

GLOBAL TELEVISIONS, A SINGLE HISTORY

Francisco Rui Cádima

Associated Professor with Aggregation at the Department of Communication Sciences (DCC) of *Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas (FCSH), Universidade Nova de Lisboa*.
Coordinator of the Master Degree in New Media and Web Practices, and of the Honours Degree,
and member of the Executive Committee of DCC-FCSH.
He is a researcher at *Centro de Investigação Media e Jornalismo (CIMJ)*.

Abstract

We live in a complex and still blurred time of transition from systems of audiovisual fragmentation, specific to cable and satellite, to web environment hyper-fragmented systems. In the process, transnational televisions are experiencing some loss but for the time being, they still hold powerful distribution channels in the main strategic areas of the globe, with exception of zones where, for totalitarian or censorship reasons, they cannot always penetrate. This is a model that has several limitations both at the onset and at the point of arrival, which makes for a critical communication system whose subordination to local and/or global interests affects its narrative diversity. Finally, it is a model that is normally characterized by discursive regularities that are alien to political, cultural, and geographic pluralism, and which is closer to what we may call "single history" than to an open, pluralistic and participated system.

Keywords

Democracy; Geopolitics; Journalism; Local/Global; Transfrontier Television

How to cite this article

Cádima, Francisco Rui (2010) "Global televisions, a single history". *JANUS.NET e-journal of International Relations*, Nº 1, Autumn 2010. Consulted [online] on date of last visit, observare.ual.pt/janus.net/en_vol1_n1_art7

Article received in May 2010 and accepted for publication in September 2010



GLOBAL TELEVISIONS, A SINGLE HISTORY

Francisco Rui Cádima

«(...) Because of writers like Chinua Achebe and Camara Laye I went through a mental shift in my perception of literature. I realized that people like me, girls with skin the color of chocolate, whose kinky hair could not form ponytails, could also exist in literature. I started to write about things I recognized.»

Chimamanda Adichi

Like Chimamanda Adichi, who only started to have a vision that stood closer to her native Nigeria when she started reading African literature – namely Chinua Achebe and Camara Laye – the Muslim world only started to have a better understanding of its own television image and recent history following the launch of Qatar's broadcasting network, *Al Jazeera*. However, on this matter, one cannot say this is a diverse, plethoric and definitive experience.

Al Jazeera, which in Arabic means "the island", started broadcasting on 1 November 1996, with the aim of becoming a sort of *CNN* for the Islamic world. However, it was only after September 11 that it started to be better known in the west, hardly ever for good reasons by western standards. The new messenger reported facts in function of the "other one", which in the past was known as the "infidel", and that was all it took for the North to decide the death of that alien being. Bush and Blair agreed on this matter, as Jeremy Scahill reported in *The Nation*.¹ The *Qatar network* thus became the voice of that "other one" and of "evil".

It is equally true that Israel's own strategic communication will not cease to occupy that «demonized» space, whenever it has to. Thus, the «island» keeps living up to the metaphor, which in this case consists of a whole set of discourses entirely surrounded by message.

This message, or "massage", as Marshall McLuhan preferred to call it, is there, haughty, since the era of the fragmentation of the European and North-American audiovisual model – which is practically simultaneous and corresponds to the end of classic generalist television and to the start of the satellite and cable channels multiple

¹ Jeremy Scahill, «The War on *Al Jazeera*», *The Nation* online, December 1, 2005. Accessed on 2 May 2010: <http://www.thenation.com/doc/20051219/scahill>. This article appeared in the December 19, 2005 edition of *The Nation*.



offers. But now, at the end of the first decade of the new century, this era of fragmentation corresponds to a time of hyper-fragmentation of television systems, which in Europe translates into 10 thousand television channels, be them generalist, cable, satellite, local TV, mobile, or other. The issue here is that the diversity of the offer and quality of contents does not grow in proportion to the exponential growth of the number of channels and platforms. Quite the opposite: more channels tend to mean a constant rebroadcasting of the same contents, or of contents that are identical in everything. Above all, it means a continuing recycling of the message coming from the centre to the periphery to pacify, standardize or, at least, bring consensus around a general common plan. What will the major international channels, which were built around common objectives, internationalization strategies, and language and cultural dissemination, such as the *BBC*, *RTPi*, *CNN* and others, do to stand out to be different and diverse? And what alternative at local/global level do these new "islands", such as *Al-Jazeera* and *Al-Arabiya*, or even *BBC Arabic Television*, represent to countries in North Africa and the Middle East?

