CHAPTER- III

MEDIA IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD

The waves of privatization and pressures toward liberalized rather free trade that have marked the world economic order at the turn of the 21st century have also shaped the world media order. But the media industry is not only affected by these trends but also turned into a potential instrument to combat the poverty and inequity that continue to plague so many of the world's inhabitants. Mass media can not only be the ideological army in support of globalization, but can also become the grassroots weapons to fight its impact. As coalitions and activists around the world demand that sustainable development become a priority in the world's changing political and economic systems, many civil-society advocates are urging the use of mass media to help communities find local solutions to economic, political and social disempowerment from centralised or oligopolistic set-up. International news flow and cultural problems are significant in global journalism, perhaps too significant.

Global news almost always is centred in the West. As Stuart Hall says, “Western technology, the concentration of capital, the concentration of techniques, the concentration of advanced labour in the western societies, and the stories and the imagery of western societies: these remain the driving powerhouse of this global mass culture. In that sense, it is centred in the west and it always speaks English.”1 The reaction to globalization, of course, is localization of news and reporting. However, journalism needs to be global journalism; it needs journalists who practice journalism in the global context.

This globalization of journalism became practical with the advent of satellite distribution. It provoked global journalism that transcends borders and has no artificial boundaries. This globalization was further speeded up by the fairly uniform policy throughout the world of deregulation and privatization of existing

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broadcasting organizations. Globalization excited all western media organizations and their owners. Technology let loose vast new markets for electronic media-viewers and readers all over the world who now use western news and programming to find out what's happening in the rest of the world. What is happening - and is it important for journalists in the global workplace to understand - is that local media companies and their newsrooms are beginning to hit back; to master western journalistic and production techniques for their own local ends and for their own markets. Global news sources are very uneven. Some cities have hundreds of reporters around the world covering stories of events that happen there; some countries and even continents are inevitably the poorer in the matter of coverage. More remote areas have hardly any journalists at all from outside for covering events. This, of course, affects the picture of the world as a whole because local individual trouble spots are left out. The other problem about global news coverage is the pressure to over-simplify. Time and space constraints inevitably cause to reduce coverage of what is happening however important and whatever the global repercussions – simplifying and curtailing events to one basic story around which all other events are made to float. Practising global journalism also means allowing entry of fresh air like other attitudes, other cultures, and other approaches. It clearly means that there can often be many truths, not just the one western certainty that western journalists have grown up with. News implies views ... and that means subjectivity. But even with the subjectivity of reporting, there can be truth. International reporting too often is about mega-disasters. International reporting of the life of countries and people should be more about developmental issues emerging from disasters and wars. It should give outsiders an understanding of the people of a country with their social and cultural context. News must have a human angle.

Global journalism teaches us that there are many ways of working, of thinking and of understanding what is going on in the world. Different perceptions may indeed have equal value. However, traditional journalism finds place in global media. Its crucial role of being watchdog of democracy is being increasingly valued by the audience in all countries. The practice of global journalism also means not being too dependent on official sources; we should see for ourselves, be there, judge, and report for ourselves. News manipulation can be easy when reporters don't know
the country, the people, and the politics there. Journalists live in a world where they have to take risks. This risk is more in the global context. The sovereign virtue in western-trained journalists is that they believe that risk taking is necessary in their profession. They are not only in the firing line when the situation is dangerous, but also they are in the firing line when the story is more mundane; but politicians, statesmen, business people, owners and rich influential people throughout the world try to change the true face of journalism and what it publishes. Journalism has never been more dangerous, both in the national and global context.

Each time the death of a journalist covering some global conflict or story is reported, it reminds of the unique risks and responsibilities of practicing global journalism and covering the world’s disaster spots. A French correspondent once divided up journalists who cover international or serious conflicts into three types: the first type was the Tourists who popped in for a few days/ sniffed round. They got their passports stamped and then quietly left. The second type came with all the right equipment, but weren’t really engaged with the story or the country or its people. These were the people, he said, who allowed the idea of themselves as ‘war correspondents’ to get in the way of telling the story. And finally there were those who cared and stayed when everyone else was leaving. They were the experts, the real global journalists, who always asked the extra intelligent question; worked that little bit harder to get the real story; who weren’t afraid to dig that little bit deeper. And sadly, they are often the ones at greatest risk, the ones who get killed in the line of duty. It is the journalists of this last type who show in an increasingly skeptical world, that journalism really does matter. They really can be the messengers of horror and suffering. Such global reporting and seeking after the real truth of what is going on in the world does have an effect. It can affect foreign policy, public opinion that something should be done. Beheading of Daniel Pearl in one of the Islamic nations intensifies this view.

Global journalists, by practising their craft to the best of their ability, also remind the world of something else: that we live in a world where journalists and journalism are under constant attack. More foreign correspondents died in Croatia

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and Bosnia than in Vietnam. But most of the journalists who die doing their job are not the international journalists practising global journalism; they are the local reporters, often killed by their own people. In Serbia, President Milosevic closed down all the independent media. In Zimbabwe and Iran, the independent media is prohibited to flourish and are under serious attack. The enemies of freedom understand very well that independent journalists, whether local or those parachuted in for the story, are enemies who must be controlled, destroyed or suppressed.

Journalists practising global journalism must understand this better than anyone else. They must also understand that in today's world, there are times when journalists have to stop working. Objectivity does not mean ignoring the plight of those whose story is being told. The best stories are those that the people in power do not want to be told. If journalists stop practising global journalism, the bad people will get away with it and win. Practising global journalism means being there, bearing independent witness, reporting what is happening and then communicating this to the outside world. Practising global journalism is about taking risks. News organization is about risk. And risk is becoming so much worse now that there is an increasing danger that reporters will stop going into the real trouble spots for fear of their lives. News organizations are now assessing the risk and often deciding on working if it is too great. There is also risk to be avoided in terms of the various new technological issues that affect the lives and work of global journalists in the digital age. These too have to be confronted. As more and more news becomes available instantly or semi instantly throughout the world across borders, via all the new digital forms and satellite transmissions, not to mention the Internet via which the world of the global journalism is entering into a democracy.³

The new technology and speed of transmission is forcing journalists throughout the world to ask themselves the basic question, “what is it all about?” Journalism is deeply embedded in the traditions of the last 300 years of western history. Journalism culture has meant that all journalists brought up in the western tradition since the rise of the printing press have instinctively scrutinized society and its institutions starting, of course, with the democratic government institutions on

behalf of the people, the readers. After that scrutiny always comes publication of the information so that the voters, readers, can judge for themselves. Hence the term watchdogs of democracy, in the western tradition/journalism, and democracy, are sisters. The global journalism of today, helped and hindered as it is by the digital revolution, by convergence of media onto one communicating platform, by instantaneous distribution of facts and information throughout the world, in a way never dreamt of 50 years ago, is changing its focus. Rather than reporting facts and events the global journalist is now more and more reporting about each and every aspect of human behaviour and nature while someone else reporting events and facts, what people thinks their sources, authorities of different types saying about a factual event. More and more journalist is trying to find out what will happen rather than what is happening thus it is becoming a medium of conjecture rather than fact.

As global journalism increases in importance and envelops the world, there is a new role for global journalists i.e. that the sheer size of the businesses and political institutions they are covering, forcing them not to divulge the actual happening at ground level; there, the journalists be increasingly kept at a bay. And, of course, global journalism is becoming explanatory as well as factual and opinion-based. The digital age global journalist, as never before, has to find ways of putting fast-moving stories into a simple, immediately understood context, analyzing what's going on, looking at the historical perspective of a story and how it might affect other events globally or is not necessarily linked to countries. Global journalism has to find stories that go beyond politics and government; it has to find new leads, new ways of presenting stories to a global audience. And that means “global localness”. It has to make the global local and the local global. Then, there is the all pervasive influence of the global media moguls. Global journalism is the product of the digital technology provided by the big international companies, the multinationals. Some of these huge companies are news corporations; but an increasing number aren't. They are more to have electrical pods or washing powder, or Hollywood, as their

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foundation but incidentally also own an international media corporation.

These new media moguls are forming an increasingly global network which provides journalistic and broadcast pre-production, production, post-production and distribution. Take the empire of News International: Rupert Murdoch's media empire stretches from the South Pacific across Britain and Europe to North America. He owns a Hollywood film studio, a satellite TV network and the largest TV magazine in the United States. In addition, of course, he owns newspapers, magazines and broadcast stations throughout the world. In Britain and Europe, he owns the most advanced direct broadcast satellite system and the largest-selling tabloid paper in the world. He is extremely powerful in China. Murdoch is not alone, there are others, perhaps not as well known or as powerful but such power makes the job and integrity of global journalism practice more and more difficult. Another aspect of digital age global journalism is the all-pervasive nature of the telecommunications principles that allow journalism to be truly global. It is also inextricably entwined with news flow. The news gets from the journalist to the radio/television, newspaper/magazine or increasingly, the Internet via a complex web of telecommunications that includes satellites/cable, phone lines/mobile phones, laptops connected direct to the newsroom, thousands of miles away and the journalist needs to know how to work such technology, which is constantly changing, being upgraded all the time. It is impossible to talk about the practice of global journalism at the same time talking about the growth in digital communications. As messages are sent on the uplink from the reporter via the earth station to the satellite and then down again to another earth station on the other side of the world instantaneously, it is becoming more and more difficult to separate one reporter's voice report or news copy from any other. Globalization is having the effect of homogenization on news flow, news content, news style, news presentation. No reporter/broadcaster can be seen to be beaten by another reporter/broadcaster. No broadcaster. And they all have to show the same pictures; have the same idea; speak with same analysis but trying every time to be different in the eyes of readers/viewers.

The controls being faced by journalists in the digital global age are increasingly technological; they also have to face the laws of each country with or from which they file stories, whether text, voice or pictures by whatever means at their disposal in the rapidly converging media operation that is global journalism practice. These laws, particularly in democratic countries, can be specially engineered to help journalists in their work. In some countries, for example, journalists cannot be forced to reveal their sources in court proceedings. Countries have their own restrictions and regulations that in one way or other affect the job that broadcasters and print journalists have to do. These legal and ethical restrictions as well as restrictions placed on journalistic work by technology or lack of it affect the degree of freedom to report that journalists have in their global practices. Most countries in East and West, in democratic and non-democratic societies, have some kind of expression of press freedom. The devil, as always, is in the detail. Freedom to report is often described as the right to speak/print or broadcast what we want without prior restraint. Press freedom allows publication without prior restraint on the specific understanding that, after publication or broadcast, action can be taken by aggrieved parties against the reporter or news organization either by simple criticism or court action. That's the way the game is played. Action takes place afterwards, not before publication. This is the ultimate test of news freedom to report, the laws to guarantee access to information, such as increasingly across the world various kinds of freedom of information, laws, recognize the importance of access to information and for freedom to publish. Unfortunately, it becomes increasingly obvious that as global journalism increases, so do the efforts by governments of all persuasions to influence the way the media reports events in the country and about that country. There are other global pressures increasingly affecting global journalism practices. One problem is the rapid expansion of media, particularly broadcasting which is controlled by private industry, which, of course, is there to make a profit for shareholders and owners. This pulls journalism towards tabloidisation of news and reporting which is at the same time entertaining – infotainment.

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GLOBAL NEWS FLOW

Global news flow is all about journalists and their ability to find out what is happening in countries that are not their own. Like all journalism, it has a fondness for anniversaries, for summaries, for analysis, for looking for the simple, single story amidst the confusion of the war or disaster or political insurrection. Before there can be proper global news flow, there must be an idea of what is news, what is happening. All proper journalists are supposed to have it: only a few can identify or define it. Journalists speak of 'the news' as if events select themselves. Further, they speak as if which is the 'most significant' news story and which 'news angles' are most salient are divinely inspired. Yet of the millions of events which occur daily in the world, only tiny proportion ever becomes news. One approach is to try to define the news values that come into operation when journalists select stories. In this context, Norwegian Johan Galtung and Mart Ruge's paper, has long been regarded as a landmark study of news values and news selection. The factors making up their news values continue to be cited as 'prerequisites' of news selection in the twenty-first century. Their approach is particularly interesting for journalists practising global journalism because their research was specifically into the way foreign news operated. The central question at the heart of their paper was how events become news.

Galtung and Ruge's study began as a paper presented at the First Nordic Conference on Peace Research, which took place in Oslo in January 1963. They presented a series of factors that seem to be particularly important in the selection of news, followed by the deduction of some hypotheses from their list of 12 factors as follows:

1. **Frequency:** An event that unfolds at the same or similar frequency as the news medium is more likely to be selected as news than is a social trend that takes place over a long period of time.

2. **Threshold:** Events have to pass a threshold before being recorded at all.

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After that, the greater the intensity, the more gruesome the murder, the more casualties in an accident—all these put greater impact on the perception of those responsible for news selection.

3. **Unambiguity:** The less ambiguity, the more likely the event is to become news. The more clearly an event can be understood, and interpreted without multiple meanings, the greater the chance of its being selected.

4. **Meaningfulness:** The culturally similar is likely to be selected because it fits into the news selector's frame of reference. Thus, the involvement of the UK citizens will make an event in a remote country more meaningful to the UK media. Similarly, news from the USA is seen as more relevant to the UK than is news from countries which are less culturally familiar.

5. **Consonance:** The news selector may predict or indeed want something to happen thus forming a mental image of an event which in turn increases its chances of becoming news.

6. **Unexpectedness:** The most unexpected or rare events—within those that are culturally familiar, will have the greater chance of being selected as news.

7. **Continuity:** Once an event has news, it remains in the media spotlight for some time, even if its amplitude has been greatly reduced because it has become familiar and easier to interpret. Continuing coverage also acts to justify the attention an event received in the first place.

8. **Composition:** An event may be included as news, less because of its intrinsic news value than because it fits into the overall composition or balance of a newspaper or news broadcast. This might not just mean 'light' stories to balance heavy news; it could also mean that, in the context of newspaper reports on alleged institutional racism within the police, for example, positive initiatives to combat racism which would normally go unreported might make it on to the news pages.

9. **Reference to elite nations:** The actions of elite nations are seen as more consequential than the actions of other nations. Definitions of elite nations will be culturally, politically and economically determined and will vary
from country to country, although there may be universal agreement about the inclusion of some nations (e.g. the USA) among the elite.

10. **Reference to elite people:** The actions of elite people, who will usually be famous, may be seen by news selectors as having more consequence than the actions of others. Also, readers may identify with them.

11. **Reference to persons:** News has a tendency to present events as the actions of named people rather than a result of social forces. This personification goes beyond human interest stories and could relate to cultural idealism, according to which man is the master of his own destiny, and events can be seen as the outcome of an act of free will.

