

EDITED BY

ROBIN MANSELL AND MARC RABOY



GLOBAL HANDBOOKS IN
MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION
RESEARCH

The Handbook of Global Media and Communication Policy

 WILEY-BLACKWELL



Contents

Figures and Tables

Notes on Contributors

Series Editor's Preface

Acknowledgements

1 Introduction: Foundations of the Theory and Practice of Global Media and Communication Policy

Introduction

Technology and GMCP

Analytical Tools and Perspectives

GMCP in Historical Perspective

Media and Communication Policy

Destabilization

Conclusion: Toward an Emergent GMCP

Regime

Overview of the Handbook

Part I Contested Concepts: An Emerging Field

2 The Origins of International Agreements and Global Media: The

Post, the Telegraph, and Wireless Communication Before World War I

Introduction

The Post

The Telegraph

Wireless

The Horizon

3 The Evolution of GMCP Institutions

Introduction

Part I: Institutional Profiles

Part II: Thematic Analysis

The Path Ahead

4 Whose Global Village?

Introduction

Unique Characteristics of Communication and Its Policy Research

Lessons from Twentieth-Century Experience

Toward Global Media and Policy

Conclusion

5 Free Flow Doctrine in Global Media Policy

Introduction

Deconstructing the “Free Marketplace of Ideas”

Contextualizing the “Free Flow of Information”

Balanced United Nations Declarations
Contemporary Notions of Freedom of
Information
Conclusion

6 Human Rights and Their Role in **Global Media and Communication** **Discourses**

Introduction

History of Human Rights

Human Rights and Communication Policy: A
Civil Society Perspective

Human Rights and Communication Policy:
An Institutional Perspective

Human Rights and Communication Policy: A
Business Perspective

Human Rights and Communication Policy:
The Academic Perspective

Conclusion: The Impact of Human Rights on
Global Communication Policy

7 Policy's Hubris: Power, Fantasy, and **the Limits of (Global) Media Policy** **Interventions**

Introduction

Power

Power, Materiality and Ideology (and Some
Hegemony and Fantasy)

Power, the Political, and Policy (and Some More Fantasy)
The Struggle Over Global Media Policy
Conclusion

Part II Democratization: Policy in Practice

8 Power Dynamics in Multi-stakeholder Policy Processes and Intra-civil Society Networking

Introduction
Multi-Stakeholderism Beyond the State: The Case of IG
Inward-Looking: Analysis of the IG Caucus Mailing List
Outward-Looking: Assessing Multi-Stakeholderism
Conclusion

9 Media Reform in the United States and Canada: Activism and Advocacy for Media Policies in the Public Interest

Introduction
From Digital Euphoria to Bust
Delineating Media Reform
The US: How Many Angels Can Dance for the Public Interest?

Canada: “The Information Highway is Headed for a Dead End”

Conclusion: Challenges and Opportunities for Media Reform

10 Community Media in a Globalized World: The Relevance and Resilience of Local Radio

Introduction: The Need for an Enabling Environment

Why Community Radio in a Global Media Era?

So What are Community Media?

Overview of the Legal Status of Community Radio Internationally

Key Issues for the Development of Community Radio Frameworks

Conclusion

11 Global Media Policy and Crisis States

Introduction

The Media and the Market for Loyalties

Iraq as an Example

Conclusion

12 The Post-Soviet Media and Communication Policy Landscape: The Case of Russia

Introduction

Opening of the Media

**Restrictions on Journalists to
Counterterrorism and Extremism**

Domination of the Governmental Media

Trends in Regulation of the Internet

Press Freedom Agenda, If Any

Conclusion

13 Public Service Broadcasting: Product (and Victim?) of Public Policy

Introduction

**Changing Concepts of Public Service
Provision**

**Democracy and the Birth and Spread of PSB
Western Europe**

Central and Eastern Europe

Developing Countries

Global Media Policy and PSB

What Future for PSB?

Conclusion

14 User Rights for the Internet Age: Communications Policy According to “Netizens”

Introduction

**The Policy Environment: Spotlight on the
State**

“Netizens” and Net Activism

Policy Agendas: User Rights for the Internet Age

Practices of Intervention: Bypassing the Law

Conclusion: Toward an Enabling Policy Environment

Part III Cultural Diversity: Contesting Power

15 Media Research and Public Policy: Tiding Over the Rupture

Introduction

University as Public Institution

Constraints in Policy and Regulatory Process

Bridging the Rupture

Conclusion

16 Whose Democracy? Rights-based Discourse and Global Intellectual Property Rights Activism

Introduction

Expanded Intellectual Property Rights and US Democracy

The Changing International Regulatory Context

Human Rights, Development, and Justice Development or Democracy?