A report written by Deborah Horan², as part of *CIMA - Center for International Media Assistance* - tells us that, generally speaking, the media in the Middle East and North Africa presently enjoy more freedom than they did ten years ago.

With the outburst of channels in the first decade of this century, we saw the emergence of Arabic channels, including in the specific area of information, which are very attentive to their own reality.

Even in the field of entertainment, the new channels introduced significant changes which, for most cases, led audiences to relegate official local channels to second place in the light of the new transborder offer. Conversely, the truth is that we cannot speak of major changes in that regard, given that the strong hand of power still controls the local media system, despite all the "opening" brought about by transnational channels. It is actually channels like *Al-Jazeera* and *Al-Arabiya* that hire the best local journalists, clearly increasing the difference in the final product between satellite channels and government controlled stations. In that light, "only three Arabic countries were classified as being 'partially free' by Freedom House in its 2009 Index on Freedom of the Press, the rest staying 'non-free'. Given that the majority of Arabic countries are not democratic, even if the media coverage of a particular issue may encourage people to change, there are few or even no political options to make the change happen. Nonetheless, the higher the access to more trustworthy news, the higher the chance to advance the cause of democracy (...)».³

Local/Global

It is a fact that there can be no globalization without the media nor, obviously, without the new media and communication networks. Given that media systems are central to the globalization process, it is equally true that a large part of theories in the area of communication sciences and of theories critical of "cultural imperialism" have

² Deborah Horan, *Shifting Sands: The Impact of Satellite TV on Media in the Arab World*. CIMA, Washington, D.C., March 29, 2010. A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance at the National Endowment for Democracy. http://cima.ned.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/CIMA-Arab_Satellite_TV-Report.pdf

³ Deborah Horan, op. cit.: 4-6.



attempted to see the phenomenon as a homogenization process. However, it is also true that the issue cannot be reduced to polemics between sceptics and neo-liberals or any other supporters of globalization. As Appadurai (2004: 32) put it, "globalization does not necessarily mean, not even frequently, homogenization or Americanization". The issues are, naturally, more complex, and there are strong arguments advanced both by critical theorists and by more favourable views, such as the theses that defend cultural hybridism, audience and reception studies, cosmopolitan social democracy, diversity and relocation (Movius, 2010: 6-18), constructivism, etc.

On a different and more anthropological stance, one could talk about the ambivalences of new technologies and the topic of the digital divide, or about the multiple identities and identity fantasies described by Appadurai - our own "others" emerging within the new multicultural contexts, which also have their own roots in the new global processes - and about global cultural flows, as it is true that new "mediascapes" have become deterritorialized, disseminating information, events and images through the complex, albeit centralized, global media system: *"These images of the world involve many complicated inflections, depending on their mode (documentary or entertainment), their hardware (electronic or pre-electronic), their audience (local, national or transnational) and the interests of those who own and control them. What is most important about these mediascapes is that they provide (...) large and complex repertoires of images, narratives and 'ethnoscapes' to viewers throughout the world, in which the world of commodities and the world of 'news' and politics are profoundly mixed"* (Appadurai, 2004: 53-54).

Although we support Appadurai's view that the globalization of culture is not exactly the same thing as its homogenization, it is a fact that the global cannot be built without that negative pulsing, so to speak. This means that the main feature of today's politics at global level is *"the politics of the mutual effort of sameness and difference to cannibalize one another and thus to proclaim their successful hijacking of the twin Enlightenment ideas of the triumphantly universal and the resiliently particular"* (Appadurai, 2004: 63).