12. **Reference to something negative:** Negative news could be seen as unambiguous and consensual, generally more likely to be unexpected and to occur over a shorter period of time than positive news.\(^\text{10}\)

Bell adds some more factors concerned with news-gathering and news-processing rather than with the events and actors featured in the news. He argues for the importance of:

- Competition (the desire for a scoop);
- Co-option (a story that is only tangentially related is presented in terms of a high-profile continuing story);
- Predictability (diary stories which can be pre-scheduled are more likely to be covered than events which turn up unheralded);
- Prefabrication (readymade texts such as press releases, cuttings, agency copy which journalists can process rapidly will greatly increase the likelihood of something appearing in the news).\(^\text{11}\)

A vital part of news selection and decision-making for journalists,


particularly those working in foreign countries, from their base newsroom, is a firm focus on what is the type of the government, an idea of what type of the story reporters are looking for considering which newspapers decide the angle, the headline and tone and the facts that are gathered. The global reporter's job often is to see that the facts fit the headline. Or come up with a better native from their own local knowledge. The practice of journalism needs a local map, with appropriate map references; along with that, it also needs a spirit of adventure so that these can be thrown away as the reporter finds out the facts. Reuters Media serve both traditional and new media. Together with other parts of the Group, it provides news and information to over 900 internet websites reaching an estimated 40 million viewers and generating approximately 140 million page-views per month in addition to serving the traditional print and TV media. Some 330 subscribers plus their networks and affiliates in over 90 countries use Reuters television news coverage. Reuters is the world's largest international news and television agency with 2,100 journalists, photographers and camera operators in 254 bureaus serving over 100 countries. News is gathered and edited for both business and media clients in 23 languages. Approximately 30,000 headlines, including third party contributions, and over three million words are published daily. Reuters Television goes to 900 television broadcasters in 81 countries.12

Associated Press (AP) serves more than 1,500 newspapers and 5,000 broadcast outlets in the United States. Abroad, AP services are printed and broadcast in 112 countries. Worldwide, AP serves more than 15,000 news organizations. Associated Press is the oldest and largest news organization in the world, serving as a source of news, photos, graphics, audio and video for more than one billion people a day. It has 8,500 newspaper, radio and television subscribers in 112 countries. AP’s mission is to provide factual coverage to all parts of the globe for use by the media around the world. News bearing the AP logotype can be counted on to be accurate, balanced and informed. With 3500 employees working in 240 bureaus around the world, AP operates as a not-for-profit cooperative with its subscribing member organizations. AP supplies a steady stream of news (20 million words a day) to its domestic members and foreign subscribers. It also has the industry's most

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sophisticated digital photo network, a 24-hour continuously updated online news service, a state-of-art television news service and one of the largest radio networks.

AP has received 45 Pulitzer Awards, more than any other news organization in the categories for which it can compete. It has 27 photo Pulitzers, the most of any news organization. Its mission statement says: The Associated Press is in the information business. Its fundamental mission is to provide state, national and international news, photos, graphics, broadcast and online services of the highest quality, reliability and objectivity to its readers, and to domestic owners as economically as it can. The AP seeks no special privilege beyond free access. It believes that the more journalistic voices the world hears, the better informed it will be.\textsuperscript{13} The major obstacles the AP encounters in collecting a factual global news report are restricted access, explicit or implicit censorship and pressure against correspondents, extending as far as expulsion and kidnapping. The most serious and widespread of these constraints is the inability to gain entry for professionally qualified AP representatives. In cases where the AP lacks regular access, information must be obtained from radio broadcasts and visitors. Explicit and implicit censorship is another news barrier. Explicit censorship results in deletions or refusal to transmit correspondents’ copy. An example would be the inaccessibility in some countries of key government officials. Often, the most difficult specific sources for the foreign correspondent to reach are those who can best explain the story of their countries to the world. Then the local press is restricted to publication of only environment approved news, foreign correspondent’s access to balanced local information suffers. This makes it more difficult for the foreign correspondents to understand and explain the country to readers in distant places. Direct action against foreign correspondents is the most extreme and dangerous step to free news coverage. The Associated Press often hires correspondents expelled by various countries, and in many cases kidnapped, as in the case of Middle East co-respondent Terry Anderson, who was held hostage for more than six years in Lebanon.\textsuperscript{14}

Agence France Presse (AFP) has about three thousand employees including 900 correspondents and 2,000 freelancers in 165 countries. United Press

\textsuperscript{13} \textsuperscript{http://www.ap.org}
\textsuperscript{14} Frost, C., Media Ethics and Self-Regulations (London: Longman Press), 2000, p. 11.
International (UPI) is one of the world's most famous news agencies, although it is also one of the most troubled. It has its headquarters in Washington although it was owned by the London-based ARA group, which, in turn belonged to a Saudi Arabian corporation. UPI had very Eve radio interests which it sold to raise money for repaying its mounting debts. UPI originally went bankrupt in this which was its second bout of bankruptcy under its fourth owners since being sold originally by the family of its newspaper magnate E.W. Scripps. He launched one Press in 1907 because he needed a news agency to service morning and evening news papers. The other American news agency, Associated Press, at the time only serviced morning news papers. In 1958, UP merged with William Randolph International News Service and thus UPI was born. It never made a profit and grew smaller as the years went by. However, it has had considerable journalistic prestige, particularly in its coverage of the American White House, where Helen Thomas has been the chief of its White House Bureau for many years. In the last few years, the agency has moved towards its restructuring which created an Internet based service.\(^{15}\)

Global news flow, whether from agencies or individuals, by practising global journalists, has, of course, been at the forefront of new technological advance to gather and distribute news and information. Journalism has always gone hand in hand with new technology. Journalists have always used basic forms of communication of whatever type they could manufacture or find. After the telegraph was invented, came cable for overseas and international dissemination of news by journalists. In fact, newspapers and particularly news agencies such as Reuters, were largely responsible for the early cable distribution which allowed stories to be sent electronically from one country to another. Then came radio, then the telephonic cable, then satellite communication and now the computer aided by the Internet. Photo services developed in the early part of the twentieth century, television began in the 1950s; now global journalism is a vast multimedia complex principally using satellite for delivery of print, audio and television news and online news services in 21\(^{st}\) Century. One of the big challenges about the practice of global journalism is that global and local are becoming mixed. This is particularly the case in relation to television news, which is now instantaneous from anywhere to anywhere. As with

print, television receives most of its pictures not from its own correspondents around the world but from the television news agencies which are totally global in their coverage and distribution.  

Broadcast newsrooms throughout the world receive the latest news in sound and pictures from basically three news agencies and a variety of co-operative news exchanges (the largest of them being the Geneva-based Eurovision). In two of the three cases, Reuters and Associated Press, are the same organizations which distribute print as well as pictures. The third, Worldwide Television News (WTN) is, like the others based in London, a convenient centre of world communication. They gather videotaped sound and pictures and story information from around the world and from individual television stations throughout the world with which they have an exchange agreement. These global television agencies take the stories that pour into their London offices, edit them into news story packages, but without any narration in most cases, and transmit them via satellite to their clients throughout the world. They also provide on demand complete stories ready for broadcast with voice-over material recorded on the package. As Boyd Barren says, “Many new commercial stations around the world have been designed from the outset to rely heavily on the agencies in this way.”

The international agencies are the major agenda-setters. They make the first decisions on how and whether international stories will be covered. They choose where to allocate their resources, and hence which stories will be covered and where. They decide on which stories to send to their clients; how much visual element they will provide; what kind of audio and accompanying background text they will send. Broadcasters then write their stories around the video clips these organizations offer, and without video, there is usually no story to send. International events without pictures are non-stories as far as the global agencies are concerned. Of course, the press, and sometimes, the global news magazines set an initial agenda for which the global broadcast news agencies then pick up and produce pictures and sound. An agency’s decision to cover a story may be influenced by the interest shown amongst global journalists and news media but they will then make their own

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individual choices about what to photograph, whom to interview, how many seconds to give each part of the story, how to package it and whom to send the story to? On the other hand, agencies usually only provide the raw material for local journalists to expand, edit, change as they see fit for their local audience. So, the global again becomes local. That's if there are journalists and newsrooms available to spend the time doing this. Too often, the footage that comes into a newsroom from a global news agency is the footage that viewers eventually see. So, the news agenda is often set not in the domestic news market, but thousands of miles away in London. Often, too, the first decisions about how an international story is to be covered, if at all, is made not in the domestic market but in London within the studios of these major news agencies.

The growth of news agencies throughout the world also has an effect on news globalization. British Broadcasting Corporation World Service Television and CNN International broadcast across the globe round the clock and others such as News Corporation, General Electric and Microsoft’s MSNBC are doing likewise. Non-English language news programmes are available throughout most of the world via the German language Deutsche-Well, Spanish language Tele-Notices and Japanese NHK services, STAR TV, South Africa’s M-Net. Other satellite services provide a wide range of news channels where before there were no news channels at all. The major news channels still deliver the news globally in English and even vernacular services such as Deutsche-Welle and NHK provide considerable international news in English. The emergence of global satellite television has led to a rearrangement of the global news industry. Satellite television has brought into existence regional and global news channels and that too on a single platform, the most prominent is CNN International, which reaches over 200 countries, and thus covers a vast majority of the world population. However, the big four western news agencies AP, UPI, Reuters, and AFP still dominate the global print market. The rapid spread of cable and satellite technologies has meant many news operations have arisen with a multinational feel. CNNI has done it quite successfully with outputs in several parts of the world, such as London and Hong Kong. Euronews tries to do this in Europe, but, of course, as Boyd Barrett and Rantanen state: The problem is defining European flavour. Its principal source is Eurovision which, in turn, takes international stories from WTN, Reuters and APTV. Sky TV has a
European news service reaching 33 countries. They describe them as:

- **Reuters**: Reuters TV, Reuters wire services, ITN, Tele-Noticias, global programme production, Polish and Russian commercial broadcasting;

- **Murdoch/News Corp**: STAR TV/Sky, BSkyB, Fox network, global broadcasting and production;

- **BBC**: BBC, BBC-World, IBBC News 24;

- **Carlton**: UK programme producer and broadcaster, majority owner of ITN;

- **Disney/Capital Cities-ABC**: besides ABC in the US majority shareholder in WTN, Scandinavian Broadcasting;

- **General Electric**: NBC, CNBC, NBS Super channel/Asian Business Channel, MSNBC;

- **Time-Warner**: US production, broadcasting and third largest US cable operator, German-Language regional news in Europe, owner of Turner broadcasting which includes CNN, CNNI.

In the annals of International Communication research, the 1970s may very well be referred to as the decade of the New World Information Order (NWIO). It is a UNESCO sponsored effort to achieve more equalization in the production and distribution of information between the First World and the Third World. Massive cries from developing countries about the imbalance in information flow from the North to the South and from the West to the East have prompted several countries to press for a realignment of information producers and consumers which resulted in NWIO.

**GLOBAL JOURNALISM FREEDOM**

The globalization of journalism over recent years has had repercussions for the way journalism is practised in individual countries as well as by the global.
journalists. The effects of globalisation are seen in all areas, both in the way stories are reported domestically and internationally, as well as in other areas such as those concerning legal and ethical matters.

Asia

Hongkong, The Phillipines, Singapore, Malaysia

Asia is a region that has been undergoing massive changes, not just economically but also in the taste of its news. Like all countries faced with the problems of globalization, this region, which borders the Pacific, and, therefore, with American influence, is struggling to hold on to its strong cultural traditions. The media of the region, as in all developing regions throughout the world, have become all pervasive. No longer are newspapers a luxury reserved for the highly educated and rich: today, they are for everyone as are radio and television. And this includes international satellite broadcasts of news and other programmes from a wide variety of sources, but mostly from the UK and the US. These are rich media markets. As Asia's people have sought a wider voice in government, so has the media, press and broadcasting expanded its role to take on more of the western ideals of political watchdog and voice of the people. The size of the Pacific-rim countries' media is striking. Japan's five top dailies have circulations more than 40 million.

Korea's four leading dailies have circulations between 1 and 2 million—larger than most American daily and many UK national dailies. Hong Kong's STAR TV, an international satellite broadcaster, has a potential viewing audience of 2.5 billion. Technological advance has also been rapid in these Pacific-rim countries. This exposure to western styles of journalism has brought tensions. The adversarial, critical, cynical style which western journalists use and audiences expect, are new to these countries. This style and the approach of western journalists can also be offensive to Eastern different moral codes and ethical considerations. This, in turn, has also led to criticism by individual countries, used to a certain local approach of bias in the reporting by international journalists of their own domestic affairs.20

Hong Kong, the Philippines, Singapore and Malaysia, all have strong multilingual media systems, utilising English, Chinese, Malay, Tamil and Tagalog. In Malaysia, press law originally drafted by the English colonials is still in use. In Thailand, there is strong and well read English-language newspapers. However, the vernacular language press is growing in status and influence. In Malaysia, the Malay-language press is expanding rapidly. In Vietnam and Cambodia, the English and French language press has dropped in importance while local newspapers are on the increase. Many countries in the Pacific-rim, as elsewhere throughout the world, are strong on developmental journalism. The media is expected to work cooperatively with the government in helping educate people, while at the same time promoting the government policies, preaching harmony and in Chinese terms, Confucian values. In China, Singapore and Malaysia, the most important papers are owned by the government.  

In some countries, particularly those with a Confucian tradition, which emphasis consensus, loyalty to family and discipline, there is obviously a reluctance to criticise those in authority. Journalists from other cultural traditions find this difficult to live with and work in. Journalists and politicians often cooperate; the politician provides information and in return the journalist does not publish embarrassing information. The same applies in financial stories as well. Links between big business and the media often inhibit the press and broadcast media from reporting dodgy business practices. In many countries, the press is not encouraged to expose the relationships between business and government; or to investigate allegations of graft, nepotism and corruption. Journalists are often discouraged from in-depth reporting and they hesitate in many cases to criticise government actions. In some countries, ownership makes additional problems for reporters. Often, the most influential media are controlled by large companies with interests in many businesses outside the media itself. This, of course, causes problems for reporting not about businesses that might belong to the same owner.

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Japan

Other countries are managing to come to reconcile their own cultural traditions and the modern approach to journalistic practice as seen from the West. Take Japan for example. Japan shares a Confucian ethos with other Eastern countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, China and Singapore, but this doesn't stop Japanese media reporting frankly and freely. The media system in Japan is huge: five national dailies, five commercial networks and a fast developing satellite TV system. Japan has also had a legal framework that ensures freedom of expression for much longer than other countries in the region.

Japanese media is very strong and saturates the country. It is also extremely well advanced. Freedom of expression has been enshrined in Japanese life since the American occupation after the Second World War. The country's television stations fit no particular political profile and Japan's newspapers are committed to independence. Censorship is forbidden and government censorship is virtually unknown. Japan has no statutory laws covering freedom of information or privacy. The Supreme Court has, on many occasions, upheld the right of the media to receive information and gather news in the public interest. Other court decisions have recognized the right of journalists not to divulge confidential sources. In Japan, there is a strong code of ethics and with it a strong sense of self-regulation. The newspapers’ publishers’ association subscribes to a code committing the press to independence, a non-partisan stance and fair writing for the public interest. Election laws guarantee the media's right to report and comment on elections but they prohibit any attempt to influence the election, such as through the publication of data that might affect election outcomes. Papers, however, often ignore this restriction and print poll results without getting into trouble. Libel and privacy codes are the only formal boundaries on the Japanese press. Newspapers do not like to be involved in libel suits and so take great care and try to avoid attributing any statements or actions to particular individuals. Juvenile law in Japan demands anonymity for criminal suspects under the age of 20. Tabloids and magazines, however, are much freer in publishing stories and are occasionally sued. Usually, the plaintiff wins. The broadcast media are regulated more closely than the press. The Ministry of Post and Telecommunications is responsible for the broadcast laws. NHK, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, is one of the world's largest public
broadcasters. Broadcasters must be politically impartial.

