
UNIT 14 INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Structure

- 14.0 Introduction
- 14.1 Learning Outcomes
- 14.2 International Communication and Intercultural Communication
 - 14.2.1 Salient Issues in International Communication
 - 14.2.2 Globalisation and Intercultural Communication
- 14.3 Propaganda and Persuasion
 - 14.3.1 Concept and Definition
 - 14.3.2 History of Propaganda
 - 14.3.3 Types of Propaganda
 - 14.3.4 Techniques and Efficacy of Propaganda
 - 14.3.5 Public Diplomacy vs Propaganda
- 14.4 Select Case Studies
 - 14.4.1 Nazi Germany
 - 14.4.2 Allied Efforts during the Second World War
 - 14.4.3 The Cold War
- 14.5 Development and International Communication
- 14.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 14.7 Further Readings
- 14.8 Check Your Progress: Possible Answers

14.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units you have been exposed to the concept, types and various forms of communication and that communication is integral to our lives. International and intercultural communications are sub-sets of the larger area of communications in general. International communication is linked to the notion of a nation state. While studies of International communication initially concentrated on government-centric communication flows, later day studies increasingly examine the role of the communication activities of international non-governmental organisations, corporations, and trans-national media groups.

These processes have occurred due to changes in communication technologies, as well as liberalisation and privatisation in the media and telecom sectors. The field has got more attention of late because of the globalisation of communications which has raised issues relating to global and local media and the response of the state to these changes. Increased migrations and mobility for both business and pleasure over the last few decades have led to increased cross-cultural contacts.

Since this area is getting more attention of late, it is important to have a clear understanding of the major issues in this field. What is international communication? Why is it important? What are the major areas of study within

this field? What is intercultural communication? These are some of the questions that we will be grappling with here. This will help up in understanding the processes involved in international communication and also in identifying the elements that make international communication effective.

Different issues have been important at different time periods. For example, in the period of the Second World War it was propaganda. In the decades of the 1950s and 1960s propaganda continued to be on the international agenda, but development also emerged as an important issue. In the 1970s and 1980, development and propaganda continued to be important because of the Cold War and decolonisation witnessed in many countries. However, technological issues and economic issues relating to the neo-liberal agenda, i.e. privatisation, liberalisation and deregulation also gained importance in the field of international communications in the 1980s. 1990s onwards, the collapse of the Soviet Union implied new issues gained ascendance in international communications.

This unit is designed to introduce to you the fundamentals of International and Intercultural communications. Salient issues in this area will also be identified. The study of various aspects of international communications will help you to understand the linkages between international relations and international communications. It will also highlight the connections between foreign policy, communications flows and public opinion.

14.1 LEARNING OUTCOMES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the importance of international communication and intercultural communication;
- discuss propaganda techniques with respect to specific techniques and cases; and
- describe development as an issue in International communications.

Activity – 1

Before you start reading this unit, try to recall the communications related activities you have undertaken in the past week. This may include reading, listening and watching news in the newspaper, radio, television or online. This may also include sending or receiving e-mails or using social media to receive or share information. Reflect on these and try to determine which of these (if any) different communications involved International communications.

14.2 INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION & INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

The terms international and intercultural communications relate to particular forms of communication. Some of the more common definitions of communication include conveying meaning or sharing experiences. When we add international or intercultural as a prefix to communication, we narrow down the area to communication, which flows across borders or across cultures. Thus

we may define **International communication** as communication that takes place across international borders. In other words it is inextricably linked to the notion of the nation state. This sub-discipline came of age in the period following the Second World War. It flowered during the Cold War, and continues to be of interest today, although the focus may have shifted towards globalisation in the latter decades.

International communication is concerned with how nations communicate with each other. This could be in the form of diplomacy, propaganda, activities of transnational media corporations, and so on. The political scenario after the Second World War where bi-polarity emerged with the major power blocs being the US and the USSR coloured the perspective of international communications. A lot of the studies concentrated on propaganda during the 50s, 60s and 70s.

However, **Intercultural communication**, on the other hand, can be defined as communication flows or exchanges of information across cultural boundaries. It is sometimes also referred to as cross-cultural communication. Intercultural communication is derived from fields in the social sciences such as anthropology, cultural studies, psychology, communication and others. Its basic purpose is to explore and explain how different cultures communicate with each other. In order to get a perspective on intercultural communication, one must first understand the concept of culture itself.