Others prefer to sustain a critical interpretation of the current model, expressing growing concern about the negative features of globalization. It is the case of Zygmunt Bauman, who says that if, on the one hand, symbol makers and manipulators are becoming increasingly more aggressive and "extraterritorial", on the other we see a weakening of sovereignties that are locally circumscribed: *"We could prophesize that if nothing refrains or dominates it, our negative globalization - and its alternative way of taking away security from those who are free, to offer security in the shape of lack of freedom - makes catastrophe inescapable"* (Bauman, 2007: 227).

The truth is that even among liberal thinkers standing on the opposite side, we find strong critical arguments, as in the case of German Max Otte, who sees a prevailing "economy of disinformation" in the current information age, a system of opacities, of pseudo-events and of media noise. He describes it as a new feudal society subjugated to predator capitalism, a hijacked democratic experience allied to a growing weakness of political authorities subordinated to economic pressure groups: *«Independent journalism has fallen into an increasingly deeper crisis. Editors are thankful to receive prefabricated opinions sent by the public relations departments of companies and ministries, and so the circle of the driving forces of the society of disinformation comes to a close (...) the media - for some time seen as the critical (!) "fourth power",*



together with the legislative, executive and judicial powers – has become, like the former, a clear multiplier of disinformation” (Otte, 2010: 39-40). Nothing new here... were not the global media the ones responsible for the dramatic escalation of the successive crises of the decade, such as the dot-com bubble, the lies about Iraq, the real estate bubble, the easy credit, toxic products and so on? Not to forget other crises, like the climate change crisis, the crisis of the paradigm of progress, the belief in the consumer and abundance society etc. But over that decisive cultural fracture and the much worn out models of deferred gratification, nowadays, in the new context of instantaneous information on a global scale and under the spectrum of that “first State”, where the impatient capital has become king, we indeed face a different crisis, one of the “triumph of superficiality at work, schools and politics”. As Richard Sennett (2006: 133) stated: “*Perhaps indeed, revolt against this enfeebled culture will constitute our next fresh page*”.

This superficiality affecting global information has long reached the actual cultural dimension of the television phenomenon. The ultimate example is that provided by the Iberian-American market, where the Portuguese example is depressing. The flow of fiction in the Iberian-American space does not escape from the global model of a certain cultural homogenization. According to Lorenzo Vilches, the standardization of contents appears to be the rule in the television industry, and the fact is that this type of specific production is not alien to the current globalization process, being characterized by the following aspects: «i) *standardization of contents by adapting national and Iberian-American fiction formats*; ii) *confirmation that economics is the guiding principle in the process*; iii) *once the decadence or weakness of the public sector has been demonstrated (...) the market takes precedence in all the decisions regarding formats and contents* and iv) *confirmation of the existence of a incipient and unequal in magnitude globalizing philosophy in the whole of Iberian-American national fiction industries towards international markets*.” (Lopes and Vilches, 2008: 23-24). The same study also refers that the differentiation in consumption and genres in the context of the Iberian-American market is increasingly smaller, with a high concentration of soaps and series at prime time, and there is equally little difference between public and private offer in those markets. This empirical study is not dissimilar to what is happening in Portugal (Cádima, 2009), which makes us reflect seriously about the consequences of a typically third-world model in our television, which finds no parallel in Europe: “Portugal is the country that offers premiere national fiction (soap operas) during the primetime evening schedule”⁴. On this matter, we can also say that with regard European regulations, we have a clear lack of monitoring of this type of situations (Cádima, 2007).