Japan is media saturated, and both a difficult and an easy place for global journalism, to flourish. Freedom of expression is enshrined in the Japanese constitution and any form of censorship is practically unheard of. The media is not muckraking as in many western countries but has Confucian values in the practices of the media. There are, of course, some taboo subjects such as criticism of the Royal Family.

In Japan, the pattern of news coverage influences public perceptions of what the important issues of the day are. Many Japanese scholars have accepted the idea that the mass media have powerful effects, because the media overwhelm Japan's information environment. Compared to the United States, Germany and Hong Kong, for example, the Japanese are more dependent on the mass media and less dependent on interpersonal communication and personal observation for information. The Japanese media, particularly the five national newspapers, have great influence on what readers think about, if not how to think. The media in Japan have a concentration of ownership, integration with other elite power groups and an ability to exercise direct influence over government policy. This implies strong potential power in exerting control on the flow of information. News executives and managing editors have the power to cover up or reveal political scandals or to campaign for or against any interest. The Japanese are among the greatest readers per head of newspapers in the world. Every day about 70 million newspapers are printed in Japan, more than one newspaper for every two people. Surveys suggest that an enormous 90 per cent of adults read at least one newspaper a day, the average reader devoting about 40 minutes each day to it. There are about 160 daily newspapers in Japan that are, on the whole, aimed at the general rather than the specific reader. The two biggest dailies Yomiuri Shimbun and Asahi Shimbun are the flagship papers of large, wealthy companies. These two papers have existed since 1874 (Yomiuri) and 1879 (Asahi). The production networks are impressive. Asahi is printed in 18 plants throughout Japan, Yomiuri at slightly fewer. Yomiuri has about 100 offices throughout Japan and 360 regional reporters' offices. Asahi has about 830 reporters throughout the country. Both have over 30 overseas offices each. Amidst this, they have a daily circulation of 26 million and are the largest in the world.
Apart from the big national dailies, there are important, high quality regional newspapers such as Hokkaido Shimbun in Sapporo, Chunichi Shimbun in central Japan and the Nishi-Hijhon Shimbun on Kyushu. There are also many high quality city newspapers such as Kyoto Shimbun, Kobe Shimbun and Shizuoka Shimbun. The biggest regional newspapers have overseas correspondents while the smaller ones rely on the Kyodo News service. The English-language press does not play an important role since there is little market for it. The most important Japanese language newspaper is the Japan Times with a circulation of almost 70,000. Japan's newspaper consumers also devour magazines hungrily. There are more than 2,000 monthlies and hundreds of weeklies. All the major dailies publish news weeklies. The Japanese media are dominated by five national newspapers, in order: the Yomiuri Shimbun, the Asahi Shimbun the Mainichi Shimbun the Sankei Shimbun and the Nihon Keizai Shimbun. In recent years, the Yomiuri has had a daily morning circulation of more than 14 million, the Asahi Shimbun more than 12 million, and the Mainichi more than 5 million copies a day. In addition to having the highest per capita circulation in the world, Japan's top five newspapers either own or are affiliated with Tokyo's commercial television networks. Asahis affiliated with TV Asahi Yomiurs with NTV, Sankei Shimbun with Fuji Television, Mainichi Shimbunw TBS and Nihon Keizai Shimbun with TV Tokyo. Of perhaps even greater importance is the fact that there is no significant difference in content among the top national papers, with the exception of the Nihon Keizai Shimbun, which is a business newspaper. The five large daily newspapers speak in one voice. Their commentary on the issues of the day is almost indistinguishable and their selection of what to report and what to ignore is virtually identical. The systematic and heavy self-censorship the newspapers engage in is without parallel in the industrialized world. The Japanese newspapers’ tremendous circulations do not guarantee that political stories, for example, are well-read by most of the population. The media cannot influence the public if the public is not paying attention; what if the public is paying attention? The question is that and the newspapers offer unbalanced coverage of an important international issues, or they never raise certain issues?

Several scholars and journalists have reported on the array of sources routinely used by Japanese journalists. Their articles tend to focus on the Japanese press club or kisha kurabu system. Every major government department and agency
and all significant business groups have their own press club. Since the 1880s, the press clubs have graduated from waiting rooms for reporters to almost exclusive channels of information regarding the pertinent institutions and is within the confines of the club walls that much of the reporter official interaction takes place. Generally, only journalists affiliated with the major media companies can belong to press clubs. Upto 1993, Magazine writers, freelance writers and, foreign correspondents were not allowed to join, which meant they could not attend most news conferences, background briefings or receive news releases. The off-the-record briefings are particularly important to journalists because that's when politicians and bureaucrats explain the real meaning of their often ambiguous official comments. Scholars and journalists have pointed to several adverse consequence of press club system. The kisha kurabu tend to encourage uniformity in reporting and discourage critical reporting. The news tends to be uniform partly because it originates from same sources: everyone attends the same news briefings and receives the same news releases. Japanese reporters, especially political writers, must cultivate the friendship of their news sources. Complicating the situation, Akhavan Majid notes that political reporters are often assigned to a politician for the bulk of their careers, "tying the fortunes of the journalist to those of the official assigned to him." The closer the reporter is to his or her source, the greater the constraint in reporting information, disadvantageous to their patron. Under such circumstances, the reporter can either remain reticent or can go on to write only favourable stories promoting the political interest of his patron. Reinforcing a reluctance to write stories detrimental to one's subject politician is a cultural norm of obligation. A reporter's expose about a politician would be in violation of the unwritten code of conduct and might jeopardize future access to other politicians. The kisha kurabu system ensures that much of the news that is reported is initiated by the government and reported primarily from the government's perspective. As a result, the government appears to have a strong role in influencing the media's agenda. For the most part, government officials and not journalists decide which issues are salient and worthy of discussion.

As mentioned earlier, Japan's national papers have been characterised as essentially uniform. They appear to influence each others' news judgements to the extent that no one wants to risk being different. Intermediate agenda setting also may help explain another aspect of Japanese politics and media. Despite significant
influence politicians and bureaucrats appear to yield over journalists and despite the Japanese tendency to be non-aggressive and conformist, the country's political system has not lacked for scandal. In politics, of course, scandals often are publicized by an officeholder or candidate's political opponents. But when does a scandal become news if mainstream Japanese journalists are reluctant to print that which might embarrass or anger their sources? In several instances, experts say, the mainstream Japanese newspapers picked up a controversial story only after it had first been reported by a foreign news organization or a freelancer. For example, it was a magazine reporter who disclosed the financial scandal that led to the resignation of Prime Minister, Kakuei Tanaka in 1974. Press club reporters apparently knew about the scandal but chose not to print anything until after the magazine did. Freelance and western journalists influence mainstream Japanese journalists because they remind those journalists of professional norms such as being a watchdog of government and thus being objective. No matter how deferential a Japanese journalist may appear to someone with a western perspective, Japanese journalists themselves say they believe in many of the same journalistic values. Indeed, nearly all the journalists, asked questions in one survey, said they should act as watchdogs over government and most characterized government-press relations as basically conflicting. Japanese journalists generally believe that they should shape public opinion, attempt to influence government policy, and act as watchdog.

Also shaping the attitudes of Japanese journalists is the socialization process that occurs at every newspaper. To get a job with a Japanese newspaper, applicants must first pass a highly competitive and rigorous exam. As a result, those who succeed usually have similar, elitist educational backgrounds. Reporters at the major newspapers spend a year or two on a particular local beat and move up to a more prestigious beat every few years until they join the ranks of management. Like employees of most Japanese companies, they have lifetime employment which means plenty of time to be fully indoctrinated into the customs of their organisation and plenty of motivation to do so. In addition to the press clubs and socialisation within newsrooms, cultural ideas about what it means to be Japanese, not necessarily what it means to be a journalist, also come into play when the media's agenda is being set. Japanese journalists have for centuries lived in a Confucian culture that
places great value on the group over the individual and on harmony over conflict. As a result, the Japanese media tries to preserve harmony by refraining from disturbing the status quo. Senior Japanese newspaper editors view themselves as public guardians, entrusted to help maintain a disciplined society with a maximum of order and a minimum of conflict. The Japanese media are huge business conglomerates. Money influences coverage. The Japanese national papers earn a larger percentage of their income from circulation than from advertising. Japan's national newspapers are characterized by ownership in which key employees have a financial stake in the company. Thus the papers must be extremely careful to avoid alienating any segment of their diverse readership by their content, style, or political slant lest their circulation and hence financial stability should suffer.

Japan has been a television culture for a long time. In Japan, everyone lives by television. Japan's television system is extensive. There are five large commercial television networks, a huge public television organization, satellite and pay-TV services and a growing cable system to which about 16 per cent of the population were connected in 2000. Japan leads the way in satellite television. Cross-border satellite broadcasters have also made their presence felt in Japan. And as satellite TV has expanded, Japanese broadcasters have bought the rights to international satellite transmissions such as CNN, ESPN and MTV. Japanese news journalism on TV is brash and somewhat flashy to western eyes and ears. News journalism can be opinionated rather than straight laced. The public service broadcaster, NHK, however, remains more-mainstream in its journalism. However, the TV networks have links with the major press organizations. For instance, all the five of the Tokyo commercial television networks are owned by the big five national dailies. The Foreign Press in Japan (FPIJ) was officially organised in 1964. Its objective is to provide opportunities for the best possible news coverage in Japan for its members. All foreign news organizations in Japan accredited or otherwise recognized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for coverage in Japan, are eligible to join. The FPIJ regularly allocates pool positions for coverage of special events in Japan for which Japanese government or other organizations have approved limited coverage by reporters, both Japanese and foreign. The FPIJ pool members then provide pool coverage (video and audio tape and pen coverage) to all registered members. The FPIJ also lobbies for greater access to Japanese government ministries and agencies,
as well as with other 'kisha clubs' for more transparency and fairness in regards to allowing coverage by the international media.

One of the biggest problems for global journalists is how to crack the code of the Japanese press clubs. These can inhibit freedom of information for those not part of the network. The press club is an essential part of journalistic life in Japan. It is criticized by foreign journalists who are often excluded from the personal clubs and from Japanese journalists themselves who object to the bland pro-establishment style of journalism that the culture tends to foster. Most government agencies, political parties, important industrial and economic organizations, local government, the courts and police all have their own press clubs. One of their important functions is to hold news conferences for top policy-makers often at the request of journalists; unlike in many other countries, where an official with information calls a press conference. One guess puts the number of stories filtered through these press clubs as high as 75 per cent. Foreign correspondents who are often excluded from membership, criticise the practice of exclusion because they feel that it puts them at a severe disadvantage. Some clubs now allow foreign journalists to become members.

The more developed media landscapes of Japan, Taiwan and South Korea face other key concerns. Particularly contentious is the perceived decline in the standards of journalism as media outlets battle for market share. In Japan, some even took the view that a leading newspaper's coverage led to Princess Masako's miscarriage. South Korean politicians denounce journalists as chaebol (family-owned conglomerates) representatives and the Taiwanese media is often accused of going down a sensationalist path.

Japan's parliament passed a controversial law allowing police to use wiretaps to investigate certain serious crimes. A key concern for journalists is that the law fails to protect journalists' right to protect their confidential sources of information.

**South Korea**

In South Korea, censorship laws have been considerably softened over the last few years. Newspapers are now freer than in the past to criticise the government and to write investigative stories that would have been unthinkable a few years ago.
Censors no longer sit in newsrooms and there are no more government directives telling newspapers how to handle sensitive stories. The number of dailies published in South Korea has doubled in 2007. There are still some old practices remaining such as journalists taking money from officials or businesses for favourable coverage.

Seoul has about 16 dailies of various types and the major papers have foreign offices in the major world capitals. The industry has some of the most advanced technology and the bigger papers can produce multiple editions of sharp coloured newspapers. There are two English language dailies in Seoul - the Korea and Korea Times, but they are mainly read by westerners. The government has no restrictions on private ownership of satellite dishes. Satellite channels, including international ones, are available to viewers and cable television is also developing fast. Radio is very influential throughout the country and there are more than 50 stations, some government owned, some a mixture of public-private ownership and some owned by religious organizations. Most newspapers are owned by wealthy families or large industrial companies. South Korea has a high quality of journalism. Journalists are well paid and have high status.

China

In China, the media has very little freedom. It is a branch of government and news is filtered by authorities. China's newspapers are all state owned. Virtually all printed material is first scrutinized by Communist Party officials. Newspapers do not tend to espouse different opinions. The People's Daily, which is well known outside China, is the official newspaper of the Communist Party. Perhaps the major influence for news and journalism in China rests in the hands of the Xinhua news agency (www.xinhua.com). It employs over 10000 people and has more than 100 offices throughout the world. Within China, Xinhua has over 30 offices, one for each province plus one for the army. In Hong Kong, Xinhua acted as the virtual embassy employing hundreds of people who performed news-gathering and intelligence communications. Xinhua oversees three main areas: domestic news,

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international news, and a translation department which takes foreign stories and translates them for circulation to government officials. There are more than 2,000 newspapers in China and the majority of them cannot post correspondents, so they use Xinhua, People's Daily for daily stories. It prints about 25 per cent Xinhua stories, has only about 50 overseas correspondents compared with Xinhua's 400. Xinhua is not involved in anti government stories; still it, does provide news stories to China Central Television. China has a couple of other, but much smaller, news services: the China News service which covers news about Chinese people living overseas and China Features news service which produces feature stories about China, written in English, for newspapers around the world. In China, broadcasting is massively important, possibly more important than print. About 150 million Chinese now own television sets. Radios are even more widespread. Television is controlled by China Central Television (CCTV), which falls under the Ministry of Radio, Film and television. CCTV has over 2,000 employees, and much of it is beamed throughout China via satellite. CCTV broadcasts not only which it produces itself, three times a day, often drags on some foreign news such as NHK or CNNI as sources. The audience for its news is probably in excess of 500 million. China also has about 100 regional, provincial and municipal networks throughout the country. 24

Hong Kong's media remained ostensibly free but two reinterpretations of the Basic Law by Beijing effectively overturned the judgements by the Hong Kong court. This greatly blurred the boundary between the legal systems of Hong Kong and the mainland, weakening the human rights safeguards. Legal restraint is a hanging sword over the head of the media and all the indications are that the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region authorities plan to enact legislation to implement more stringent provisions in the Basic Law, signals that the enjoyment of rights is being gradually eroded.