Conclusion

17 Global Media Policy and Cultural Pluralism

Introduction

Policy Responses to Ethnicity

Diaspora

Globalizing from Below

The Media of Diaspora

Diaspora and Cosmopolitan Citizenship

Media Policy and Cultural Pluralism

Case Study: Canada

Conclusion

18 The Emergent Supranational Arab Media Policy Sphere

Introduction

Challenges to National Media Policies

Saudi Media Policy: Domestic Control and Foreign Influence

Lebanese Media Policy: Stability at Home and Positive Image Abroad

UAE Media Policy: Dubai as Crown Jewel

The Emergent Supranational Policy Sphere

National/Supranational Dynamics of Media

Policy: The Arab World and Beyond

19 The Mediterranean Arab Mosaic between Free Press Development and

Unequal Exchanges with the “North”

Introduction

The Arab World and the Need to Develop Freedom and Professionalism

The Mediterranean World and Collateral Damage from Unequal Exchange

20 Rethinking Communication for Development Policy: Some Considerations

Introduction

Communication for Development

Three Approaches Toward Defining Communication for Development

Rethinking Communication for Development Policy in the Age of “Superficial Revisionism” and Cultural Imperialism

Conclusion

21 The UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity: Cultural Policy and International Trade in Cultural Products

Introduction

Trade in Cultural Products

Why Cultural Products are Different

The Cultural Tool Kit

Evolution of Trade Law on Cultural Products

The Idea of a Cultural Diversity Convention
The UNESCO Convention on Cultural
Diversity
Ambit of the Convention
Where We Stand Today

Part IV Markets and Globality

22 Economic Approaches to Media Policy

Introduction
Competition and Ownership Policy
Industrial Development Policy
Cultural and Media-specific Policy
Conclusion

23 Postcolonial Media Policy Under the Long Shadow of Empire

Introduction
Communication Policy as Development: The View from the South
Colonial Power and the Rule of Law
The Nostalgia for NWICO in Retrospect
Neoliberal Techno-Politics and Civil Society in the Era of WSIS
Conclusion

24 Policy Imperialism: Bilateral Trade Agreements as Instruments of Media

Governance

Introduction

Multilateralism

Bilateralism

**The Symbiosis between Multilateralism and
Bilateralism**

Telecommunication and Intellectual Property

Conclusion

25 ICT Policy-making and International Trade Agreements in the Caribbean

Introduction

Caribbean: Definitions and Demographics

**ICTs and Development: Examining the
Nexus**

**Communication and Regional Trade
Agreements**

**The GATS, TNCs, and Regional Policy-
Making**

**Crystallizing Strategic Policy and Trade
Issues**

Conclusion

26 Legislation, Regulation, and Management in the South African Broadcasting Landscape: A Case

Study of the South African Broadcasting Corporation

Introduction

South Africa as a Transitional State?

Part One: The Players

Part Two: Legislative Developments

The Broadcasting Act of 1999

The Broadcasting Amendment Act of 2002

The Electronic Communications Act of 2005

The Broadcasting Amendment Act of 2009

Looking to the Future: The Draft Public

Service Broadcasting Bill of 2009

Conclusion

27 Regulation as Linguistic Engineering

Introduction

When Telecommunications Policy Breaks Down

Critical Discourse Analysis: A Tool for Critical Telecommunication Policy Analysis

Linguistic Engineering and the Computer Inquiries

Conclusion: Words Matter

Part V Governance: New Policy and Research Challenges

28 Gender and Communication Policy: Struggling for Space

Introduction

From NWICO to WSIS, via Beijing

**Gender Mainstreaming and Freedom of
Expression**

Policy Gaps and Challenges

New Spaces, Same Old Worries

Conclusion

29 The Environment and Global Media and Communication Policy

Print Media

Electronic Media

**Limits of Eco-Policy in the Global Political
Economy**

Private Sector Policy and Innovation

Conclusion

30 Anti-terrorism and the Harmonization of Media and Communication Policy

Introduction

**Globalizing Media and Communication
Policy through Harmonization**

Anti-Terrorism and the Law

**The United Nations and the Harmonization
of Anti-Terrorism Laws**

Limits to the Harmonization of Anti-Terrorism Laws

Media and Communication Policy Effects of Anti-Terrorism Laws

Conclusions

31 Regulating the Internet in the Interests of Children: Emerging European and International Approaches

Introduction

Positive and Negative Internet Regulation in the Interests of Children

“We Do Not Intend to Regulate the Internet”