RTP Internacional

In the beginning of 2010, socialist MP Paulo Pisco questioned in Parliament the utility of the television’s public service, and presented a petition criticizing the programming of RTPi and RTP Africa. In the case of RTPi, he believed there was not “a journalism of and

⁴ Maria Immacolata Vassallo de Lopes and Lorenzo Vilches (Coords.), *Anuário Obitel 2008 - Mercados globais, histórias nacionais*, Rio de Janeiro: GloboUniversidade, 2008: 35-36. This «national fiction» refers mostly to soap operas, a negative sign considering that it is a study carried out mostly in Latin American countries including: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and also Spain and the USA (television broadcasted in Castilian Spanish).



for the communities, and that the promotion and recognition of the many values that exist in the communities was not perceptible". In addition, the public channel failed to attract the "interest of the new generations of Portuguese around the world", and "the fundamental civic and political dimensions for the affirmation of our communities"⁵ was missing. As for RTP Africa, he found there was still no «clear promotion of the cooperation and historical and cultural ties" between Portugal and Portuguese speaking African countries.

RTPi was launched in June 1992, aimed at Europe and broadcasting for just six hours a day. RTP África was founded in 1997. Currently, RTPi is a global network present in several digital systems, cable and other platforms, with an audience of about 20 million viewers. It is constantly criticized for forgetting the vital rhythm of the actual communities, for showing little Portuguese cultural heritage, which contradicts its concession contract, and for showing difficulty in co-existing with countries where there is a marked lack of pluralism. SIC Internacional emerged in 1998, and in 2010 the Media Regulating Authority (ERC) approved the project TVI Internacional.

Following the major waves of the Portuguese diaspora up to the 1960s, the launch of an international channel for Portuguese culture three decades later was, at the very least, blatantly overdue. This explains why it was up to local means, often organized by the Portuguese community themselves, namely in France, to take up the role that had long been postponed by the Portuguese public operator. Examples include Jorge Reis' radio broadcast in the public station Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française (ORTF) in 1966, the famous free radios, the programmes in Portuguese at Radio France Internationale (RFI), the broadcasting of the Mosaïques television (FR3, 1976-1987), etc. A bit closer to us stood the Portuguese Language Channel CLP TV (2006-2009), a project developed by the Portuguese community which unfortunately went bust, and also Lusopress.tv, a Web TV Project which, due to the fact it is less costly, may have its future assured in the new model of communication in a digital environment.

The work *Les Portugais de France face à leur télévision. Médias, migrations et enjeux identitaires*, by Manuel Antunes da Cunha⁶, focused on several of the topics mentioned above. This is a comprehensive study of the Portuguese diaspora and the media system encompassing it, namely in France and particularly on RTPi which, as the author writes, started by re-framing it, including from the perspective of identity within the diaspora and in terms of participation and integration within a community that lived at a distance from its origins and in that new social network: «the programme's grid, the visual environment and the nature of its objectives attracted me in a way that the Portuguese audiovisual medium failed to do (Cunha, 2009: 16).

In the end, the author describes very clearly what he believes to be the "discursive identity of RTPi: Tradition and modernity, scholarly and popular culture shape the enunciative tone of the chain of sovereignty. (...) The programmes about tourism, nature, language, gastronomy and popular culture, amongst others, present a more traditional representation of what is Portuguese. In this quest for origins, historical fiction evokes the founding archetypes and tales, whereas the programmes on football,

⁵ «Deputado socialista questiona estratégia da RTPi e RTP África», Público online/Lusa, 6 January 2010. Accessed on 25 May 2010: http://www.publico.pt/Media/deputado-socialista-questiona-estrategia-da-rtpi-e-rtp-africa_1416566

⁶ Manuel Antunes da Cunha (2009). *Les Portugais de France face à leur télévision. Médias, migrations et enjeux identitaires*, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.



fado and religion offer a more modern picture of the Portuguese way of being in the world" (Cunha, 2009: 329).

However, as MP Paulo Pisco reminded us, there are other critical issues that must be taken into account, such as the shortage of political and cultural pluralism, amongst others, particularly in the context of programmes targeted at more complex geopolitical areas, and, in our own case, especially at relations with Africa. One situation in particular must be remembered, amongst many others concerning *RTP África*, which had to close down its delegation in Bissau on 1 December 2002. The reason was a dispatch issued by Guinea's Secretary of State for Information suspending broadcasts, which led to the expulsion of journalist João Pereira da Silva, *RTP Africa's* delegate. This situation was allegedly provoked by references made to Amnesty International, which demanded an enquiry on the circumstances of the death of General Ansumane Mané on 30 November 2000.