Taiwan

Taiwan's media law formally guarantees freedom of speech, but it is, of course, not always as simple as that. Journalists find that while there might be

freedom of speech, it is often extremely difficult to find out information from government departments that have a deep seated notion of secrecy. There is, however, a new freedom of information bill, which is based on the US Freedom of Information Act. In Taiwan, as elsewhere, globalization is bringing western influences to bear on the local media. Taiwan has about 160 newspapers of various kinds. The main newspapers print multiple editions of high quality colour and distribute them throughout the country. They have the latest computerized newsrooms, printing plants and high-speed presses. Taiwan is fast becoming a television culture for news and information, despite the large number of newspapers available throughout the country. There is more than one TV per household. TV stations are mainly in Mandarin with some Taiwanese, English and Hakka programmes. Radio is also booming with more frequencies than ever before. The networks broadcast newscasts throughout the day, particularly at the morning, lunch and evening peak times. For foreign coverage the networks have their own correspondents stationed overseas and also have arrangements with American networks to rebroadcast their news programmes.

In Taiwan, the four main media representative organizations publicly condemned the government-initiated wiretapping of reporters and searches of news media premises, describing the moves as an infringement of press freedom. The application of criminal law however, continues to be the major blot on Taiwan's press freedom copybook. On the 1st January 1988, the government ended its ban on new newspapers and a page limitation was also lifted. In 1992, the legislature revised the sedition law, formally allowing open discussions about the Taiwan independence movement. Since the lifting of martial law, the number of newspapers in Taiwan skyrocketed, from 31 in 1987 to 300 by the end of 1994. Among these new newspapers, the first opposition daily newspaper started in June 1989, the Capital Morning Post. However, this paper went out of business 14 months later, due to inability to attract advertisers. The number

25 www.jour.sc.edu/news
26 Ibid.
27 www.mediacentre.org/content
of daily newspapers has declined to 25. The print media have tended to become more liberal in their views and reporting than the electronic media. The main television stations are still influenced by political ideas.

The Taiwanese media are characterised by considerable partisanship, something which a KMT spokesman described is “a natural part of the democratization process.” Opinions that were not allowed to surface during martial law are now spoken and written about openly. Editorial writing tends to be fiercely opinionated. The Taiwanese are very interested in financial laws. As Taiwan has developed economically, it has grown in television culture. Television has overtaken newspapers as the primary source of information. Taiwan receives several channels operated by government-owned networks where broadcasting is mainly in Mandarin, with some Taiwanese, English and Hakka programmes. Radio is booming. For foreign overage, the networks have their own correspondents stationed overseas and they rebroadcast a number of overseas law channels. The most dynamic aspect of Taiwan's media scene is the rapid development of cable. For years, owning a satellite dish, was prohibited; but as dishes became smaller, this law became possible to police. The government first lifted the ban on u-band equipment which allowed Japanese signals. In 1992, the ban was further lifted so that STAR TV could be made available. For many years, cable operations were not covered by any laws and programmes, which could be received in well over a third of Taiwan households, tended to be full of pirated programmes downloaded from international satellites without permission. But now the government has awarded a number of franchises for cable systems, each offering about 30 channels.

While print media have enjoyed freedom since 1988, electronic media remained under stringent government control through licensing, ownership and the appointment of top managerial staff who serve as news gatekeepers. The three broadcast television stations, Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV), China Television Company (CTV) and Chinese Television System (CTS) have been owned and controlled by the provincial government, the ruling kuomintang and the Ministry of

29 www.mediacentre.org/content
The situation started to change in the early 1990s. By 1993, the Cable Act had been passed, allowing private ownership of cable channels. Since then, the cable television industry has boomed; more and more private cable ventures have become involved in news, offering alternatives to government-owned broadcast networks' news programmes. Taiwan now has 11 national cable news operations, with eight offering 24-hour news services, while four other over-the-air broadcasters offer newscasts. The proliferation of television news has turned this small island of 13,900 square miles with a population of 21 million into a society where news happens anytime, everywhere.

Cable news in Taiwan has not clearly shed its partisanship. The partisan nature of cable news operations is proven further by journalist perceptions of cable news founder motivations in starting news ventures. Most journalists, however, agree that cable news was an attempt to offer different news perspectives. Before the late 1980s when the Kuomintang (KMT) imposed authoritarian rule in Taiwan, television news was dominated by the three state-owned broadcasters: TTV, CTS and CTV. For the last 30 years, television news from these three broadcasters has been strongly criticised as biased towards KMT. With the transition from authoritarian rule to democracy, the electronic media scene has been changing because of private ownership of cable T.V. Even though cable might be offering different news angles, journalists in Taiwan also say how hard it is for the old idea of using news operations as tools of power to die. Even though cable news stations are privately owned and free from direct government control, they still fail to function independently of political interference. Well over half the journalists working in Taiwan think they have autonomy in their daily reporting and editing. For Taiwanese journalists, the organisation's editorial policy influences the degree of autonomy they experience. Journalists' experience of autonomy also affects their job satisfaction. The more autonomous journalists feel, the more satisfied they are with their job. Cable journalists in Taiwan on the whole are a dissatisfied group. More than half of them feel dissatisfied with their work and only a third of them say they are satisfied in their work. Like American journalists, age and income also affect

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31 Hull, Jim, Online Journalism (Sterling: Pluto Press), 2001, pp. 39-46
Taiwan Journalists' job satisfaction.

Journalists in Taiwan reject the authoritarian, and Confucian concept that media should support government policies in order to promote stability. They believe in the watchdog philosophy so dear to western journalists and believe it is the job of a journalist to report what happens critically. However, there is then a difference in interpretation of what being a watchdog of society means. Many Taiwan journalists say that being critical does not translate into being adversarial toward government; they emphasize more the media's responsibility of being neutral, giving equal weight to different opinions. A study by Lee described journalists under the KMTs authoritarian rule as holding libertarian views. A later study found that journalists working under the present system in Taiwan continue their beliefs in the libertarian role of the press. Their perceptions resemble those of the American journalists, who emphasise more the media's interpretative and information dissemination functions and less the media's adversarial role. Taiwan's political reform towards democracy has brought changes in its media system. The television news arena is no longer dominated by government-controlled broadcasters. Private ownership of cable has boosted local entrepreneurs to venture into the news business and this freedom has resulted in a proliferation of cable news channels. This phenomenon, as perceived by journalists, can be explained by cable's desire to offer audiences new perspectives different from the government-controlled broadcasters. This change, however, has not brought independence to private cable news channels.

Thailand

While Thailand continues to be a beacon of hope for media freedom in the region, recent worrying developments showed that freedoms are far from guaranteed. The media were not allowed to carry senate candidates' views, policies or perceived role in the Senate in the run-up to the country's first Senate election. Official intimidation also showed its ugly face. Several government officials tried to intimidate journalists for criticising the deputy prime minister.

Thailand has about 150 newspapers, about 40 of them dailies based in Bangkok. Almost all of the country's 73 provinces have local newspapers. Tabloid journalism of the most lucid and scandalous type is very popular. But broadsheet, more serious journalism, is also popular. The Thai media has its own taboo subjects, first among them the Royal Family. No paper, not even the most scurrilous and racy tabloid, would ever consider criticising the monarchy. Buddhism is also a taboo subject for media criticism. There is an English-language press, which is well read and highly regarded. Bangkok has two important English-language dailies, the Bangkok Post and the Nation. There are several Chinese language dailies which produce high quality journalism.

The Philippines

The Philippines and Thailand have a sharp news system that allows for aggressive, critical reporting. One of the major problems of reporting in countries of the Pacific-rim is to do with perceived and accepted taboo subjects. These might include criticism of the imperial family in Japan or the royal family in Thailand, and in countries such as Singapore and Malaysia, any writing that might inflame ethnic hostility, especially between the Malay and Chinese communities.

Freedom of the press is highly prized in the Philippines. And press freedom is enshrined in the law which states; "no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech, of expression or of the press. It also guarantees the right of the people to information on matters of public concern". Libel law is particularly troublesome in this country.

Journalists have easy access to government information and can write critically about the people in power and serve as a watchdog on government functioning. Manila has over 20 daily newspapers. Television is of high quality, featuring both public and privately owned networks. Almost all the country's broadcast's belong to a self-regulating association known as the KBP (Kapisanan ng mga Brodkaster sa Pilipinas). Radio is the country's most important medium for communication, reaching 85 per cent of the country, compared with about 50 per cent for television and 25 per cent for newspapers. There are about 300 radio

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stations - commercial and non-commercial. Many radio stations do not have newsrooms and simply read stories from the newspapers. Radio also has the ability to reach listeners in their native dialects. Radio Veritas, for example, is a Catholic radio group based in Manila but which runs 45 radio and several TV stations throughout the archipelago. It broadcasts a number of news bulletins every day in about 35 different dialects. Ownership of the press in the Philippines is in the hands of powerful families. Large businesses are also buying up the industry.

Since President Joseph Estrada took office in the Philippines, several developments have brought the administration's commitment to freedom of the press into question. Critics have accused Estrada of curtailing media freedom in a country that has embraced the principles of free expression in recent years. In particular, an advertising boycott of the Philippine Daily Inquirer, the most widely circulated newspaper in the country, was generally considered to be official retaliation for critical reporting. Estrada also filed a huge libel suit against the Manila Times newspaper, seeking US$2.6 million in damages over a story that allegedly linked him to a government contract scandal. The paper apologized and the president withdrew the suit. A few months later, however, the Manila Times was shut down, having been bought by investors who reportedly have close political connections with the government. Relations between the media and the Office of the President have been fraught with tension but, promisingly, Estrada recently held a news conference in which he announced he had a millennium ‘wish’ for a "cease-fire" with the media.

Even in countries such as the Philippines or Macao, where the media remains among the freest in Asia, journalists often come under attack from local organized crime groups and drug syndicates, intimidating reporters who investigate their activities. Almost 40 journalists have been killed in the Philippines since democracy was restored in 1986, two of them in 1998. Most of the journalists killed were investigating official corruption and drug trafficking. In September 1998, a bomb blast injured ten journalists in Macau. This was just the latest in a series of attacks against journalists who openly reported criminal activities. Macau has been rocked in recent years by rising crime and frequent bombing, made worse by rival gangs or triads, fighting violent turf wars to gain control of illicit businesses.
Malaysia

As in other countries in the region, critical journalism is difficult in Malaysia. Much of this is to do with the culture of the country, and culture is not something that can be dismissed lightly. Development journalism is widely practised in Malaysia and there is a general expectation that the press will communicate government-supporting values and ideas. As in Singapore, government campaigns are regularly implemented for specific ends, and the media usually takes full part in these. However, government attitudes to the media and freedom of reporting are being liberalised, not least because of satellite television. New technologies continue to make it difficult here, as elsewhere, for Malaysia to be insulated from international journalism. Direct censorship is relatively rare but foreign newspapers and magazines sometimes have trouble with the authorities. Many Malaysian and international journalists familiar with Malaysia think that Malaysian newspapers generally perform their basic functions well and some feel better than in neighbouring Singapore.36

Malaysia's constitution does not explicitly provide for freedom of the press but there is a Fundamental Liberties section, which guarantees free speech and expression. The government relies on several pieces of legislation to keep the press under control. These pieces of legislation give the Home Affairs minister, the power to ban publications deemed contrary to the country's interests, national security or public morality. Publishers also have to apply every year for a licence. The Official Secrets Act, of course, hinders investigative journalism, as it does in many countries both West and East, but in this case, journalists writing a story have to prove that the information they are using is not classified before the story can be published. The Broadcasting Act gives the minister of information many powers to intervene and remove journalistic material that is going to be broadcast, if it is damaging to Malaysian values. The most important restraint is the Internal Security Act, which was originally implemented by the British colonial authorities. It was originally intended to combat communist insurgents but it is broad enough for subsequent governments to use it to stop opposition and criticism. Malaysia has also kept tight control over new media technologies. As in Singapore, satellite dishes are banned.

The Malaysian Press publishes in four languages: English, Malay, Chinese and Tamil. The English-language press is the oldest and probably the most influential. These newspapers go back to 1845 (when the paper was called the Straits Times and published in Singapore which was then part of Malaya). When Singapore separated from the rest of the Malay Peninsula in 1965, the Straits Times continued to be published in Singapore and a new newspaper, the New Straits Times, was published in Kuala Lumpur. The Malay-language newspapers now are the most read in the country. Chinese-Language newspapers are also widely read. There is also a small Tamil-language press. Editorial decisions often reflect pro-government bias.

Newspapers are also widespread throughout the regions. In the states of Sabah and Sarawak, there are a number of small local Chinese papers. Some of these are multilingual, published in Chinese, Malay, English or local languages in varying combinations. Apart from the papers in states such as Sabah and Sarawak, the majority of Malaysian newspapers are based in Kuala Lumpur. There is not a strong provincial press and the larger cities like Penang and Malacca are served by the Kuala Lumpur papers.

Malaysia has a mixture of government run and private television. Satellite news services are provided through a government Pay-TV system. Ownership of Malaysian media often puts extra stresses and strains on press freedom. All the major newspapers are either owned by one of the ruling coalition parties or by financial interests closely associated with government in one way or another. Broadcasting is in a similar position. This gives politicians a strong means to influence editorial decision-making. As elsewhere, foreign publications and journalists sometimes run into trouble over reporting matters about Malaysia. Coverage of foreign affairs is largely dependent on the international news agencies, although there are sometimes complaints that these international news agencies are often too western in their reporting approach. The newspapers rely very heavily on the official Malaysian news agency, Bernama, as well as AP and Reuters. Bernama acts as the sole distributor of foreign news and it distributes it to client newspapers and takes a commission.

Singapore

Singapore, like Malaysia, uses the concept of ‘Asian Allies’ as justification
for silencing critics. Self-censorship is for the news media which are largely state-controlled, permits are required for public speaking and publications, censorship is strict and libel laws are rigorously enforced. The former Soviet Asian republics are making only nominal progress in adopting a democratic system and journalists, broadcasters, and individual citizens enjoy little freedom to report facts or to express their opinion.

Additionally, Singapore's theories of a so-called Asian model of journalism are spreading fast through Asia, adopted by more and more governments to justify censorship and prohibit the import of specific publications, which apparently could undermine the stability of the state or contravene moral norms. Asian leaders often criticise what they call the western model of journalism, in which the media are free to report the news as they see it. They argue that the role of domestic media is to act responsibly, which is generally understood to mean supporting the goals of the elected leadership and the preservation of social harmony. Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir has described westerners' notion of a free press as the freedom to tell lies and said that western media coverage is interested only in attracting readers without considering the damaging implications for society.37

In Singapore, a government-linked company operates all four 'independent' television channels and 10 of 15 radio stations. The Internet must be accessed through a government censor's server. All major newspapers and 20 per cent of cable television are owned by a commercial company with strong ties to the government. The English language paper, Straits Times, is well known internationally. Singaporeans are very comfortable with English, and so, the circulation of this paper is growing. While its domestic coverage remains close to the government line, its foreign news is drawn from a variety of sources and offers a comprehensive coverage. There are several Chinese-language and Malay-language newspapers and one Tamil language newspaper. All of them generally mirror the government line.