Culture in simple terms can be understood to be the way of life of the people. As the eminent anthropologist Clifford Geertz tried to theorise about culture in his 'thick description' where a study of human behaviour would not only explain the behaviour, but also the context in a manner that is meaningful. Geertz's concept of culture is a semiotic one, where man is enmeshed in webs of significance created by him. Culture is that web. Thus the study of culture is an interpretive one, in search of meaning.

According to Hall there is no aspect of human life that is not touched and altered by culture. How people express themselves and their emotions, the way they think, how they move, what they have conflict about, how they solve problems, how their communities are structured, how economic and government systems function are a function of culture. It is influenced by the whole gamut of communications, including language, non-verbal communication, customs, perceived values, as well as the concepts of time and space.

People from different cultures encode and decode messages differently, depending on their value system. Therefore context and meaning are important. Changes in communication technology as well as transportation have increased contact between nations and cultures, hence the importance of this field is growing.

14.2.1 Salient Issues in International Communication

You have read some basic definitions of international and intercultural communication. Since there are very few individuals and communities that exist today without external influences, it is worth spending some time on the processes of international and intercultural communication and also to look at it in a historical context.

Based on communication scholar Hamid Mowlana's work (1997), we can list four major approaches to international communications: idealistic-humanistic, prosleytisation, economic and political.

When looking at the field historically, it is also possible to see that International communication during the period 1800-1950 was dominated by Britain, perhaps as a result of the importance of the English empire both politically and economically. After the Second World War, power shifted away from England and a bi-polar world order emerged, with the US and USSR being superpowers. Many International communications studies were carried out exploring the growing influence of America in other parts of the world.

In subsequent decades, different issues have dominated the field of international communications at different points in time. During World War I, World War II and subsequent decades of the Cold War, propaganda was a major issue in international communications. In the 1950s, 60s and 70s, development rose in importance as an issue. During the 1970s and 1980s, technological issues and issues pertaining to post-colonial imbalances in communications surfaced. In the 1980s, economic issues such as privatisation, liberalisation came to the forefront. From 1990 onwards, the post cold war period saw a restructuring of international relations with globalisation emerging as an important issue.

14.2.2 Globalisation and Intercultural Communication

Globalisation that started as a mechanism for economic progress has led to rapid socio-economic, political and technological changes and the transformation of the world into a unified entity. A multifaceted phenomenon, it has led to the creation of social networks and the intensification and proliferation of social exchanges and activities that transcend cultural and geographical boundaries. Bringing societies and cultures closer, globalisation has led to blurring of boundaries, enabling a flow of information that is not restricted in time and space, similar to McLuhans notions of a "global village".

All of these developments have exacerbated the significance and efficacy of cross-cultural communication. Understanding how cultural differences influence our ability to communicate with others can help individuals, corporations and other organisations to manage their cross-cultural behaviour for enhancing their productivity, effective decision making, managing conflicts and satisfying stakeholder needs.

Activity-2

Read and analyse the news relating to international issues in a newspaper or television channel of your choice, for a week. See whether they are related to economics, development, political, socio-cultural, technological issues. You may also look into the qualitative aspects such as type of stories, bias in coverage etc.

14.3 PROPAGANDA AND PERSUASION

Propaganda has existed since times immemorial and even cave paintings and Ashoka edicts were considered as forms of propaganda. However, whenever we hear the word nowadays, we immediately associate it with something that is untrustworthy or lies. So what is propaganda?

14.3.1 Concept and Definition

The word propaganda comes from Latin, meaning to propagate, disseminate or spread ideas. Propaganda can affect public opinion. It serves a different function in war and in peacetime. Propaganda has been associated with terms such as lies, brain-washing, manipulation, information, psychological warfare, spin-doctoring and so on. The terms disinformation and misinformation have also been associated with propaganda.