With regard to Angola, Vicente Pinto de Andrade⁷ clearly touched a sore spot: «(...) *There is still a long way to go towards a full establishment of a democratic regime. The governmentalization and partisanship of public media constitute the most negative facet of the current political regime. It is not by chance that restrictions on widening the bandwidth of Rádio Ecclésia (Catholic Broadcaster of Angola) continue. Angola is the only country in Africa's Portuguese speaking countries where the images and sounds of RTP Africa and RDP Africa do not reach our homes "directly" (...)».*

Another researcher has also referred to this deficit in his recent PhD thesis⁸, which addresses the pulsing of diaspora communities and its almost total absence in *RTP Internacional*. His research focused on the way the media builds and expands the identity of a community of immigrants, their integration and identity ties. It analyses the influence of the media and the role of *RTP Internacional* in building that reality and identity. This poses various questions, starting with the fact that the pulsing and experiences of those communities are not generally shown on international channels – and, in the case of *RTPi*, the Portuguese cultural, patrimonial and identity heritage is equally forgotten. It is interesting to note that this work on the identity problem of that community, and on the problem of the media and its interactions, focuses particularly on the television as a medium, and on the majority of members of that community who left Portugal in the 1950s and 1960s, including some who left even prior to the first television broadcasts in Portugal.

RTPi is, thus, perceived as the privileged means to reinforce the identity link, both within the community, and in its link to its origins. The effective contribution of the media for strengthening identity is more difficult to define, although it is argued that identity is a construction, a collective conscience and a common perception. Hence the new social responsibility of the media and journalists.

Given the lack of synchronization between supply and demand in terms of global television, the question of adapting programming to specific needs of particular

⁷ Vicente Pinto de Andrade, «A futura Constituição angolana», *Correio do Patriota* online, 5/8/2008: http://www.correiodopatriota.com/index2.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=339 Accessed on 25 May 2010.

⁸ Fernando Carlos Moura (2010). «A Construção da identidade de uma comunidade imigrante portuguesa na Argentina (Escobar) e a Comunicação Social». PhD Dissertation in Communication Sciences. Department of Communication Sciences - FCSH/UNL, May.



communities makes even more sense, and so does the need to listen to those same communities, and, accordingly, produce programmes locally. This would avoid the tendency to show the official discourse, somehow hegemonic and uncharacteristic, made for the “global” masses which public channels show in their international broadcasting.

To that effect, interesting approaches can be made, such as rethinking global televisions, with their somewhat ethnocentric and, to a lesser or greater extent, official local/national realities or histories (from the origin). This is precisely the opposite of what happens with local and regional media, as they tend to adopt national/global editorial strategies. However, the fact that global televisions may have, generally speaking, their single histories as a result of introverted editorial approaches becomes even more complex, since they focus on the same topics and not on different ones related to the experiences of the diaspora, and focus even less on fringe communities and corresponding voices: those are the diaspora within the diaspora, who can only find an alternative in those “virtual neighbourhoods”. Appadurai (2006) talked about, despite the fact that those fringes have earned new inclusion areas, mostly thanks to the new media rather than traditional media. The production of locality and deterritorialized cultural reproduction in the new ethnoscares cannot be made, of course, without contradictions and impasses, due to the *disjuncture between these processes and the discourse and practices that are mass-mediated by the mass media*” (Appadurai, 2004: 263).

CNN

Currently *CNN* is spread over several *CNNs*, each focusing on specific geopolitical regions of the world. An interesting way to start reflecting on the “massage” conveyed by *CNN* is to know the experience of former journalist Rebecca MacKinnon.⁹ This experience became the naked image of the system, something that CBS journalist Lara Logan described at an interview at Jon Stewart’s *Daily Show* in June 2008, when she stated that if she had to watch the news about Iraq that are published in the USA, she would “shoot herself on the head”...