Singapore is a puzzle. It has a rather controversial media reputation. It is restrictive and the government makes no efforts to disguise the fact that its media are

37 www.journalism.co.uk/news
not free in the western sense to write and report everything it chooses. It is all a question of western versus eastern thought and ideas of freedom of the press. The original Singaporean leaders, notably Lee Kuan Yew, believed that western ideas of freedom were a mixed blessing and were not necessarily the right thing for a Confucian society such as Singapore. For western journalists working in Singapore, as well as for Singaporean journalists themselves trying to report Singapore affairs, this argument poses certain problems. Singapore has long held the view that foreign journalists should not criticise the domestic affairs of Singapore. Singaporean law allows much latitude in dealing with difficult journalists, and for overseas correspondents. One way of doing this is by refusing accreditation. But there is a thaw in government control, which has been noticed in the last 10 years, when the journalists worked there and during their subsequent visits. There is more questioning of government decisions but still reporters are inherently afraid to cross the line of discretion; so self-censorship is still rife. Singapore does have strict censorship laws. Any story that would fan the flames of ethnic tension is not allowed. Therefore, race, religion, language, relations with Malaysia and Indonesia - anything that might damage Singapore's reputation in the wider world - are subjects that the media in Singapore treat with extreme care and allow themselves to self-censorship. In their words, they take a cautious approach. The Singaporean constitution explicitly limits freedom of expression. There are laws which range from those concerned with internal security and sedition, which limit freedom of reporting and there are also powers which allow the government to close down what they deem to be undesirable publications if they are thought to be against the public interest. Then, there is the Newspaper and Printing Presses Act, which gives the government powers to restrict, but not ban, the circulation of any publication sold in the country that is deemed guilty of biased reporting. This is a power often used against foreign newspapers and magazines. Whether these powers are used or not is largely irrelevant. Journalists know the powers exist and so tend to be careful in what they report and how they report. Radio and TV news output is also closely controlled. Satellite TV is available but only through the government controlled cable system. Private ownership of satellite dishes is banned although some institutions such as newspapers have permits to operate them. The government's second strategy has been to develop its own satellite television system based on cable. It feeds some international networks direct to homes.
With few exceptions, Asia has still a long way to go before freedom of expression becomes a real part of life. Suppressing news is still very much an accepted practice. According to Barbara Trionfi, writing for the International Press Institute, “freedom of the press in many parts of Asia remains bleak.”

All too often, she says, journalists in the region have a choice when it comes to dealing with sensitive issues: avoid confrontation with officialdom or face imprisonment and brutal repression. Subtler methods of stifling unwanted voices such as harsh defamation legislation, advertising boycotts and legal provisions designed to protect national security are also being widely and effectively deployed. Consequently, the practice of self-censorship is nudging towards epidemic proportions.

**Vietnam**

The press in Vietnam remains shackled by the Communist government. Virtually all media outlets are operated by government-controlled or party-affiliated organisations. Most editors, publishers and reporters are Communist Party members and independent thinking is often violently repressed. The government controls all administrative aspects of the press, including approval and appointment of publishers and staff members. The party’s Central Committee on Thought and Cultural Affairs controls press content by issuing guidelines and directives to editors.

**Laos**

Similarly, in Laos, the media is tightly restrained; domestic newspapers and radio and television broadcasting are under the government’s watchful eye. Under Communist rule since the 1970s, Laos is one of the most tightly controlled societies in Asia. Recently, the Laotian government has initiated a tentative process of economic liberalisation, but there have been no moves to reform the political structure. The ruling Laos People’s Revolutionary Party (LPRP) holds 98 out of the 99 National Assembly seats. Cambodia, on the other hand, is showing some signs of positive development in terms of media freedom. Prime Minister Hun Sen has recently become a proponent of press freedom, publicly praising the benefits to

39 Ibid.
society of an unfettered media. While the motives may be linked more to foreign investment and donor aid than democratic principle, the policy has left some breathing room for the Cambodian media. The official rhetoric does not, however, guarantee the right to freedom of expression in Cambodia. For example, an anti-royalist newspaper was shut down in 1999, after it printed articles critical of King Sihanouk. The paper was banned from appearing for 30 days. Besides, criminal charges were filed against it, and its printer was warned to stop printing the paper for the month. Legislation in Cambodia has a chilling effect on the press, containing provisions of jail terms for journalists found guilty of defamation and restrictive elements which are susceptible to official abuse. Furthermore, the independence of the judiciary is seriously questioned by many journalists. The elections in 1998 could not be deemed free and fair, largely because access to the media for the opposition parties was severely restricted.

**Indonesia**

Indonesia's media continues its battles to hold on to its new-found freedom. The fall of President Suharto gave a new lease of life to Indonesian journalists. To the surprise of man, his successor B.J. Habibie, started his tenure promisingly from the media's perspective, presenting grounds for cautious optimism. His short-term in office was significant in media terms as he systematically dismantled the oppressive legislative infrastructure that shackled the press during the 32-year Suharto era. Civil unrest simmers in many parts of Indonesia and many still consider the media a major agitator and claim that journalists don't behave responsibly. The chaos and unrest that regularly besets parts of the country makes reporting an immensely dangerous profession. Journalists have been killed and attacked, often by the security forces. Havoc and violence played a prominent role in East Timor in 1999 as the people voted on the issue of self-determination. The violence took a heavy toll of the media. Two journalists were murdered and about 300 were attacked and threatened. All the evidence suggests that Indonesian soldiers were responsible for the killings, and paramilitary groups backed by the Jakarta government identified the media as prime targets in the run-up to the referendum.

**Turkmenistan**

IPI describes the five Central Asian Republics as a virtual media freedom,
desert. Probably the most repressive of the former Soviet states is Turkmenistan, where freedom of speech violations against local and foreign reporters have not diminished since 1992 and the government-controlled television and press provide few details on the country's political and social troubles. In Turkmenistan there is no need for censorship as self-censorship is so prevalent that newspapers silence themselves. There is no government harassment or repression of the independent media because there is no independent media. In recent years, independent media outlets have been shut down one by one.

Uzbekistan

Uzbek president, Karimov, professed a commitment to democratic media and reform, which he attempted to prove with the passage of a Law on the Mass Media. Several articles of this law, however, are worded in such a way that they could be used to punish government critics; one provision, for example, makes journalists responsible for the truth of the information contained in their news stories, potentially subjecting journalists to prosecution if a government official disagrees with a news report. Uzbek newspapers continue to be funded, and therefore, controlled by government organs like ministries and city governments, and meet direct censorship. In practice, the electronic mass media is stifled by an effective state-imposed self-censorship on journalists via highly bureaucratic re-registration requirements that each TV station must pass annually.

Tajikistan

Even though the political situation seems to be slowly normalizing in Tajikistan after the end of the civil war, the country remains a dangerous place for journalists, as the killing of a noted Tajik editor in 1998 shows. In Tajikistan, most private newspapers only survive with the help of government subsidies. Challenging the performance of the authorities would jeopardize their financial lifeline. The fact that there are no private printing presses or distribution networks also gives the government many opportunities to wield influence over private papers. On the private broadcasting front, however, there are local stations operating and, while under-resourced, they do have a reasonable presence in pockets of the country.
Kazakhstan

Censorship of the media and harassment of journalists have been common tactics used by the government in Kazakhstan to successfully curtail freedom of expression, association and assembly and the right to political participation. These tactics were glaringly evident in the run up to the recent elections. Kazakhstan president, in anticipation of the presidential elections, consolidated his control over the media, strictly banning any criticism of the president and the government.

The official attitude toward the media in countries such as Burma (Myanmar) or Afghanistan is now much more clearly defined, though not for the better. Even minimal attempts to report the facts are ruthlessly crushed. Burma's military junta keeps a strict control on the media, leaving no freedom either to local or foreign journalists. The Burmese press operates under strict censorship and citizens risk jail if they are found guilty of giving false information domestically or internationally. Since the junta took over, at least 14 Burmese journalists have been sent to jail, some have died there and the situation has not shown signs of much improvement. In 2000, Burma (Myanmar) was holding at least 13 journalists as prisoners. In 1999 censual assessment, Burma continues to be governed by draconian decrees and continues to brutally disregard human rights, including freedom of expression. Well over 1,000 political prisoners remain behind bars enduring the most appalling, inhumane conditions. 40

Afghanistan

In Afghanistan, the fundamentalist Taliban regime has closed down local media and prevented, sometimes through physical means, the foreign press from covering the war and other sensitive issues. Any source of information or contact with the outside is considered a possible threat. An Iranian journalist was killed in 1998 by the Taliban forces and journalists working for foreign radio stations broadcasting from outside the border of the Taliban territory, are often harassed and even physically attacked.

40 www.ojr.org/ojr/workplace
Sri Lanka and Nepal

Civil wars and internal conflicts in Sri Lanka and Nepal are the major causes of harassment of journalists. In the course of 1998, in Nepal, at least eight journalists ended up in prison and newspapers were seized by police for denouncing police violence, corruption and the misconduct of security forces, who were presumed to have killed civilians in clashes with a Maoist rebel group in the west of the country. The Sri Lankan government, in its fight against the Tamil separatist movement, imposed direct censorship of military news under emergency regulations. This is obviously more as part of a political strategy than a military requirement for national security, which the government pretends.

Turkey

Twenty-five journalists are in prison in Turkey, more than any other country in the world. Journalists who are interpreted as advocating secession for the Kurdish people are the primary targets of the Turkish government's clampdown, and criticising the military has also resulted in the imprisonment of journalists.

Africa

More than two-thirds of the world's least developed countries are in Africa. But despite the poverty, not everything is gloom. The movement towards democracy accelerated in the 1990s and this, in turn, meant that a number of independent newspapers and magazines became more influential. The press always had an important place in African political life, as have journalists. Africa is also one of the most dangerous places on earth for journalists practising global (and local) journalism. Many African leaders over the years started life as journalists but curiously, when they got power and became leaders of their country, they tended to exercise excessive control over the media. Africa has an image of having a problem over censorship and press freedom. The continent has fewer newspapers, radio and television sets than any other continent. But there is hope that things are improving. Their two main problems, however, continue to be autocratic governments and poverty. Many African countries still control the media, and

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harassment of journalists by governments and other groups is still prevalent. Press freedom is not as advanced as elsewhere in the world. Almost half of the 53 African countries that have signed human rights charters routinely violate the press freedom, and it is clear violation of those agreements, according to Reporters Sans Frontiers (RSF). The organization (RSF) says that a survey carried out in 2,000 shows that at least 22 African nations do not respect press freedom. They are Algeria, Angola, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, traditional Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Kenya, Libya, Mauritania, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Swaziland, Togo, Tunisia, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The watch group stated: Although the violations are not very serious, what their governments have in common is the fact that they do not respect the African Charter for Human and Peoples' Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. However, all 22 countries have signed and ratified at least one of those agreements. In September 1999, Sudan's President Omar Bashir, launched numerous verbal attacks on the independent media, accusing them of serving the party of Satan, atheists and agent's of the opposition. In Tunisia, press freedom does not exist. Both state-run and private newspapers are subject to censorship, even when dealing with subjects seemingly unrelated to government; such is the environment or cultural heritage.

In Algeria, state monopolies on printing and advertising are ways of putting pressure on the private media. It is not unusual for the country's four state-owned printing works to demand immediate payment of a newspaper's debts if it has published articles regarded as critical. In Mauritania, a publication may be banned if it attacks the principles of Islam or the credibility of the state. The group (RSF) also asked the governments of the 15 European Union countries to take into account the press freedom records of African nations when entering into cooperation agreements with them.

**Australasia**

**Australia**

Australia’s first newspaper, The Sidney Gazette, 1803-42 was published by

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42 www.africanews.org
43 Ibid.
authority and was censored by Governors or their secretaries. John Dunmore Lang wrote that it was conducted... as if its editor’s situation had been that of a mastiff to His Excellency. Samuel Bennett claimed it was a mixture of fulsome flattery of government officials and inane twaddle on the matters. In 1833, “The Currency Lad” was going in for Yellow Journalism in Australia. It discovered the popular appeal value of the police courts; its columns departed entirely from the legalistic reportage of the major cases in favour of the technique later popularized by John Nortan on a grander scale in truth. It humanized in short paragraphs the cases before the court, without any regard to their significance, but with a jaunty eye to their entertainment value.45

The media in this part of the world is among the freest in the world. It also has some of the best newspapers, particularly in Australia. Australia's newspapers looked originally to Britain as their model. The oldest mass circulation newspaper is the Sydney Morning Herald, which is one of the country's great dailies and has an average circulation of more than 400,000. It is owned by a Sydney family. The Melbourne Age is also one of the most prestigious papers and is owned by the Canadian, Conrad Black. There are newspapers in every capital city in Australia as well as in many regional centres. There are also some very small, but important and prosperous newspapers that have circulations of about 6,000, such as the Nasacort Herald in South Australia, They are all very modern in their technology. Most of them including the very small ones, have an online presence. Australia broadcasting is a mixture of public and private, and is broadly modeled on the United Kingdom’s broadcasting. Commercial broadcasting started in 1924 and is highly popular around the country. Every small and medium sized city and town in Australia has at least one radio and television station; most of the towns have more. Public Service broadcasting is run by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), a fiercely independent organization that takes its government watchdog role extremely seriously. In a country of such vast size, but small spread-out population, satellites were a great innovation for radio and television transmissions across the country. In Australia, negotiations between media and government tried to resolve the many

unsettled issues affecting ownership and media policies, despite heavy lobbying by media groups, especially over the rules to be applied to the introduction of digital television. Cross-media rules restrict the ability of TV operators and media publishers to invest across each other's traditional borders. Australian radio was thrown into chaos over the Australian Broadcasting Authority's so-called 'cash for comment' inquiry into the activities of two well-known radio broadcasters who have been accused of giving favourable on-air comments to companies and industries in return for undisclosed financial payments. The ownership of Australia's untrammeled media is already among the most concentrated in the world.

The newspaper press constitutes nearly the only literature published in the Australian colonies. It monopolises the greater part of the thought. The newspapers occupy the space of all literature and stop the channels of all information from all other sources, by far the largest class derives no information from any other quarter.\textsuperscript{46}

\textbf{New Zealand}

New Zealand also has an excellent press and broadcasting system. The largest daily, the New Zealand Herald is published in Auckland. There are also newspapers in Wellington and in the south island. New Zealand broadcasting also adopted the BBC model in 1932. Television started there in 1960 run by the government-funded New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (NZBC). In 1984, independent non-governmental TV began. News and current affairs form a large and important part of the output. New Zealand continues to enjoy an essentially free and unfettered press but issues such as privacy and court gagging orders continue to impede legitimate reporting and stifle debate. Although the media was explicitly excluded from the 1993 Privacy Act, many journalists feel the law still significantly impedes news-gathering and disseminating and acts as a deterrent to sources of information who are covered under the privacy law. Reflecting a global media concern, New Zealand's journalists are struggling with the privacy issue. Current legislation struggles to find an acceptable balance between rights relating to privacy

\textsuperscript{46} Thomas, Mac Combe, The History of Colony of Victor (Melbourne: Dilldown Press), 1858, p. 323.
and other rights relating to freedom of expression. The reporting of suicide also continues to be a thorny issue in New Zealand, which has one of the highest rates of youth suicide in the world. The current laws restrict the media from reporting on specific cases for fear that the reports will encourage other people to follow suit.