Scholar, Jacques Ellul concentrated on propaganda as a technique of psychological manipulation in a technologically oriented society. Later day scholars such as Jowett and O'Donnell offer a more rigorous definition. In their words, "propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist." It is important to note that propaganda is deliberate and systematic as opposed to random or ad hoc. Secondly, it is concerned with attitude and behaviour change. The motive of the propagandist is important in the communication process, since the end result desired is attitude and behaviour change.

Perceptions can be affected through language, images, music etc. hence the importance of slogans, mottos, symbols, posters, and film. Perceptions can be shaped, leading to changed beliefs or attitudes. Ultimately specific attitude or behaviour change is the goal of the propagandist.

It is interesting to note that commercial advertising has also been considered to be a kind of propaganda. While the motive here is economic rather than political, nevertheless, the communication processes involved is similar to classic political propaganda.

14.3.2 History of Propaganda

If we look at history down the ages, we find the concept of propaganda as pertaining to propagation or dissemination of ideas has always existed. This may have taken the form of cave-paintings, Ashokan edicts, religious or political literature. For example Chanakya's Arthshastra written over two millennia ago has detailed references to propaganda and its applications in war.

Later, propaganda became more closely identified with the propagation of religious ideas. In the 17th century, Pope Gregory XVth established a missionary body called the Sacra Congregation de Propaganda Fide. As the name suggests, it was a sacred congregation for propagating Roman Catholicism, both among non-Christians as well as opposing Protestantism. Thus the word propaganda became non-neutral and acquired religious overtones in this period.

Over a period of time, the word propaganda has acquired political and negative connotations. In fact it ceased to be neutral and came to be viewed as deceit. Propaganda has been used extensively in the last century. It was prominent in its use during the two World Wars as well as the Cold War. In peacetime it has been used by the government, targeting domestic populations, for example in the USSR.

14.3.3 Types of Propaganda

Any study of propaganda attempts to categorise it according to some criteria. While it is possible to categorise propaganda according to the media used, for example newspapers, radio, pamphlets etc, this is not very meaningful and does not add much to our understanding. Yet another way to categorise propaganda is agitative, which attempts to persuade the audience to think or behave in a particular fashion, leading to change or integrative, which attempts to induce passivity and acceptance in the audience.

A better way to classify propaganda would be by examining the content of the message and seeing whether it is the truth or lies, and also whether the message is originating from a known or unknown source. When we examine propaganda in this manner, we can classify propaganda as being **black, white or grey**.

Black propaganda is concerned with the spread of lies or falsehoods. In addition the source is concealed or it is credited to a false source. The term disinformation has also been used synonymously with black propaganda. Black propaganda has been used extensively in Wartime. One of the major examples of this kind of propaganda is that used by the Nazis during the Second World War. False radio stations run by the Germans pretending to be British and targeting British audiences were used to reduce morale. Depictions of the enemy in print, cartoons or film that demonise or dehumanise are also examples of black propaganda. For example after Pearl Harbour, many newspapers or cartoons in the US depicted the Japanese as apes or chimpanzees.

White propaganda is that which utilises information, which is mostly accurate or true. Secondly it comes from a clearly identified source. The national celebration such as the Republic Day Parade which is carried on India's national network Doordarshan every year is an example of white propaganda. The purpose of white propaganda is to build a relationship with the audience based on credibility and trust, to convince the audience that their viewpoint is right. Even international sporting events can be covered in the media as white propaganda. For example coverage of the Wimbledon Tennis Championships also showcases "Western" values and the "English way of life".

Grey propaganda, as the term implies is mid-way on the continuum between black and white propaganda - it is neither wholly accurate, nor complete falsehood. It could be a mixture. Secondly the source may or may not be identified correctly. The propaganda used by the US and the USSR during the Cold War was largely of this kind. An example of grey propaganda is during the period 1966-67, Radio Free Europe that targeted audiences behind the Iron Curtain was funded and run by the CIA, but this fact was publicly denied. Grey propaganda is not limited to political uses or wartime; it can also be used in the commercial area such as misleading advertising etc.

Thus we have seen that propaganda is a complex concept. It can be the truth, it can be falsehood, it can come from a known or unknown source. However, one thing in common to all kinds of propaganda is the fact that it is connected to the ideology and motives of the propagandist.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: 1) Use the space below for your answers.

2) Compare your answers with those given at the end of this unit.

