the importation of raw materials, along with ready export markets, created by 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 colonial administrators, immigrants, a foreign language, usually English, educational system, religion, philosophy, high culture, laws, and a lifestyle that frequently were 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 their weaker foreign colonies of regions. These collective actions began the global economy which the US 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, he produced 200 copies of the Gutenberg Bible. Despite their high cost, the bibles completely sold out, ushering in a new era of communication. Although Gutenberg was forced into bankruptcy and eventually died a poor man, his invention 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

| Eras                   | Dates        |
|------------------------|--------------|
| Military colonialism   | BC–1000 AD   |
| Christian colonialism  | 1000–1600    |
| Mercantile colonialism | 1600–1950    |
| Electronic colonialism | 1950–Present |

**Figure 1.1** Electronic colonialism theory

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 increase and solidify 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 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 (Figure 1.1).

Electronic colonialism represents the dependent relationship of poorer regions on the post industrial nations caused and established by the importation of communication hardware and foreign-produced software, along with engineers, technicians, and related information protocols, that 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 and DVDs, 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, and 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.<sup>14</sup>

When viewers watch the television show *Baywatch*, they vicariously learn about Western society and mores. *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*, *Knots Landing*, *All in the Family*, *Friends*, or *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 thrives on being a moron and placing his family and friends in bizarre situations. The show and characters thrive on portraying the 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 neo-colonialist 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.<sup>15</sup>

## History of Electronic Colonialism Theory

Prior to World War I, when international communication consisted primarily of mail, some newspapers were crossing national borders, along with limited electronic communication, which was a mixture of wireless and

telegraph systems using Morse code, also crossing international boundaries. There was no international communication theory.<sup>16</sup> 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 Québec, 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 30s, 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, Jurgen Habermas, Max Honkheimer, 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 was substantial international expansion of the mass media and trans-border 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.

After World War II, the United Nations on December 10, 1948 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.”<sup>17</sup>

National government media services, such as the BBC, the US's Voice of America, or Canada's Radio Canada International, along with many others, began to expand their activities into multiple languages with a strong desire to promote 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 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. A major UNESCO-sponsored research report, which confirmed the imbalances in global media flows, is known as the MacBride Report (1980). The report added momentum to the anti-one-way flow debate. Eventually the debate about NWICO and its various elements by 1985 led the United States and Great Britain to withdraw from UNESCO in protest.

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. Namely the creation of a satellite delivered all news network, Cable News Network (CNN) by Ted Turner in 1980, which would come to significantly alter the global news as well as other broadcasting practices.

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 eventual development of the electronic colonialism theory. In particular, Herbert Schiller's 1969 work entitled *Mass Communication and American Empire*, Tapio Varis' 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. Critical scholars such as Dan Schiller and Bob McChesney along with others are still carrying some of the research on. Yet it would not be 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, cultural diversity, and 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. The 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 themselves 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 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 a 1981 work entitled *Electronic Colonialism: The Future of International Broadcasting and Communication*, with a Foreword by Everett Rogers, which was published by Sage Publishers, with a revised and updated second edition in 1986 (McPhail, 1986). 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 (ECT)?

Just as mercantile colonialism focused on empires seeking the toil and soil of others, frequently as colonies, so now 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, which are incorporated in the mind through education, repetition, ritual, history, media, or mimicking. In terms of the media's expanding role, it becomes a shared media culture including influencing perceptions and values. Examples of media systems that attract heavy users are Hollywood movies, MTV, ESPN (Entertainment and Sports Programming Network), soap operas, CNN, the internet, or 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, or 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 share two things replace the latter. 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 sub-culture 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 that we go through life wearing various masks. We come to learn how to play out the appropriate roles, such as child, parent, spouse, student, immigrant, minority, athlete, or boss.<sup>18</sup> But with ECT the masks become somewhat invisible because we begin to think and feel different, 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, 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 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 the internet 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.<sup>19</sup> Their audiovisual products