Papua-New Guinea (PNG) is located north of Australia in the Pacific and has a larger population than New Zealand’s (which itself has a population of about the size of Sydney). The media in PNG is dependent in many ways on Australia. PNG has radio and television inherited from Australia. It broadcasts in more than 30 languages. While the principles of press freedom and freedom of expression are generally respected in Australasia and Oceania, the situation has deteriorated badly in some Pacific Island states. Papua New Guinea has a robust and essentially free news media. Peace agreements in the secessionist war on the island of Bougainville have eased tensions considerably. There were, however, reports of intimidation of the media by government supporters. Elsewhere in the Pacific, weeklies are the main staple diet with English as the dominant language for publication. Tahiti and New Caledonia, however, have French language newspapers. Radio came to the Pacific islands in 1935, with Fiji being the first country to have its own radio service. However, more than half of the current services in the Pacific started as late as 1960. They are, of course, strongly influenced by British and Australian broadcasting. Until the 1970s, most of them were staffed by expatriates from Australia and Britain: that is no longer the case. Television came generally to the Pacific islands in the 1950s and 1960s. They can all link into INTELSAT.

News agencies in the Australasian region are not well developed in number but in quality they are world class. The non-government New Zealand Press Association (NZPA) and the Australian Associated Press (AAP) serve their own countries and also the Pacific communities. AAP is based in Sydney and serves both Fiji and Papua-New Guinea with output that it puts together from major world agencies and the output of its own members.

Media freedom came under heavy attack in the Solomon Islands when the government introduced emergency legislation that provided for imprisonment of up to two years, or a fine, for journalists who violated state-imposed reporting regulations. The legislation followed the declaration of a state of emergency.
following ethnic tension on the main island, Guadalcanal. The restrictions forbade printing, broadcasting or communicating information that incited violence or was likely to cause racial or communal disharmony. They also forbade printing, broadcasting or communicating information prejudicial to the safety or interests of the state or likely to cause disaffection with the government or hatred or contempt for the administration of justice or national security. The powers also restricted the printing, broadcasting or communicating of information from official documents. In order to avoid the risk of harsh penalties, the Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation stopped all live broadcasts of news produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation, Radio Australia and Radio New Zealand International. Foreign journalists covering the ethnic conflict in the Solomon Islands were also warned that they could be jailed, fined or banned under the state of emergency regulations.

**World’s Oldest Newspapers still in circulation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post och Inrikes Tidningar (Sweden)</td>
<td>1645</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haarlems Dagblad (Netherlands)</td>
<td>1656</td>
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<tr>
<td>La Gazzetta di Mantova (Italy)</td>
<td>1664</td>
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<tr>
<td>The London Gazette (UK)</td>
<td>1665</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wiener Zeitung (Austria)</td>
<td>1703</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hildesheimer Allgemeiner Zeitung (Germany)</td>
<td>1705</td>
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<td>Worcester Journal (UK)</td>
<td>1709</td>
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<td>The Newcastle Journal (UK)</td>
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<td>The Stamford Journal (UK)</td>
<td>1712</td>
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<td>The Northampton Mercury (UK)</td>
<td>1720</td>
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<td>Hanauer Anzeiger (Germany)</td>
<td>1725</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Belfast News-Letter (N. Ireland)</td>
<td>1737</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feuille d’Avis de Neuchatel (Switzerland)</td>
<td>1738</td>
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<tr>
<td>Darmstaedter Tageblatt (Germany)</td>
<td>1740</td>
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<td>Press &amp; Journal (UK)</td>
<td>1747</td>
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<td>Berlingske Tidende (Denmark)</td>
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<td>Giessener Anzeiger (Germany)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leeuwarder Courant (Netherlands)</td>
<td>1752</td>
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<td>The Yorkshire Post (UK)</td>
<td>1754</td>
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<tr>
<td>La Gazzetta di Parma (Italy)</td>
<td>1755</td>
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<tr>
<td>Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant (Netherlands)</td>
<td>1758</td>
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<td>Norrkopings Tidningar (Sweden)</td>
<td>1758</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saarbricker Zeitung (Germany)</td>
<td>1761</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schaumburger Zeitung (Germany)</td>
<td>1761</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 heures/Feuille d’Avis de Lausanne (Switzerland)</td>
<td>1762</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hersfelder Zeitung (Germany)</td>
<td>1763</td>
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<td>Quebec Chronicle Telegraph (Canada)</td>
<td>1764</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Hartford Courant (USA)</td>
<td>1764</td>
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<td>Newspaper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lippische Landeszeitung (Germany)</td>
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<td>Aalborg Stiftstidende (Denmark)</td>
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<td>Adresseavisen (Norway)</td>
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<td>Feuile d'Yverdon (Switzerland)</td>
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<td>The Gazette (Canada)</td>
<td>1778</td>
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<td>Neue Zurcher Zeitung (Switzerland)</td>
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<td>Golarsche Zeitung (Germany)</td>
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<td>Northampton Daily Hampshire Gazette (USA)</td>
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<td>The Times of London (UK)</td>
<td>1788</td>
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<td>The Berkshire Eagle (USA)</td>
<td>1789</td>
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<td>Zwolse Courant (Netherlands)</td>
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<td>The Observer (UK)</td>
<td>1791</td>
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<td>Tauber-Zeitung (Germany)</td>
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<td>Jeversche Wochenblatt (Germany)</td>
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<td>Norwich Bulletin (USA)</td>
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<td>Greenfield Recorder (USA)</td>
<td>1792</td>
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<td>Rutland Herald (USA)</td>
<td>1794</td>
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<td>Thurgauer Zeitung (Switzerland)</td>
<td>1798</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gazette de Lausanne (Switzerland)</td>
<td>1798</td>
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<td>Keene Sentinel (USA)</td>
<td>1799</td>
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<td>Nijmeegs Dagblad (Netherlands)</td>
<td>1800</td>
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<td>Bote vom Unter-Main (Germany)</td>
<td>1803</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Bedford Gazette (USA)</td>
<td>1805</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schleswig-Holst. Landeszeitung (Germany)</td>
<td>1807</td>
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<td>Concord Monitor (USA)</td>
<td>1808</td>
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<td>Soclinger Tageblatt (Germany)</td>
<td>1809</td>
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<td>New Haven Register (USA)</td>
<td>1812</td>
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<td>Mobile Register (USA)</td>
<td>1813</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arnhemse Courant (Netherlands)</td>
<td>1814</td>
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<tr>
<td>Le Journal de la Corse (France)</td>
<td>1815</td>
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<td>Cellesche Zeitung (Germany)</td>
<td>1817</td>
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<td>Ludwigsburger Kreiszeitung (Germany)</td>
<td>1818</td>
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<td>Westfalischer Anzeiger (Germany)</td>
<td>1822</td>
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<td>The Bombay Samachar (India)</td>
<td>1822</td>
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<td>Abo Underrattelser (Finland)</td>
<td>1824</td>
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<td>Cannstatter Zeitung (Germany)</td>
<td>1824</td>
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<td>Union-News &amp; Sunday Republican (USA)</td>
<td>1824</td>
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<td>Kennebec Journal (USA)</td>
<td>1825</td>
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<td>El Peruano (Peru)</td>
<td>1825</td>
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<td>Le Figaro (France)</td>
<td>1826</td>
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<tr>
<td>El Mercurio de Valparaiso (Chile)</td>
<td>1827</td>
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<td>Stamford Advocate (USA)</td>
<td>1829</td>
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<td>Providence Journal (USA)</td>
<td>1829</td>
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<td>Aftonbladet (Sweden)</td>
<td>1830</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)</td>
<td>1831</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Gleaner (Jamaica)</td>
<td>1834</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kalamazoo Gazette (USA)</td>
<td>1837</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Tuam Herald (Ireland)</td>
<td>1837</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Times-Picayune (USA)</td>
<td>1839</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sidney Morning Herald (Australia)</td>
<td>1840</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Europe

Britain has a free press. There is no censor and no licensing and any one can publish a newspaper provided he does not break the law in doing so. The press is in private hands. There is no government control over newspapers, no government shareholding in a newspaper and a press gets no form of government help other than exemption from value added tax. The sessions of parliament are open to the press. The working of the government is reported and commented on, as is the working of all other public institutions. The freedom of the press is not inscribed on tablets as it is in the American constitution; it exists by consensus and the freedom British newspaper enjoy and for which Journalists fought over the centuries has to be guarded by editors, by political parties and by the people who care about these matters.47

Regular newspaper publication in United Kingdom dates from the mid 17th century. Prior to that, it was believed that the “reckless” reporting of news might endanger the Crown and the country. A limit was placed on the printing of news

other than of events abroad, natural disasters, royal declarations and crimes. There were weekly Corantos published from the 1620s containing these kinds of news. Publication grew following the general relaxation after the ending of the Star Chamber in 1641. During the Civil War, there were regular news-sheets and then news books carrying general information along with propaganda. Following the Restoration, there arose a number of publications including the London Gazette (first published on November 16, 1665 as the Oxford Gazette), the first official journal of record and the newspaper of the Crown. Publication was controlled under the Licensing Act of 1662, but the Acts lapsed from 1679-1685 and then in 1695, that encouraged number of new titles. There were twelve London newspapers (the Daily Currant was the first London newspaper) and provincial papers by the 1720s and by the early 19th century, there were 52 London papers and over 100 other titles.

As stamp paper and other duties were progressively reduced from the 1830’s onwards (and all duties on newspapers were gone by 1855), there was a massive growth in overall circulation as major events occurred and improved communications developed the public's need for information. The Daily Universal Register began life in 1785 and was later to become ‘The Times’ from 1788. This was the most significant newspaper of the first half of the 19th century, but from around 1860 there were a number of more strongly competitive titles, each differentiated by its political biases and interests. The Manchester Guardian was founded in Manchester in 1821, by a group of non-conformist businessmen. Its most famous editor, Charles Prestwich Scott, made the Manchester Guardian into a world-famous newspaper in the 1890s. It is now called The Guardian. The Chartist Northern Star first published on May 26, 1838, was a pioneer of popular Journalism, but was very closely linked to the fortunes of the movement and was out of business by 1852. At the same time, there was the establishment of more specialized periodicals and the first cheap/economical newspaper was the Daily Telegraph and Courier (1855), later to be known simply as the Daily Telegraph. From 1860 until around 1910 is the period considered a 'golden age' of newspaper publication, with technical advances in printing and communication combined with a professionalization of journalism and the prominence of new owners - Newspapers became more partisan and there was the rise of new or yellow journalism (see
William Thomas Stead. Socialist and labour newspapers also proliferated, and in 1912, the Daily Herald was launched as the first daily newspaper of the trade union and labour movement.

First World War saw the rise of the 'press barons' initially, the Harmsworth Brothers (later Viscounts Northcliffe and Rothermere) and the Berry Brothers. A trend continued between the wars when in the WW-I, the barons were joined by Max Aitken (later Lord Beaverbrook) and the newspaper industry took on an appearance similar to today's. The post-war period was marked by the emergence of tabloid newspapers (or red tops) notably with Cecil Harmsworth King and his International Publishing Corporation. In the 1980s, the powerful print of trade unions were challenged and production moved away from Fleet Street, marked by the successes of Rupert Murdoch and the Sun in the 1980s and 1990s. Currently, their circulation is in a slow but steady decline but still comparatively high.

More recently, the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) has complained of declining wages in the local press, which some claim are a result of increasing consolidation of the local newspaper industry. In March 2006, Labour MP, Austin Mitchell, called for a debate on the matter and encouraged the UK parliament to enact legislation to regulate the sector. In the perceived gap left by local newspapers, many of which have closed 'district' offices in smaller towns, local news websites are emerging. Examples of this include a website for the town of Bourne, in Lincolnshire, which is run by former Fleet Street journalist, Rex Needle, and RuberyVillage.co.uk which is run by teenagers and provides news for the West Midlands village of Rubery.

**British Newspapers according to chronological order**

- 1900 - April 24: Daily Express launched by Pearson and become first national daily to put news on the front page.
- 1902 - Jan 17: Times Literary Supplement launched.
- 1903 - Nov 2: Daily Mirror launched by Harmsworth. First daily illustrated exclusively with photographs.
- 1907: National Union of Journalists (NUJ) founded.
- 1908 - Nov 14: Illustrated Weekly Budget launched and became the only newspaper in the world printed in colour. Only seven issues published.
• 1911: Copyright Act.
• 1911 - Jan 25: Daily Herald launched and became first newspaper to sell two million copies.
• 1913 - April 12: New Statesman founded by Sidney Webb.
• 1915 - March 14: Sunday Pictorial launched by Rothermere and became Sunday Mirror in 1963.
• 1916: Daily Express bought by Max Aitkin.
• 1918 - Dec 29: Sunday Express launched.
• 1922 - Aug 14: Death of Lord Northcliffe.
• 1924 - Nov 2: First crossword in a British newspaper, in the Sunday Express.
• 1926 - May: Most newspapers suspended during the General Strike. Government publishes British Gazette;
• 1930 - Jan 1: Daily Worker launched and became Morning Star in 1966.
• 1930 - Feb 1: First Times crossword.
• 1931: Audit Bureau of Circulations formed.
• 1932 - Aug 23: British Museum Newspaper Library opened at Condole in North London.
• 1934 - Oct 18 : Daily Mail publishes the first photograph be transmitted by beam radio (from Melbourne to London).
• 1938 - Oct 1: Picture Post launched by Edward Hulton and ceased its publication in 1957.
• 1940: Newsprint rationing introduced.
• 1940 - Nov 26: Death of Lord Rothermere.
• 1940 - Daily Worker and Week suppressed.
• 1947: First Royal Commission on the Press.
• 1953: General Council of the Press formed.
• 1954 - Oct 3: The Manchester Sunday paper’s Empire was set up; its first Cardiff edition as 'Wales's Own day Paper: Printed in Wales for Wales'.
1961 - Feb 5: Sunday Telegraph launched.
1962 - Feb 4: Launch of Sunday Times magazine as Sunday Times Colour Section.
1964 - June 9: Death of Lord Beaverbrook.
1964 - Sept 6: Observer colour supplement launched.
1966: Times bought by Roy Thomson owner of the daily Times.
1966 - May 3: Times begins printing news on the front page.
1969: Sun re-launched as a tabloid by Rupert Murdoch.
1974 : Third Royal Commission on the Press.
1976: Evening Post (Nottingham) becomes the first British newspaper to introduce direct input by journalists.
1978 - Dec 1 : Publication of the Times and Sunday
1978 - Times suspended for eleven months.
1979: Financial Times launches international editor, Frankfurt am Main, Germany.
1981 - May 3: Sunday Express magazine launched.
• 1982 - May 2: Mail on Sunday launched: the first photocomposed national newspaper in Britain.

• 1984: Robert Maxwell buys the Mirror Group.

• 1984 - Oct 2: Daily News (Birmingham) launched by Bullivant. The UK's first free daily title.

• 1985: Telegraph bought by Conrad Black.

• 1986: News International moves all national titles to it at Wapping.

• 1986 – March 4: Today launched by Eddy Shah, first national coloured newspaper.

• 1986 – Sep 14: Sunday Sport launched.