- 1) Study the following kinds of communication and classify them according to whether they are black, white or grey propaganda.
 - a) The advertisement of a pharmaceutical company suggesting that its new drug can cure HIV/ AIDS.
 - b) CIA funded Radio Liberty, which targeted the Soviet Union during the Cold War.
 - c) Voice of America
 - d) The national coverage of Republic Day parade on Doordarshan.
 - e) Nazi films and print literature depicting the Jews prior to and during the Second World War.

14.3.4 Techniques and Efficacy of Propaganda

Propaganda serves different functions in times of war and peace. In war, propaganda can be used to mobilise the domestic population, demoralise the enemy and influence neutral countries or international public opinion. Peace implies propaganda could be used for a number of purposes ranging from getting a political party elected to selling a particular commercial product.

While propaganda can be practiced in the form of leaflets, news articles, news reports, government reports, books, posters, film, web sites etc, there are some techniques which have been proven to make propaganda more effective historically. Some of these are outlined below:

Repetition

The endless repetition of an idea, in the form of symbolism, mottos, slogans and other methods can be believed as truth. The Nazis used this effectively both before and during the Second World War. It is easier to use this tactic when the propagandist controls the major media outlets and there are no alternative media sources.

Authority Appeals

The message may cite important persons, to support their views. In general most propagandists couch their arguments in moral/ethical terms. They want to create the impression that they are in the right, and their arguments or course of action is morally superior and supported by prominent figures or 'legitimate' sources.

Fear Appeals

The propagandist attempts to build consensus or support by creating a climate of fear or panic among the people. This tactic is used in wartime to convince people to fight or support their leaders, otherwise they could be exterminated. For example, after Germany invaded the Soviet Union during the Second World War, German newsreels appealed to fear in order to maintain morale.

Appeal to existing values/ prejudice

A classic example to propaganda which built on prejudice is the anti-communist and anti postwar settlement as well as support for a strong leader, all sentiments expressed by the Nazis in the lead up to the Second World War. A resonance was created with existing prejudices among the German people that the Marxists are not to be trusted etc.

Dualism

Sometimes the propagandist oversimplifies an issue so as to present it in the form of two choices either black or white. The complexity of the issue is ignored and the audience is forced to take a view out of the two presented. For example anti-terrorism initiatives by many Western governments are framed in this manner - “you are either with us, or you are against us.”

Demonising the enemy

A classic propaganda tactic is to make the enemy appear sub-human, and thus justify action taken against them. For example George Bush Sr. described Saddam Hussain in terms that indicated that he was a cruel dictator, bereft of human attributes.

Bandwagon effect

This is a psychological technique wherein the audience is persuaded to hold a certain belief or take a course of action since that path is inevitable, or everybody else is already taking that path. For example, in political campaigning, people are told to vote for a certain party, because the majority is voting for them and it is inevitable that they should win.

General slogans

These are emotional appeals, which generally stress the “feel-good factor”. In other words they have a positive association with the audience, but do not have a basic argument or premise. For example President Obama’s election campaign “Yes we can!”

There are many other techniques; these are some of the more popular ones outlined above. When we discuss the overall **efficacy** of propaganda, it is worth going over some basic facts.

Share of media voice

In general it is easier for the propagandists to get their message across if they control the majority of the media outlets, for example, the case of Nazi Germany during the Second World War or the case of Stalinist Russia during the 1930s.

Type of Government

It is generally considered easier for a propagandist to function in a totalitarian state than in a democracy. This is because in a totalitarian regime, the propagandist under the aegis of the state can exercise complete control. Again, the examples of the Nazis and Stalin can be cited. A democracy on the other hand is characterised by freedom of expression and diverse viewpoints.

Climate of uncertainty

It has been observed historically that propaganda is more effective in a period of uncertainty, whether economically or politically. Thus propaganda has potential in wartime because of the inherent uncertainty that people experience at such times.

Message construction

As outlined above, the propagandist employs many techniques in message construction. However, in order for the propaganda to be effective, the propagandist should know the targeted audience well. This includes attributes such as demographics - age, gender and literacy. It also includes an understanding of the media habits of the audience, as well as their values, prejudices and aspirations. As part of the general framing of the propaganda message, an attempt is made to rationalise it on the grounds that it is morally superior viewpoint.