Children’s Rights Offline and Online Internet Regulation: Emerging Principles and Practices

Regulating Contact, Content, and Conduct Risks Online

Integrating Diverse Policy Initiatives

Conclusion

32 From Television without Frontiers to the Digital Big Bang: The EU’s Continuous Efforts to Create a Future-proof Internal Media Market

Introduction

The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly:

Intractable Areas of Tension

Once Upon a Time ... In Western Europe:

The Television Without Frontiers Directive of 1989

The Sequel: Television Without Frontiers - 1997

Revolutionary Road? The Audiovisual Media Services Directive-2007

Battlefield Galactica? The Issues at Stake

Conclusion: Back to the Future?

33 Actors and Interactions in Global Communication Governance: The Heuristic Potential of a Network Approach

Introduction

Moving Beyond the Concept of Multi-Stakeholderism

Global Communication Governance as a Complex Domain

Do Networks Matter?

Investigating Global Communication

Governance Through a Network Approach

Index

Global Handbooks in Media and Communication Research

Series Editor: Annabelle Sreberny (School of Oriental and African Studies, London)

The Global Handbooks in Media and Communication Research series is co-published by Wiley-Blackwell and the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR). The series offers definitive, state-of-the-art handbooks that bring a global perspective to their subjects. These volumes are designed to define an intellectual terrain: its historic emergence; its key theoretical paradigms; its transnational evolution; key empirical research and case study exemplars; and possible future directions.

Already published

The Handbook of Political Economy of Communications
edited by Janet Wasko, Graham Murdock, and Helena Sousa

The Handbook of Global Media and Communication Policy
edited by Robin Mansell and Marc Raboy

The Handbook of Media Audiences edited by Virginia Nightingale

About the IAMCR

The International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) (www.iamcr.org) was established in Paris in 1957. It is an accredited NGO attached to UNESCO. It is a truly international association, with a membership representing over 80 countries around the world and conferences held in different regions that address the most pressing issues in media and communication research. Its members promote global inclusiveness and excellence

within the best traditions of critical research in the field. The current president of the IAMCR is Annabelle Sreberny.

The Handbook of Global Media and Communication Policy

Edited by

Robin Mansell and Marc Raboy

 WILEY-BLACKWELL

A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication

This edition first published 2011

© 2011 Blackwell Publishing Ltd

Blackwell Publishing was acquired by John Wiley & Sons in February 2007. Blackwell's publishing program has been merged with Wiley's global Scientific, Technical, and Medical business to form Wiley-Blackwell.

Registered Office

John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate,
Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, United Kingdom

Editorial Offices

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA
9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK
The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19
8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at

www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell

The right of Robin Mansell and Marc Raboy to be identified as the authors of the editorial material in this work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be available in electronic books.

Designations used by companies to distinguish their products are often claimed as trademarks. All brand names and product names used in this book are trade names, service marks, trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective owners. The publisher is not associated with any product or vendor mentioned in this book. This publication is designed to provide accurate and authoritative information in regard to the subject matter covered. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The handbook of global media and communication policy /
edited by Robin Mansell and Marc Raboy.

p. cm. – (Global handbooks in media and communication
research)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4051-9871-4 (hardback)

1. Mass media policy. 2. Mass media–Political aspects. 3.
Communication policy. I. Mansell, Robin.

II. Raboy, Marc, 1948–

P95.8.H365 2011

302.23–dc22

2011001826

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British
Library.