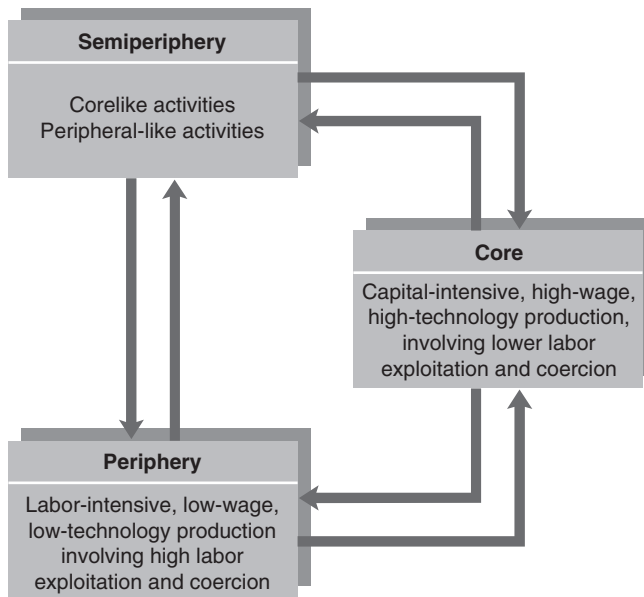
become sold and standardized without regard to time or space. They are marketed to international consumers who come to view their world outlook and buying habits as the logical outcome of a new media culture, as outlined and identified by ECT. For example, many Hollywood films and DVD sales now make more revenue outside the United States than at home; or MTV, Disney, Microsoft, and Google, have more aggressive expansion plans outside the US than inside. A good example is IBM. Over 70 percent of all IBM employees work and live outside the US. For many conglomerates the US domestic market is saturated and thus offshore sales, audiences, consumers, or 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 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.

## World System Theory (WST)

World system theory provides the concepts, ideas, and language for structuring international communication. It was proposed and developed by Immanuel Wallerstein.<sup>20</sup> The theory has also been linked to dependency theory<sup>21</sup> 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, or George Barnett did to telecommunications.<sup>22</sup> 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 “semiperiphery” and “periphery” 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.<sup>23</sup> 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 semiperiphery and periphery 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





**Figure 1.2** 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, a member of Perseus Books, LLC.

nations define the relations between the core and the semiperiphery as well as 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 neo-liberal approach concerning free markets and deregulation with the two weaker zones. The semiperiphery and periphery 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 finished goods or services that reinforce and frequently dominate relations between the three sectors. World system theory is useful in examining 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 1.2.

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

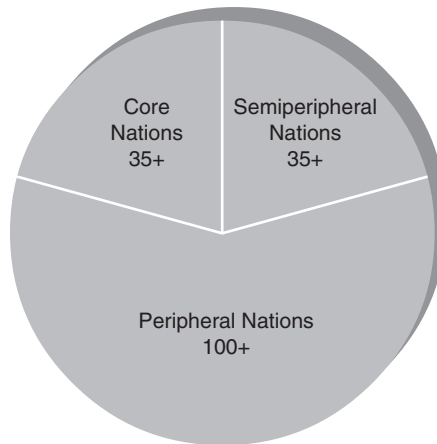
system that allows the transfer of media materials to create either a broadly based popular culture for a mass market or audience, or alternative cultures for a niche market large enough to encourage imports of select media products or services. The essential point is that despite criticisms of modernization theory and goals, there are nevertheless clear stages and goals that periphery 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 economic and media behavior. They strive to emulate core values over periphery 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 (EU), without the most recent 10 entrants which are considered to still be semi-peripheral nations, Canada, Japan, Norway, Israel, Australia, New Zealand, South Korea, Switzerland, and South Africa.

The semi-peripheral 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 EU. They are Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovak Republic, and Slovenia). This latter group was on the fast track to become core nations since the EU provides the necessary leadership and access to capital and consumer markets to rapidly improve their economies as compared to their former status of being small and marginal nations on the world's stage. But with the global economic downturn the pace of economic gains has been slowed, and in some cases, like Hungary, has become negative. Yet over the next few decades China, Brazil, and India are also likely to become core nations and rival both the United States and the EU as world economic powers.

The peripheral nations are the least developed nations, frequently referred to as the Third World or developing countries. Most of Africa, Latin America, large parts of Asia, and the least developed member states of the former Soviet Union are in this third zone. This zone has the least trade, weakest economies, high corruption and health problems, and 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 last zone. A defining characteristic of the peripheral zone is the agrarian nature of their economies. 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 and other authoritarian regimes have done (see Figure 1.3).