• 1987: Today bought by Rupert Murdoch.

• 1987: First women editors of national newspapers in modern times: Wendy Henry News of the World and (Sunday Mirror).


• 1987 - April 26: News on Sunday launched. Ceased publication in November.

• 1988 – Aug 7: Scotland on Sunday launched.

• 1988 – Aug 17: Sport launched, initially appearing every Wednesday.

• 1989 – March 5: Wales on Sunday launched in Cardiff.


• 1990 – Jan 28: Independent on Sunday launched.


• 1991 - Oct 7: Sport becomes daily.

• 1991 - Nov 5: Death of Robert Maxwell.

• 1992: Dundee Courier becomes the last daily in Britain to put news not advertisements on its front page.


• 1994: Electronic Telegraph launched: first British national paper on the
Intercet.

- 1995 - Nov 17: Today ceases publication: first national paper to close since the Daily Sketch.
- 1998 - March 15: Sport First launched: Britain's first national Sunday newspaper dedicated to sport.
- 1998 - June 10: Death of Sir David English, the editor who transformed the fortunes of the Daily Mail.
- 1999 - Feb 7: Sunday Herald (Glasgow) launched.
- 2000 - Sept 20: Business a.m. launched: the first new, daily newspaper in Scotland for 100 years.

Press freedom is, of course, basic to countries of Western Europe and also now to the emerging countries from the old Eastern Europe. Having said that, there are in all European countries some forms of restriction on the media and its journalists.

Scandinavian countries rank at the top of the tree for press freedom, but even there, the government has set some rules. Swedish law, for example, not only forbids government officials from asking journalists to reveal their sources but also won't allow reporters to reveal a source without that person's permission. Scandinavia started the now widespread system of press councils and ombudsmen, but apart from Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark and the United Kingdom no other European country has them. The ombudsman idea started in Sweden in the 1960s and then moved to the United States and elsewhere.

Europe has a wide range of libel and privacy laws. In France, such laws are very complex and restrictive. Nordic countries have strong protections against libel but cases are more often handled by press councils or those involved rather than by the courts. In this, they are very similar to Thailand, where the same principles broadly apply. The most radical changes in government-media relations in Europe have been the way broadcasting has evolved from being a highly controlled medium
to being more independent and run by commercial organizations in a similar way to newspapers. There is also a great disregard for the idea that comes to the surface so often that there should be a Europe-wide set of press laws and guidelines for journalistic conduct for anyone reporting in Europe. That has not been popular with journalists. In Europe, as indeed around the world, the practice of global journalism has at its forefront the ideals of press freedom. Freedom of the press is a balance between protection from government interference and the right of an individual to personal reputation.

**United States**

In America the first Newspaper appeared in Boston in 1690, entitled as Public Occurrences. Published without authority, it was immediately suppressed, its publisher arrested and all copies were destroyed. Indeed, it remained forgotten until 1845 when the only known surviving example was discovered in the British Library. Boston, the largest town in the colonies with about 10,000 population in 1704 had John Campbell, A Canny, cautious Scotchmen, founded the Boston Newsletter, the first continuously published American Newspaper. Campbell was 51 when he began his paper, he had built up a small business as a bookseller and had been in charge of the post for two years. The newspaper which was the result of Campbell’s substitution of the printing press for the pen was on what the printers called a half sheet. The early newsletter seems very unexciting to a modern reader but its news value should not be underestimated. Campbell had correspondents at several important points, though they were neither regular nor efficient. The first successful newspaper was the Boston News-Letter, started by Postmaster, John Campbell, in 1704. Although it was heavily subsidized by the colonial government, the experiment was a near-failure, with very limited circulation. In the early years of its publication the News-Letter, was filled mostly with news from London. Journals detailing the intrigues of English politics and a variety of events concerning the European wars. The rest of the newspaper was filled with items listing ship arrivals, deaths, sermons, political appointments, fires, accidents and the like. One of the most sensational stories published when the News-Letter was the only newspaper in

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48 Mott, Frank Luther, American Journalism (New York: The Macmillan Company), 1962, pp. 11-12.
the colonies was the account of how Blackboard, the pirate, was killed in hand-to-hand combat on the deck of a sloop, that had engaged his ship in battle.

Campbell relinquished his stewardship of the paper in 1722 to Bartholomew Green, its printer. Editor Green devoted less space to overseas events and more to domestic news. When Green died after a decade as its editor, the News-Letter was inherited by his son, John Draper, also a printer. Draper proved to be a better editor and publisher than his predecessors. He enlarged the paper to four sized pages, filling it with news from Boston, other towns throughout the colonies and from abroad. Two more papers made their appearance in the 1720's, in Philadelphia and New York, and the Fourth Estate slowly became established in the new continent. By the eve of the Revolutionary War, some two dozen papers were issued in all the colonies, although Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania remained the centres of American printing for many years. Articles in colonial papers, brilliantly conceived by revolutionary propagandists, were a major force that influenced public opinion in America from reconciliation with England to full political independence. Many individuals and groups have claimed that the media in America care more about ratings and selling newspapers than they do about maintaining or developing the social and ethical fabric of their nation.

The "Mighty Pulitzer" of U.S. Journalism

The two main arms of U.S. journalism today, print media and electronic media, are divided as well into three main approaches:

1. the "new news" of daily journalism as exemplified by the daily newspaper, evening television news, or radio "news-on-the-hour" with the latest from AP, plus cable and Internet sources;

2. weekly or periodical journalism as typified by Time as well as the better television discussion shows like Meet the Press and Washington Week in Review;

3. commentary or opinion journalism in various periodicals; The New Republic, Nation, Foreign Affairs, Atlantic, and Sunday editions of some dailies, as well as books, are examples.
The expectations for objectivity, balance, and fairness are much higher, naturally, for daily journalism, which reports the first version of events, than for the more leisurely weekly and opinion publications or the talk shows of weekend television. Daily journalism also has room for editorial comment and interpretation, but the expectation is that comment and predictions should be clearly identified and separated from hard or just appearing news.

The Print Media

Daily Newspapers

Although viewed by some as a twilight industry, the daily newspaper is still the most effective means of supplying large amounts of serious late breaking news to the American public. A total of about 1,500 dailies are published, roughly 40 per cent in the morning and 60 per cent in the afternoon, with a total circulation of about 63 million. Almost all metropolitan papers come out in the morning to better compete with television.

Circulations vary widely. Fifteen dailies have a circulation of more than 500,000, whereas more than 1,129 dailies have circulations under 25,000 and are primarily concerned with serving small cities and communities.

The backbone and intellectual leadership of daily journalism comes from the 40-45 dailies, each with circulations of more than 250,000 and includes all those considered the best plus a number of mediocre or fading dailies.

A recent survey by the Columbia Journalism Review of 150 daily newspaper editors produced the following rankings for what they considered to be America's 21 best daily newspapers:

From this elite group, the largest and presumably the most influential dailies include: The *Wall Street Journal* (daily circulation about 1.7 million) is primarily a business publication but is noted for its excellent news coverage and fine writing on non-business topics. Owner is the Dow Jones Co., which has 14 other papers.

*USA Today* (circulation about 2 million) is also distributed nationally and is owned by the Gannett Co., which has 74 dailies and a total daily circulation of more than 6.6 million. The paper has received mixed reviews but is considered to be improving and is carrying more hard news.

*The New York Times* has a Sunday circulation about 1.7 million, of which about 200,000 comes from its national edition. Although undergoing marked changes in recent years, the *Times* is still considered by many as the nation's most influential newspaper and targets an elite readership.

As mentioned, the large circulations of *The Wall Street Journal, USA Today,* and *The New York Times* are due in part to their national distribution; facsimile newspaper pages are sent via satellite to regional printing plants around the nation.

*The Los Angeles Times* (about 1.3 million Sunday) is one of the notable success stories in U.S. journalism, changing in the past 40 years from a parochial, partisan paper into the finest newspaper west of the eastern seaboard. (In March 2000, the paper and the Times Mirror Company were purchased by the Tribune Company of Chicago.)

*The Washington Post* (Sunday circulation about one million) is highly regarded and wields great influence in the political vortex of the nation's capital. The Washington Post Co. also owns *Newsweek* as well as broadcast and cable properties. The paper competes head-to-head with *The New York Times* on major stories in Washington but targets the greater Washington area for readers.

The New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times and Wall Street journal - all maintain significant numbers of their own reporters in key capitals

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overseas. In truth, concern about the global economy and political instability of the
world beyond American shores and the willingness to report foreign news is one of
the hallmarks of a great news medium. Much of this outstanding reporting finds its
way to other dailies through syndication.

Another major newspaper group is Knight-Ridder Inc. with 29 papers
enjoying a circulation of 4,136,770. Highly regarded among its properties are The
Miami Herald, The Charlotte Observer, San Jose Mercury News, and The
Philadelphia Inquirer, each an outstanding daily, with great influence in its city and
suburbs. For $1.65 billion, Knight-Ridder acquired two big additions, The Kansas
City Star, circulation 291,000, and The Fort Worth Star-Telegram, circulation
240,000, from the Disney Co. in April 1997.

Finally, Newhouse Newspapers has 26 dailies with a circulation of 2,960,360
including The Oregonian. Newhouse also owns The New Yorker and the Conde
Nast magazines.

Weekly Newspapers

At the other end of the circulation scales are the 7,400 to 7,500 weekly
newspapers that average about 7,500 subscribers each. Total circulation of these
publications, so important in so many small communities, is about 55 million, more
than double the mid-1960s total. Although often small and unimposing, these papers
are close to their readers and usually serve their communities well. Local news
dominates these papers.\(^50\)

Magazines

Certainly, the most diverse and perhaps the most changeable, yet resilient of
the media, have been magazines, of which about 4,000 are published, up from 2,500
in the mid-1980s. Carmody reported that 832 new magazines started in 1994; 67 of
these were about sports and 44 were related to sex. Each year, about 80 per cent of
newly launched magazines fail.

Comparatively, few magazines are mainly concerned with journalism and

2000, p. 551.
news but, overall, magazines contribute tremendous amounts of diverse information and entertainment available to the public. As seen later, U.S. magazines are increasingly popular overseas.

Leading news magazines and their approximate circulations are: Time (4.1 million); Newsweek (3.2 million); and U.S. News and World Report (2.3 million). Business magazines such as Money (2.2 million), Business Week (900,000), and Fortune and Forbes (each about 770,000) contribute to the public affairs news as do Atlantic, Harper's, and The New Yorker.

Though modest in circulations, opinion journals such as the New Republic, Nation, and National Review have a disproportionate influence on politicians, opinion makers and intellectuals, particularly in Washington, DC and New York City.

Books

Over 50,000 new book titles are published annually in the United States and a significant number contribute directly to the swirling cauldron of journalism. Ever since Theodore H. White wrote The Making of the President, 1960, after John Kennedy defeated Richard Nixon, journalists have been writing numerous books on national politics and public affairs. However, the two political best sellers of 1996 - Primary Colors by Anonymous (Joe Klein) and Rush Limbaugh is a Big Fat Idiot by Al Franken - were essentially satire and entertainment, not political journalism.

Nowadays, almost all candidates for the presidency kick off their campaign by publishing a book to publicize themselves and their political ideas; such efforts qualify as political journalism. Of interest here is that journalists have been writing books critical of media performance. Important recent efforts include Breaking the News by James Fallows, Hot Air: All Talk. All the Time and Spin Cycle both by Howard Kurtz, Feeding the Beast by Kenneth T. Walsh, Don't Shoot the Messenger by Bruce Sanford, Warp Speed by Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel, Life: The Movie by Neal Cabler, and What the People Know by Richard Reeves.

Electronic Media

Radio is ubiquitous and has been for most of the 20th century. Receiving sets
are everywhere, in almost every car, scattered around the house, and carried by young people and joggers. There are 500 million sets in America. The nation is served by more than 8,454 radio stations of which 3,764 are AM stations and 4,690 are FM stations. About 70 per cent of the audience listens to FM. Many big city radio stations today are quite profitable.

Hard hit by the advent of television, radio was slow in finding a new niche. It no longer seeks its previous mass audience and offers instead narrow formats in various kinds of music and news, plus a smattering of network programming, especially in news. Radio's survival has offered additional proof that older media are supplemented by new media, not replaced by them.

Radio's journalistic contributions appear to consist mainly of brief newscasts stressing local and regional news, as well as headlines and brief reports on national and foreign events. As mentioned, two shining exceptions are National Public Radio's *Morning Report* and *All Things Considered* heard all over the nation on public stations. These programmes make important contributions to the reporting and analysis of public affairs. Public radio has disproved the conventional wisdom that government support of broadcasting compromises journalistic quality and independence.

A good deal is written about television news and its ups and downs. To set the scene briefly, here are a few basic facts: More than 1,290 commercial licenses have been granted by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Of these, about half are VHF, with a far-reaching signal, and half are UHF stations, more numerous and limited in reach.

Viewers have access to about 350 noncommercial or public television stations. More than 400 commercial stations are independent, not affiliated with the four major networks - CBS, ABC, NBC, and Fox. (Two fledgling networks, UPN and WB, are trying to break into prime time.) Television markets vary widely from New York City with about 7 million television households, all the way to Alpena, Michigan, with just 15,600 households with television sets.51

51 Ibid.
Ninety-eight per cent of homes have television sets and research suggests that sets are on seven hours a day in a typical home. About 80 per cent of homes have a video cassette recorder (VCR) and 60 per cent receive cable. Both VCR and cable percentages are steadily increasing as are satellite receivers. There were 1,594 total cable systems across the nation. Cable channels such as CNN and MSNBC have become major outlets for both news and public affairs programming.

Most Americans are aware of television's importance as a news medium. If at any time, there are rumours of a disaster or other ominous event, people will first turn on their television sets or, if away from home, their radios. But they are more likely today to find the breaking news on a cable station than a broadcast outlet.

Public television stations have made their own significant contributions to broadcast journalism primarily in recent years through the News Hour with Jim Lehrer and various documentary news programmes such as Frontline, Nova, The American Experience, and so on. With the exception of CBS' 60 Minutes, news documentaries or news magazines on commercial networks rarely reach the journalistic quality of those on PBS.

Another important contributor to broadcast news is C-SPAN, the non-profit cable channel created to report on the legislative process in the U.S. Congress. In addition, it provides television coverage, without comment or interpretation, of a wide variety of meetings, conferences, or seminars, all of which have some connection to public affairs. C-SPAN has a small but devoted group of listeners who care about public affairs.

These national media have overlapping audiences and, to a great extent, reach the movers and shakers of the American establishment leaders in government, politics, social affairs, business, and academia, especially along the eastern seaboard from Boston to Atlanta and throughout the Midwest and the West Coast.

Legal Restraints

All countries have legal issues that affect the way reporting occurs both internally and externally. Some of these concern the law; others are about more general principles of freedom to report and freedom to find out and gather the news. In countries such as the US, Sweden, Canada, Norway, Greece, Holland, Australia,
New Zealand, Ireland and France, there is some kind of freedom of information legislation. In these countries, there is a presumption that the public has a right to know what is happening. Government files are by and large open for inspection. Freedom of information legislation has yet to be fully enacted in some other countries, most notably in the United Kingdom. In countries such as Australia, internal discussions can be disclosed if it is in the public interest. In the United States, the American Freedom of Information Act is a major tool for journalists wanting to find out what government or big corporations are doing. It is a federal act which requires federal agencies to provide certain information. It is also a federal act in Australia.