Above discussion will enable you to understand why certain kinds of propaganda are effective. In order to further understand these principles, we shall look at some historical examples in sub-section 14.4.

4.3.5 Public Diplomacy vs Propaganda

At this point exploring the notion of Public diplomacy along with propaganda provides interesting perspectives. Public diplomacy, or people's diplomacy, include a variety of activities, usually government-sponsored efforts, aimed at communicating directly with foreign publics and influence their ideas and opinions. It is of two types - first is cultural communication or branding, in which the government tries to improve its overall image and general perceptions and does not involve directly seek support for any proximate policy or programme. Cultural communication foster a better image of themselves produces general goodwill and enables cooperation across a range of issues. It also helps to build and maintain alliances and relations as well as undermine antagonist propaganda. The second type of public diplomacy is called political advocacy that unlike cultural communications involves strategies for obtaining quick results, like garnering support for immediate policy objectives; support or oppose the leaders of other states.

Thus propaganda and public diplomacy essentially stem from the same core, involving communication activities of one country that target audiences in another with the objective of creating a more favorable political environment. The term public diplomacy originated because of the 'negative' / 'destructive' connotations of propaganda, which was something 'good' 'well intentioned' countries did not want to be associated with. Thus, public diplomacy and propaganda are supposedly different things; countries have cleverly used them in various contexts for influencing the mindset of foreign public.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: 1) Use the space below for your answers.

2) Compare your answers with those given at the end of this unit.

Identify the particular technique used in the propaganda examples listed below.

1) A political party's election motto, "you can do it!"

- 2) The Allied depiction of Japanese as apes or chimpanzees during the Second World War.
- 3) The Nazis usage of symbols such as the swastika and the eagle, and banners during 1935-45.
- 4) An anti-smoking public service message which shows damaged lungs and cancer.
- 5) Anti-Soviet rhetoric in early James Bond, Hollywood films which shows the characters as either “good guys” or “bad guys.”

14.4 SELECT CASE STUDIES

When we look at the period 1940-1960, some of the examples of propaganda that come to mind are Nazi Germany, the Allied effort and the Cold War.

14.4.1 Nazi Germany

In the build up to the Second World War, the Nazis sought to establish control over the media, which was free prior to this. During the 1930s, the Nazis banned communist newspapers, instituted official press conferences to convey the government’s views and removed editorial independence. The press, posters, radio and film were essentially the mass media used by the Nazis for propaganda. The Nazi symbols of the Swastika and the Eagle were used extensively. Feature films, documentary film formats and newsreels were also used to convey messages to the people. One example of black propaganda used by the Nazis is the pseudo documentary film called *The Eternal Jew*, which purported to show typical Jewish characteristics. The official body responsible for the production of propaganda was the Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda. Joseph Goebbels headed this Ministry from 1933 onwards.

The Nazis did not view propaganda negatively as is evident from the fact that the word propaganda figured in the official name of the ministry. For the Nazis, a systematic and large-scale effort was used to disseminate propaganda over the mass media. The methods relied on simple messages, powerful imagery and a lot of repetition. Adolf Hitler himself believed in the power of propaganda and discussed it in his political manifesto *Mein Kampf*. The Nazi view of propaganda was that it was necessary to mobilise the people and engender support for the Nazi ideology, thus establishing control over society. While it is generally acknowledged that Nazi propaganda was highly effective, it is important to remember that it occurred in the context of a totalitarian state, which utilised widespread repression and terror to accomplish its aims.

14.4.2 Allied Efforts during the Second World War

Propaganda was also systematically practiced by democracies such as in Britain and the United States during the Second World War. However, as compared to the blatant and direct propaganda practiced by the Nazis, democracies believed in practicing more indirect and subtle propaganda, often largely based on truth. The exception was the Allied propaganda relating to the war with Japan.

The respective propaganda agencies included the Office of War Information (OWI) in the US and the Ministry of Information (MOI) in Britain. It is interesting

to note that though totalitarian regimes had no aversion to including the word propaganda in their official agencies, in democracies this word was replaced with the more neutral 'information' during the Second World War.