This book is published in the following electronic formats:

ePDFs 9781444395419; Wiley Online Library

9781444395433; ePub 9781444395426

Figures and Tables

Figures

[3.1](#) Evolutionary model for GMCP institutions

[4.1](#) ICT access in the developing and developed world, 2000 and 2007–8

[7.1](#) Dimensions of power

[8.1](#) Number of postings on the IG mailing list per month

[22.1](#) Media policy involves choices in balancing social welfare objectives

[25.1](#) Interconnected trade regimes and processes in the Caribbean

[26.1](#) Communications Portfolio Committee organizations

[26.2](#) Interrelationship among legislative bodies within ambit of broadcasting legislation

[27.1](#) Critical discourse analysis framework applied to regulation

[27.2](#) Linguistic choices available to language users

[27.3](#) Semantic map of definitional shifts 1966–1989

[27.4](#) Semantic map of regulatory definitions in the final decision of 1971 First Computer Inquiry

[27.5](#) Semantic map of regulatory definitions from 1977 Supplemental Notice in Second Computer Inquiry

[27.6](#) Semantic map of regulatory definitions from 1979 Tentative Decision in Second Computer Inquiry

[32.1](#) Ofcom's view of the future regulation of the audiovisual sector

Tables

[7.1](#) Three key fantasies of policy

[8.1](#) Distribution of participants by region

[8.2](#) Participants by gender

[8.3](#) Participants by affiliation

[9.1](#) Media reform movement activities

[9.2](#) Media reform policy issues

[13.1](#) Three varieties of “public service” broadcasting

[18.1](#) Selected Arab media laws and regulations

[20.1](#) Typology of methodological and theoretical approaches within communication for development

[21.1](#) Why cultural products are not like ordinary commodities

[25.1](#) Main telecommunication companies operating in selected Caribbean countries

[25.2](#) Forms of communication services

[30.1](#) UN legal assistance on anti-terrorism laws

[32.1](#) Two-tier regulation of linear and nonlinear services

[33.1](#) The potential of a network approach in investigating GCG

[33.2](#) Typology of interdependent and complementary network structures offering entry points to the analysis of GCG

Notes on Contributors

Amin Alhassan is Associate Professor in the Department of Communication Studies, York University, Toronto and a faculty member in the York and Ryerson Universities Joint Graduate Program in Communication and Culture. His research focuses on information and communication technologies for development in Africa and he is working on a book on the “grammar of aid” in the development of Ghana and Uganda.

Boatema Boateng is Associate Professor, Department of Communication, University of California, San Diego. She has written essays on globalization, gender, and traditional knowledge as they relate to intellectual property law and is the author of *The Copyright Thing Doesn't Work Here: ASdinkra and Kente Cloth and Intellectual Property Law in Ghana*.

Sandra Braman is Professor of Communication, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Her research focuses on macro-level effects of the use of digital technologies and their policy implications with support from the US National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Soros Foundation. Her most recent book is *Change of State: Information, Policy, and Power*.

Marco Briziarelli is a PhD student in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Colorado, Boulder. He received his MA in Media Studies at the University of Iowa and his Bachelor's degree in Political Sciences at the University of Perugia, Italy.

Andrew Calabrese is Professor of Media Studies and Associate Dean, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Colorado, Boulder. He edits the Rowman & Littlefield and Lexington book series, *Critical Media Studies*, and the series *Global Media Studies* (with Paula Chakravartty) for Paradigm Publishers. His primary research interests relate critical social theory to the study of media policy and the uses of media as tools of political communication.

Bart Cammaerts is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Media and Communications, London School of Economics and Political Science. He is Chair of the Communication and Democracy Section of the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) and Vice Chair of the Communication Policy and Technology Section, International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR). He is the author of *Internet-Mediated Participation Beyond the Nation State*.

Nico Carpentier is Senior Lecturer in the Social Sciences Department, University of Loughborough. He is also Vice President of the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA). His theoretical focus is on discourse theory and his research interests are in the relationships among media, journalism, politics and culture.

Paula Chakravartty is Associate Professor of Communication at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. She is working on a book about political culture and exclusion in India's fractured information society. She is the co-author of *Media Policy and Globalization* and co-

editor of *Global Communications: Toward a Transcultural Political Economy*.

Kate Coyer is Director of the Center for Media and Communication Studies, Central European University, Budapest, where she also teaches in the Departments of Public Policy and Political Science. She has contributed to the community media sustainability guide *The Business of Changing Lives* for Internews and is the co-author of the *Alternative Media Handbook*.