Rebecca MacKinnon is currently a lecturer at the Journalism and *Media Studies Centre* of the *University of Hong Kong*, and a co-founder of *Global Voices*. She joined *CNN* in 1992, and headed the Beijing delegation in 1997. In 2001 she became chief of the *Tokyo Bureau*. In the preface of the essay we refer to later on and of which we reproduce a large excerpt given its importance, MacKinnon clearly states her intentions, and what she has to tell us is so clear cut that it leaves no room for doubt as to what the “*CNN system*” is about: «*After working for CNN in Asia for over a decade, I stopped to take stock. I asked myself: Did my job as a TV news correspondent remain consistent with the reasons I went into journalism in the first place? My answer was “no”*» (MacKinnon, 2004: 1).

In the beginning of the 1990s, when she was still in her early twenties, Rebecca had all the dreams in the world, and her idealism made her believe that there was a public-service oriented journalism awaiting her...«*I believed that a democratic nation such as*

⁹ Rebecca MacKinnon (2004). «The World-Wide Conversation - Online participatory media and international news». Shorenstein Center Working Paper Series, Spring. Accessed on 2 May 2010. <http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/blogs/gems/techjournalism/WORLDWIDECONVERSATION.pdf>



the United States could only have responsible foreign policies that truly served the people's interests – and intentions – if the public received quality, objective international news. I wanted to make a difference. To say that I made no difference covering China, Japan, Korea, and other parts of Asia to viewers in the United States and around the world would be overly cynical. But by early 2004 I concluded that my ability to make a difference on issues that I felt were important was diminishing. In November 2003 I interviewed Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, focusing primarily on his decision to send Japanese non-combat forces to Iraq despite widespread public opposition. Despite being a close ally of U.S. President Bush, Koizumi said Bush should be doing more to cooperate with the international community. While this interview was broadcast repeatedly on CNN International, not a single sound-bite ran on CNN USA» (MacKinnon, 2004: 2).

Editors at the CNN headquarters in Atlanta kept telling Rebecca there had been no time to show the interview on the national broadcast. However, the truth is that it had been an excessively quiet day for CNN in America. Editors' top priority had not been Prime Minister Koizumi, but rather Michael Jackson, Jessica Lynch, an interview with the then Secretary of State Colin Powell, a legal decision on homosexual marriages, and so on. As Rebecca MacKinnon put it: *«I understood the CNN USA producers' perspective: they are not paid to serve the public policy interest. They are paid to boost the ratings of their shows, and thus make choices every day in favor of news stories they feel will keep viewers from changing the channel to competitors such as Fox News. (...) I was told that the priority of all internationally-based correspondents should be to find ways to get more stories aired on CNNUSA's prime time shows. We needed to "serve their needs" better in order to continue to justify our existence financially. I was told that the main "problem" with my recent reporting was that my depth of knowledge about Northeast Asia was "getting in the way" of doing the kind of stories that CNNUSA is likely to run. It was after this conversation that I began to wonder whether I should return to the job that was so generously being held for me. (...) I did not feel that the job remained consistent with my reasons for becoming a journalist in the first place. Nor were my concerns limited to CNN exclusively; in fact, most TV journalists I knew at other U.S. networks harbored similar sentiments. Having no debt or dependents of any kind, I was in a better position than most people to take risks. In March, I took a deep breath and resigned. I have gone from being a well-compensated foreign correspondent to being an independent writer, researcher, and blogger» (MacKinnon, 2004: 2).*

Rebecca MacKinnon's story is by all means enlightening, albeit for the opposite reason of what is going on with transnational channels that attempt to spread their message to the four corners of the world and which, in this specific case of CNN USA, comes alight in the fact that some messages edited in some "remote place" in the world, only with difficulty could be shown internally in the USA. This is because what matters at national level is the preservation of the good image and "unblemished" politics. As Sheldon Rampton put it: *«Any serious contemplation of the process by which the United States went to war in Iraq tells us that propaganda is still a powerful force in shaping public opinion.»*¹⁰ Despite Obama and his new communication cycle, the truth is that broadcasting continues to be, still today, the main communication medium,