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



**Figure 1.3** Breakdown of nations in the three world-system zones, 2010

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 (co-productions, minority ownership, licensing agreements, etc.) to semiperipheral and peripheral nations as quickly as 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." Collins continues: "From Israel to Brazil, Sweden to Australia, children grow up with the guiding hand of Walt Disney partly shaping their imaginations and world outlook."<sup>24</sup> 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, cassettes, 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 join with other core industries such as automobiles, fast food, equipment, airplanes, computers, and so on in enjoying 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 a later chapter. 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, along with 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 now must compete with major advertising and promotion campaigns affiliated with the core products that local firms are simply not able to afford. So when 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, which deals with the filming industry and Canada–United States relations, both of which are core nations.

Many Canadian nationalists lament endlessly US media and cultural influences. Since the early introduction of radio in Canada, there has been a constant concern about the US media spillover into Canadian homes, theaters, and minds. Yet as media giants become more concerned about and focused on global markets and profitability, Canada has increasingly welcomed filmmaking 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 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 *Maclean's* (Canada's weekly newsmagazine) Special Report entitled "Northern Exposure" sums up the situation like this: "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."<sup>25</sup>

Finally, although there is not much specific empirical media research<sup>26</sup> 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,"<sup>27</sup> 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, "[T]he 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."<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

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 titled, "The Structure of International Aid flows and Global News." After examining AFP (Agence France Presse), AP (Associated Press), CNN, and Reuters concerning coverage, countries mentioned, and the flow of aid they conclude: "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.”<sup>30</sup>

A similar twist is reported by Clifford Bob in his book, *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism* (2005).<sup>31</sup> After examining 45 activists and NGO leaders he concludes 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 aspect when he comments:

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.<sup>32</sup>

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 dangerous global phenomenon.

## **The Connection: Electronic Colonialism and World System Theories**

There is a substantial and important link between the electronic colonialism theory and world system theory. ECT posits that when exported the mass media 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, Great Britain, 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, there will be more spent on foreign syndicated shows or royalties going elsewhere 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, when referring 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 EC or WS 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 for examining jointly the global activities of multinational cultural industries.

## Communication Forces among Nations

International communication as a commercial sector acts as 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 among the semiperiphery and periphery 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 appropriate global mind-sets toward 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 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 when they had European colonial masters. Their situation – in terms of economy, health, education, indigenous

media, and technology – has only deteriorated over time. In order to understand this lag and fundamental dichotomy, it is necessary to review the role UNESCO played as the major global forum for many of the stakeholders to set out their views, take sides, and establish how deep-seated and structurally different their views and concerns are about international communication.

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

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

The three forces, 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 appeared on television sets as cable or satellite services became available around the globe. The impact 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 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*, *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 revenues 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 being challenged seriously by three forces which in many cases are beyond their control: financial, technological, and regulatory. The new forces all emanate from core nations to the semiperipheral and peripheral zones. In these latter nations, the consumption of media from local, sometimes bland, monopolies is frequently being replaced with 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 about basic communication infrastructures, such as the introduction of radio or telephone services. At the other end are core nations, some of which have been industrialized for over a century and others are concerned about their own survival in the rapidly evolving information age. They 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 high skilled employment is directly related to the ability to supply all aspects of the information chain – hardware, software, and research and development – necessary to participate and 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 notion is that they may become electronic colonies of the US. This represents a serious threat and challenge to their culture, identity, and employment opportunities in the communication sector. It is forcing a rethinking of 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, 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 that peripheral nations experience about 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, ranging from American Express to Microsoft, IBM, and Time Warner that are seeking to protect or extend their corporate and not necessarily US national interests. What is good for IBM in selling computer systems to Iran, China, Russia, 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.<sup>33</sup> Although always regulated to some degree,<sup>34</sup> the print media will find themselves increasingly restrained by legislative, regulatory, or court actions that are clearly inconsistent with the spirit of 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 global broadcasting, global advertising, and the global economy. The further economic deterioration 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. This role is no longer limited to national governments but has clearly moved into international forums, particularly the specialized agencies of the United Nations.<sup>35</sup>

## **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 are 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 dealing with the Middle East media, particularly Al-Jazeera, Europe, and 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 reexamination. In order to be knowledgeable and 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 machines, electronic data, satellites, journalists, film, radio, television, cell phones, 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, the 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 theories or movements: NWICO, electronic colonialism, and world system theories. 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 and to a large extent make easier global communication. International communication will have a greater impact on the future of the planet than exploration and transportation combined.