The degree of press freedom in the world has been declining over the recent years. Governments tend to use legal means rather than outright oppression or violence. A survey, "News of the Century: Press Freedom 1999," by Freedom House, monitored political and civil rights worldwide. Freedom House ranks press freedom on a scale of 1 to 100, with a lower score indicating a country with a freer press. In 1998, the average press-freedom level of 186 countries was 49.04, a decline from 1997 of nearly 3 per cent. The trend reverses the movement towards greater press freedom, declared Leonard R. Sussman, coordinator of the survey. "While physical attacks, even murder and arrest of journalists, have ended, regimes increasingly use subtle legislation such as 'insult laws' to restrict criticism," Sussman added and noted that some reductions in press freedom were found in 53 countries, while slight improvement was noted in only 20. The survey suggested that there was a growing form of censorship by stealth whereby innocuous-sounding laws were used to restrict reporting and inspire self-censorship. These laws generally emphasise the 'duties' of journalists to protect national security, public health and morals and the reputations of citizens, especially rulers and their parties. The survey listed 68 countries (36% of the world's total) as having a free press, 52 (28%) partly free and 66 (36%) with news media that are not free. Major declines in press freedom were noted in Ghana, Peru, and Jordan, whose media declined from partly free to not free, while Namibia and Samoa declined from free to partly free.

Most reductions in news media freedom were marginal. Yet only 1.2 billion

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people live in nations with a free press, 2.4 billion where the press is partly free, and another 2.4 billion in not-free nations. Improvement was noted in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Indonesia, and Nigeria, which moved from not free to partly free. Mongolia, Slovakia, and Thailand entered the free category from the partly free. The most notable improvement was registered in Nigeria. With the death of the country's dictator, many press restrictions were removed. In Asia, the press was rated not free in Malaysia and Singapore. The financial crisis that provoked riots in Malaysia caused the government to criticise and censor foreign journalists and to exert additional pressures on the domestic news media. With the fall of the Suharto government, Indonesian journalists enjoyed a marked improvement in press freedom. Peru's newspapers and magazines felt increasing pressure from President Fujimori, who, many believe, is planning to run for a constitutionally prohibited third term. Since 1992, many print and broadcast journalists have been intimidated by libel suits, detention, house arrest, and in one famous case the revocation of a television station owner's citizenship. As the Internet asserts itself as an increasingly dominant force for the dissemination of news and information, questions of professional ethics become even more serious. One of the big issues for journalists in their relationship with online journalism and the web is the vexed problem of intellectual property rights. The issue has been festering globally since at least 1996 when journalists began to discover that their work was being distributed without their knowledge on the Internet or in other electronic media. Internet-based publishers are eager to foster good relationships with dependable freelancers. One way to achieve this is to ensure that in the new digital journalism age, revenue is going to the journalists creating the original material. There can be no free press where those who are working within it are abused. For journalists and other freelancers, copyright is the foundation of their livelihood.

The subject matter of copyright is usually described as literary and artistic works, that is, original creations in the fields of literature and arts. The form in which such works are expressed may be words, symbols, music, pictures, three-dimensional objects, or combinations thereof. Practically all national copyright laws provide for the protection of the following types of works:

- literary works irrespective of their content (fiction or non-fiction), length, purpose, form (handwritten, typed, printed, book, pamphlet, single sheets,
newspaper, magazine); whether published or unpublished;
in most countries, computer programmes and oral works, that is, works not reduced to writing.

In certain countries, mainly in countries with common law legal traditions, the notion of copyright has a wider meaning than authors’ rights. Copyright protection generally means that certain uses of the work are lawful only if they are done with the authorization of the owner of the copyright. Some strictly determined uses (for example, quotations, the use of works by way of illustration for teaching, or the use of articles on political or economic matters in other newspapers) are completely free, that is, they require neither the authorization of, nor remuneration for the owner of the copyright. In addition to economic rights, authors enjoy moral rights on the basis of which they have the right to claim their authorship and require that their names be indicated on the copies of the work and they have the right to oppose the mutilation or deformation of their works. Copyright generally vests in the author of the work. Certain laws provide for exceptions; for example, regard the employer as the original owner of copyright, if the author was, when the work was created, an employee and was employed for the very purpose of creating the work.

The laws of almost all countries provide that copyright protection starts as soon as the work is created. Copyright protection is limited in time. Many countries have adopted, as a general rule, a term of protection that starts at the time of the creation of the work and ends 50 years (in some countries, 70 years) after the death of the author. However, in some countries, there are exceptions either for certain kinds of works (e.g. photographs, audiovisual works) or for certain uses (e.g. translations). It was in order to guarantee protection in foreign countries for their own citizens that, in 1886, ten countries established the International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works by signing the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works. Today, over a hundred countries worldwide are signatories to this Convention.

Although freedom of expression is fundamental, the freedom of journalists to report what they see or hear is not as universal as it should be. Throughout the world, the struggle continues to maintain a free press in print, radio, broadcasting and increasingly online. Press reporting is, of course, always hampered by individual
laws in individual countries which provide some fundamental legal constraints. There are universal restraints of one kind or another concerned with defamation and court reporting. But each country then puts its own individual spin and restrictions on these and other areas of information. Journalists in each country have their own specific requirements and these will be contained in relevant media law books and individual codes of conduct formulated by journalists’ associations and trade union organizations of various types. It is essential, therefore, for any journalist working in a foreign country to be aware of these individual laws and ethical constraints. Some of them will, of course, border on copyright and intellectual property rights considerations.53

Libel is about protecting a person's reputation. If someone believes a story has been damaging to his reputation by a false statement, then he can sue. If the damaging statement published is true, then the journalist usually has a complete defence but the newspaper or journalist has to prove the truth of the statement; the libeled person does not have to prove it is untrue. Practising global journalism often means being involved in investigations of one kind or another and these can often lead journalists into great danger. It is important for all investigative journalists to be clear about any legal or censorship problems they might encounter in the country in which they are working.

Dangers of Global Reporting

During 2008, more than 157 journalists and media staff were killed or murdered making it one of the worst years on record, says the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) and the International Press Institute (IPI). "In a century of unremitting slaughter, 1999 has been an infamous year," said Aidan White, General Secretary of the IFJ. "Once again, it is journalists and those who work with them who are among the victims of murder, crime and conflict."54

Journalists and media have been targeted everywhere. In India, media came under fire in the violent exchanges on the disputed border with Kashmir and in

54 Ibid., p. 90.
Chechnya, Russian forces bombed and struck at Chechen media facilities in Grozny. "Journalists are being slaughtered at a time when the public need impartial information most: during times of war and conflict," said Johann P. Fritz, Director of the International Press Institute. Also that year were the horrifying deaths of Dutch journalist Sander Themes and Indonesian journalist Agus Muliawan in East Timor, who died, according to a later investigation, at the hands of Indonesian Security Forces.

In Africa, the civil war in Sierra Leone claimed some 10 victims among the local community of journalists and an undeclared civil war in Colombia claimed 6 victims, said the Report. According to IPI, 1999 was the second worst year on record. And it continued: "We end the century on a note of dismay. Despite much talk of ethical principles and human rights, the struggle for press freedom remains a lofty ambition in many parts of the world. Journalists are often murdered because someone, somewhere wants to keep story quiet. Latin American journalists remain vulnerable to pressure from criminal gangs and political terrorists and there is a fear in that region that the killing of journalists might again become routine.

"Governments and media employers must put the safety of journalists and media staff to the top of the agenda. Too often, however, we see that working conditions are getting worse, not better, creating an atmosphere of uncertainty and insecurity within journalism," said Aidan White, who reaffirmed the IFJ's call for an international Code of Practice for media workers. "Journalists, employers and media unions must lead the way in setting standards for security," he said.

PROBLEMS OF GLOBAL JOURNALISM

One of the most pressing problems for the global journalist is the question of ethics and the way reporting has to be shaped because of them. Ethics and regulatory issues transcend borders; global journalists have to have a global feel for these issues. Wherever journalists work, there are a number of basic moral problems associated with individual decision-making about story coverage and approach.

Working across national boundaries emphasises the differences between cultures. The Internet adds many more problems that have to be faced daily. No longer is it only the journalist who provides the slant of international news to the local reader. The Internet has changed all with its increased interactivity. Now, the reader can call the tune. Now, the Internet reader can be active and track down more or less information about a story and supply an individual angle or respond instantaneously by email or via chatrooms. The filtering process at the reporting end and the selection end becomes more difficult. As the Internet becomes more widespread, journalism will become more global and transmission working will become more usual. Technology now means that reporters can research what is happening in a foreign country from their desk or indeed from their home. It also makes it more likely they will be working for a huge global company or publication. No longer do they have to work in London if they work for the London Times. The job can just as easily be done from anywhere, any country. And putting news on to the web means automatic globalization and a multinational audience. That is why data base and online journalism are catching pace.

Ethics and laws become more difficult to understand and follow uninformedly. Something illegal in one country may be legal elsewhere; something ethical in one country may be unethical in another, perhaps in a neighboring country. The Internet also throws up ethical problems of its own. Concerns over copyright and intellectual property rights loom very large among these concerns and they will have to be sorted out internationally. Then, there is the spin problem; much of the material now being placed on the net is being done so precisely in the hope that journalists will access and use it, together with the particular spin. Many governments put out all their press releases on the web. Most companies do the same. There is a great temptation simply to cut and paste this material and use it without checking. And because Internet material is so easy to access, it is becoming a major research tool for global journalists. The danger is the assumption that what you see is what is true. The proof of the source is much more difficult on the Internet. Even if the press release or the site with the relevant facts carries a credible name, there's no guarantee that the name is as it should be. All but the most important thing here is that internet information needs to be treated with caution and checked. This information usually gives one side of the story - that of the
government, the company/or the individual. It must thus be treated with the same
skepticism that any source would be treated. Web sites and Internet information will
probably also have to have an ethical code of conduct in some way.57

Journalists work on the assumption that their reporting is free of censorship
and control. This definition of freedom, however, extends only so far as freedom is
cconcerned with government. This definition does not consider the institutional
requirements and restraints placed on journalists by the media corporations for
which they work. There is strong evidence that newspaper journalists are not as
satisfied in their jobs as they used to be and much of their dissatisfaction is with
management and shrinking professional freedom. Meanwhile, newspaper
management strategy has been changing, as digital technology takes hold on
collection and dissemination of news throughout the world.

News has become a commodity and newspapers and broadcasting
organizations are tending to adopt a more market-driven approach. This is rapidly
changing the role of journalists and journalism. Some global journalists have
rebelled against market-driven management principles, criticizing what they call the
big business that newspapers have become. This big business approach on the part
of owners also creates an impression that newspapers are giving up their historical
roles of being government’s watchdog and purveyors of truth but adapting their
content to attract new advertisers. On the other hand, management, and increasingly
editors, are embracing the market-driven approach as a necessary means of keeping
newspapers competitive and profitable in a changing media marketplace. Journalists
practising global journalism hold tightly to the belief in freedom to report and
autonomy of decision-making in what makes news and how news is reported. And
because journalists are creative beings, who need freedom and autonomy to operate
properly, freedom and autonomy are important indicators of job satisfaction.

Journalists are happier when they are free from institutional restraints on
their professionalism. They feel they have a meaningful say in decisions and they
get feedback and support, but not too much supervision, from their superiors. Then
they work better, self-censorship does not occur and the world is a better place for

57 http://www.actionsites.com
the journalism that is practiced. Journalism has historically been an occupation or profession that allowed its practitioners a great deal of freedom. Reporters are not supervised in news-gathering and are allowed discretion in choosing the news angles and contents of their stories, while editors often create their own standards for quality and ethical conduct. There is evidence that market-driven approach has cut into journalism autonomy, as corporations have standardized codes of conduct and job performance is increasingly evaluated by employees' abilities to attract new readers and advertisers. Newspapers serve an important function of providing news of government. Journalists, not surprisingly, think that the newspaper industry has a moral or ethical responsibility above and beyond making profits. Only about 25 percent of journalists say they are very satisfied with their jobs. In a global study published in 1999, it was found that the proportions of journalists considering themselves very satisfied with their jobs varied greatly in the 14 countries studies. Those countries with the smallest percentages of very satisfied journalists were Hong Kong, Taiwan and Algeria, with China and Brazil not far behind. Those with the largest job satisfaction were Chile and Mexico.

This ability of journalists to feel free to pursue stories aggressively is one of several factors that have consistently ranked high in job satisfaction studies. Reporters enjoy their work best when they can choose which stories they wish to cover, and which aspects of the story should be covered. In a random national sample of all media workers in Canada, George Pollard found workers were most satisfied due to a combination of intrinsic factors, such as autonomy, authority, and control of work, and extrinsic factors, such as job security and income. Pollard noted that news work is not a profession in the same sense as medicine or law, but news workers do embrace professionalism, and in some professions, perceived autonomy is the key determinant of job satisfaction. News organizations can increase job satisfaction by clear job definitions, meaningful employee participation in decision-making, and limited reliance on hierarchical authority and rule enforcement.58

Journalists worldwide tend to be motivated by achievement, power and public service. Newsroom managers work best with journalists (who mostly resist

management control whenever possible) by motivating them to work for personal satisfaction and out of their commitment to journalistic ideals. Most management theories do not work in modern newsrooms or broadcasting stations. The best approach to newsroom management is to be aware of what is going on in the newsroom; get feedback from the journalists being managed; know the limitations of management style that is not founded on charisma and respect, and be flexible.\textsuperscript{59} On the other hand, everyone wants to report in the global news fields. It is glamorous, prestigious and exciting. Most feel that global reporting and working internationally is the top of the journalism profession. It can also be dangerous. Global reporters often get caught up in the riot-earthquake-political coup equation, the main reasons why international reporting exists. So, global news often equates with conflict. That means being a war correspondent or a famine correspondent, or a disaster correspondent. They tend to cover the world's hot spots. But, of course, this too often means global reporters become filters, sorting streams of daily propaganda, assessing and judging both sides of a story and working out who are the goodies and the baddies. All practising global journalists have to hit the ground running when they arrive. There is not 'reading-in' time. They are expected to file reports as soon as they arrive with the surefootedness of those who have been there for years. Deadlines are sacrosanct. Correspondents who cost a lot of money (and they all do) must start paying their way as soon as possible. That is the law of the market. Another problem with global journalism is the lack of training for those who practice it. They are expected to use their transferable skills learnt doing domestic stories, even though they very often cannot speak the language. That means they often have to depend on local translators and researchers. They have to trust them or sink. It also means there is an immediate relationship struck up between the journalist and the diplomats, usually of their own country. These are often the journalist's most important sources. There are also problems of adapting to the technological and political changes that are occurring globally.

\textsuperscript{59} Herbert, J., Practising Global Journalism, op. cit., pp. 120-122.