Biswajit Das is Professor and Director, Centre for Culture, Media and Governance, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. He has been a visiting fellow at the University of Windsor (Canada), the East-West Centre (Hawaii), and the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies (Shimla). Besides his teaching career, he has been involved with various civil society initiatives in India in media advocacy programs and research on development communication.

Karen Donders is senior researcher and project leader at the Brussels Institute for European Studies, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, and the Center for Studies on Media, Information and Telecommunication (SMIT). Her PhD (2010) was on European State aid policy and public broadcasting and her publications focus on European competition policy in the media sector, strategies and policies for public broadcasting, and the relationships between broadcasters and distributors.

Hopeton S. Dunn is Professor and Academic Director of the Telecommunications Policy and Management Programme, Mona School of Business, University of the West Indies, Jamaica. He is a leading specialist in the areas of

information and communication technology policy, services trade and applications for new media. He is Secretary General of the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) and Chair of the Broadcasting Commission of Jamaica.

Margaret Gallagher is a researcher and writer specializing in gender, media, and communication. Formerly Deputy Head of the Audiovisual Media Research Group, The Open University, she is now a freelance consultant and has worked for the United Nations and its agencies, the European Commission, international development agencies, and broadcasting organizations.

Peter S. Grant is Counsel at McCarthy Tétrault LLP, Toronto, Canada and Adjunct Professor, Faculty of Law, University of Toronto and Adjunct Professor, Schulich School of Business, York University, Toronto, Canada. He is author of numerous articles and publications, including the *Canadian Broadcasting Regulatory Handbook*, a standard industry reference published every two years, now in its tenth edition.

Arne Hintz is a Research Fellow at McGill University, Montréal, and at Central European University, Budapest, where he was previously Director of the Center for Media and Communication Studies. His research focuses on communication policy, new technologies and alternative/community media, and he is the author of *Civil Society Media and Global Governance*.

Karol Jakubowicz has worked for many years in the Polish media and in media policy and regulation in Poland and internationally. He has been Chairman of the Supervisory

Board of Polish Television, of the Intergovernmental Council of the Information for All Programs, UNESCO, and of the Steering Committee on the Media and New Communication Services at the Council of Europe. His scholarly and other publications are widely published in Poland and internationally.

Rikke Frank Jørgensen is a Senior Adviser at the Danish Institute for Human Rights (DIHR), specializing in the interface between technology and human rights. She has worked as a policy-maker with the Danish Ministry of Science and Technology, as an activist in European Digital Rights, and as a human rights professional and researcher at DIHR. She is currently completing her doctoral thesis on Internet policy and civil society empowerment.

Karim H. Karim is Professor and Co-Director at the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London. He served previously as the Director of Carleton University's School of Journalism and Communication in Ottawa. Prior to joining academia, he worked as a Senior Policy Analyst with the Department of Canadian Heritage.

Marwan M. Kraidy is Associate Professor of Global Communication at the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania. His publications include *Reality Television and Arab Politics: Contention in Public Life*, *Arab Television Industries* with J. Khalil, *Hybridity, or, The Cultural Logic of Globalization*, and *Global Media Studies: Ethnographic Perspectives*, edited with P. Murphy.

Roberta G. Lentz is Assistant Professor of Media and Public Policy in the Department of Art History and Communication Studies, McGill University, Montréal. Her teaching and

research focus on the political economy and governance of media and communication systems, policy advocacy, and activism related to these systems, and the social and political impacts of information and communication technologies.

Sonia Livingstone is Professor and Head of the Department of Media and Communications, London School of Economics and Political Science. She is author or editor of fourteen books and many academic articles on media audiences, children and the Internet, domestic contexts of media use, public understanding of media regulation, and media literacy. Her most recent book is *Children and the Internet*.

Don MacLean is an independent consultant on information and communication technology policy and Associate of the International Institute for Sustainable Development, Canada. He headed strategic planning units in the Canadian Department of Communications in the 1980s and the International Telecommunication Union in the 1990s, before establishing his consulting practice in 2000.

Ted Magder is an Associate Professor and former Chair of the Department of Media, Culture, and Communication at New York University. He is author of *Canada's Hollywood: Feature Films and the Canadian State* and numerous articles on international trade in media products, including "Gambling, the WTO and Public Morals: A Short Review of Antigua vs. the United States," and *Television and New Media*.

Robin Mansell is Professor of New Media and the Internet, former Head of the Department of Media and