## Notes

1. Hong-Won Park, "A Gramscian Approach to Interpreting International Communication," *Journal of Communication* 48(4) (1998): 79.
2. *USA Today* (September 16, 2004): 7A.
3. Seth Lewis and Stephen Reese, "What is the War on Terror? Framing through the Eyes of Journalists," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 86 (spring 2009): 85.
4. Michael Phillips, "Army Deploys Old Tactic in PR War," *Wall Street Journal* (June 1, 2009): 1A.
5. Sallie Hughes and Chappell, "The Barriers to Media Opening in Latin America," *Political Communication* 22 (2005): 9–10.
6. David Holman, "Economic Policy and Latin America Culture: Is a Virtuous Circle Possible?" *Journal of Latin American Studies* 31 (February 1999): 176.
7. *New York Times* (September 13, 1998), sec. WK: 7
8. Jill Hills, *The Struggle for Control of Global Communication: The Formative Century*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

9. 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–Third World. Another system categorizes according to core, semiperipheral, and peripheral. Although the system is far from perfect, this book will use the following: Western nations include the industrialized nations, which according to the World Bank are Australia, Great Britain, 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 also should be noted that nations are continually obtaining independence or moving back and forth on both the political and economic continua. Examples include Russia, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Mexico, Brazil, 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 that will be detailed later.

10. Ha-Joon Chang, *Bad Samaritans: The Myth of Free Trade and the Secret History of Capitalism*, New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008.
11. *The Economist* (October 17, 1998): 50.
12. Morton Rosenblum, *Coups and Earthquake*, New York: Harper & Row, 1979, pp. 1–2.
13. Ibid.
14. 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, “Development as Colonialism,” *The Ecologist*, 27(2) (March–April 1997): 69–78, focuses on the role of transnational corporations and their expanding development of the global economy. He concludes, “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?” (p. 76).
15. The major global stakeholders for all these sectors are detailed in later chapters. Some readers may want to refer to these chapters now.
16. Hills, Jill. *The Struggle for Control of Global Communication*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002.
17. United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 1948.
18. Napier, David. *Righting the Passage: Perceptions of Change after Modernity*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

19. Al Reis and Jack Trout, *Positioning: The Battle for Your Mind*, New York: McGraw Hill, 2001.
20. Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, New York: Academic Press, 1974, *The Modern World System III*, San Diego 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: 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.
21. 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: Sage, 1990.
22. 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): 249–5.
23. Or groups of nation-states such as those in NAFTA, the European Union, ASEAN, or MERCOSUR.
24. Jim Collins, "Shaping Society," *USA Today* (September 23, 1999): 19A.
25. "Northern Exposure," *Macleans* (October 11, 1999): 71.
26. John Comer, Philip Schlesinger, and Roger Silverstone (eds.), *International Media Research: A Critical Survey*, London: Routledge, 1997.
27. Kyungmo Kim and George Barnett, "The Determinants of International News Flow: A Network Analysis," *Communication Research*, 23 (June 1996): 323–52; 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.
28. Yon Soo Lim, George Barnett, and Jang Hyun Kim, *Journal of International Communication*, 14(2) (2008): 139.
29. Kim and Barnett, 1996, p. 344.
30. Kim and Barnett, 1996, p. 346.
31. Clifford Bob, *Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
32. Immanuel Wallerstein, "After Developmentalism and Globalization, What?" *Social Forces* (March 2005) 83(3): 1265–6.
33. In 1980, after examining a series of emerging video-text systems across North America, I realized that 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, which was titled "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 newspaper people? 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 this century. Clearly, it will not be an overnight change. However, 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 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*, Institute for Research on Public Policy, Montreal, Canada, 1980, pp. 5–6.

34. 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 in order to charge journalists from major media outlets with illegal activities used the Intelligence Identities Protection Act of 1982.
35. Another forum is the 46 nations 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 to remove cultural goods and services from WTO agreements. This initiative has major implications concerning global trade for the major stakeholders detailed in future 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. Consider the following 98 percent of theater revenues are for foreign, mainly Hollywood, films; 83 percent of magazines, such as *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *Sports Illustrated*, sold are foreign, 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.