¹⁰ Sheldon Rampton, «Has the Internet Changed the Propaganda Model?» Center for Media and Democracy – PR Watch.org, 22/05/2007. Accessed on 24 May 2010: <http://www.prwatch.org/node/6068>.



which also means that the old propaganda strategies of the decades of the great wars remain alive in the regional wars of the beginning of the new century. This also means that not even in the long term, in the *longue durée*; will the problems of “single history” and of the new and old geopolitical ethnocentrisms find a solution.

References

- Antunes da Cunha, Manuel (2009). *Les Portugais de France face à leur télévision. Médias, migrations et enjeux identitaires*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes
- Appadurai, Arjun (2004). *Dimensões Culturais da Globalização. A modernidade sem peias*. Lisboa: Teorema
- Bauman, Zygmunt (2007). *Miedo Líquido. La sociedad contemporánea y sus temores*. Madrid: Paidós
- Cádima, Francisco Rui (2007). *A Crise do Audiovisual Europeu – 20 Anos de Políticas Europeias em Análise*. Lisboa: Formalpress/Colecção Media XXI
- Cádima, Francisco Rui (2009). *Crise e Crítica do Sistema de Media - o caso português*. Lisboa: Formalpress/Colecção Media XXI
- Horan, Deborah (2010). *Shifting Sands: The Impact of Satellite TV on Media in the Arab World*. CIMA, Washington, D.C., March 29. A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance at the National Endowment for Democracy. [Em linha] Disponível em http://cima.ned.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/CIMA-Arab_Satellite_TV-Report.pdf
- MacKinnon, Rebecca (2004). «The World-Wide Conversation - Online participatory media and international news». *Shorenstein Center Working Paper Series*, Spring 2004. [Em linha] [Consultado em 2 de Maio de 2010]. Disponível em <http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/blogs/gems/techjournalism/WORLDSWIDECONVERSATION.pdf>
- Moura, Fernando Carlos (2010). «A Construção da identidade de uma comunidade imigrante portuguesa na Argentina (Escobar) e a Comunicação Social». Tese de Doutoramento em Ciências da Comunicação. Departamento de Ciências da Comunicação - FCSH/UNL (policopiada), Maio
- Movius, Lauren (2010). «Cultural Globalisation and Challenges to Traditional Communication Theories», *PLATFORM: Journal of Media and Communication* 2(1) (January): 6-18. ISSN: 1836-5132 [Em linha] Disponível em http://www.culture-communication.unimelb.edu.au/platform/v2i1_movius.html
- Otte, Max (2010). *El Crash de la Información. Los mecanismos de la desinformación cotidiana*. Madrid: Ariel
- Pinto de Andrade, Vicente (2008). «A futura Constituição angolana», *Correio do Patriota*. 5/8/2008. [Em linha] [Consultado em 25 de Maio de 2010], Disponível em: http://www.correiodopatriota.com/index2.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=339
- Rampton, Sheldon (2007). «Has the Internet Changed the Propaganda Model?». Center for Media and Democracy – PR Watch.org, 22/05/2007. [Em linha] [Consultado em 24 de Maio de 2010], Disponível em: <http://www.prwatch.org/node/606>



Scahill, Jeremy (2005). «The War on *Al Jazeera*», The Nation online, December 1. December 19, edition of The Nation. [Em linha] [Consultado em 2 de Maio de 2010], Disponível em: <http://www.thenation.com/doc/20051219/scahill>

Sennett, Richard (2006). *A Cultura do Novo Capitalismo*. Lisboa: Relógio de Água

Vassallo de Lopes, Maria Immacolata e Vilches, Lorenzo (2008) (coords.). *Anuário Obitel 2008 - Mercados globais, histórias nacionais*. Rio de Janeiro: GloboUniversidade