While totalitarian governments can practice propaganda fairly openly, democracies have to rely on more indirect means such as censorship, regulation and other forms of threat or reward in order to ensure compliance from the media.

In the case of the US, during the Second World War, media were in private hands and there was no public service broadcaster as in Britain. However, press, radio and film had high penetration rates in the US by the 1940s. The OWI was responsible for mobilising domestic support for the war, as well as projecting a positive image of America abroad. Since the American film industry was very well developed at the time, it was used extensively in order to convey propaganda messages.

The American film industry, which was dominated by private film studios contributed to the war effort. This was largely because they would have alienated their audiences, if they had not supported the Allied cause. There were other pressures exerted by the US government on the film industry. The US military offered help in the form of equipment and other facilities to studios producing suitable war-themed movies. The OWI also exerted influence with the Office of Censorship, which granted export licenses for films. Thus it paid to fall in with the OWI's wishes since exports were a major source of revenue for the film studios. The OWI also issued guidelines on how to present the war and reviewed film scripts.

The large film studios also produced newsreels and assisted the government agencies in the production of propaganda films. Some famous film directors such as John Huston and Frank Capra enrolled in the Army and produced propaganda films thereafter.

In **Great Britain**, media coverage of the Second World War stressed the "strategy of truth." In fact leaving aside the coverage of the Japanese and the Pacific conflict, it was more white propaganda than black. In fact in the first phase of the war, the media were unusually reticent and the principle that no news is good news was followed. The Ministry of Information, early in the war, recognised the importance of news in the propaganda effort. Censorship was also practiced in a subtle form by controlling information at the point of generation. The strategy of emphasising the truth and subtle censorship was very successful and the press and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) acquired the reputation of free and fair reporting during this time. Thus the propaganda practiced was subtle, yet effective because the credibility of the source was preserved in the eyes of the audience.

These arguments do not hold in the context of the Allied war with Japan. In fact Allied propaganda relating to the Japanese was often black propaganda, demonising the Japanese. There were definitely racist overtones present in this propaganda.

14.4.3 The Cold War

After the Second World War ended, the international relations paradigm that emerged was one of bi-polarity with the US and USSR leading two major power

blocks. Propaganda continued to be an important issue in International communications. Both major power blocs practiced it extensively. The nature of the conflict during the Cold War was such that it represented a clash of ideologies that of capitalism as opposed to Communism. So propaganda was employed to convince audiences as a part of ‘psychological warfare.’

Soviet propaganda was often targeted at the Eastern bloc and the developing countries. Soviet propaganda emphasised Marxist values and the class struggle between capitalists and the workers. The TASS news agency was an important propaganda organ during the Cold War. During the 40’s and 50’s, the Soviet Union had a large propaganda effort targeting other socialist countries, such as Yugoslavia, and Hungary, which were attempting to rebel against the communist yoke. Moscow Radio also emerged as a large international broadcaster by the late 1960’s. Soviet broadcasting aimed at establishing its own agenda amongst the communist countries, as well as countering Western propaganda. While the broadcast network was extensive within the communist world, it was limited outside it. Secondly it was heavy-handed, stressed ideology and repetition of simple ideas and had limited impact in the Western world, and indeed even among developing nations as the Non-Aligned movement drew in many developing countries by the 1960’s.

Broadcasting was used extensively for propaganda by the US during the Cold War. The Voice of America, Radio Liberty, and Radio Free Europe used extensively for broadcast were all state-funded. The Voice of America highlighted American values and the American way of life, as expressed in mass culture. Propaganda was also disseminated via press releases, conferences, books, films and cultural and educational exchanges.

While the Voice of America was the official broadcasting arm of the US, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe were covert operations targeting European communist countries. They were largely funded by the Central Intelligence Agency. They started broadcasting in the early 1950’s and blatantly attacked communist governments, encouraging the people to revolt, as in Hungary.

US propaganda was not limited to broadcasting and the Press, but also included films. The McCarthy era in the late 1940s implied that capitalist ideologies were stressed, and communism within Hollywood was condemned. Themes that showed the negative aspects of American society were frowned upon. As during the Second World War, the studios cooperated with the government to see that films with questionable content were not exported.

While everything from psychological warfare to cultural diplomacy was used to win over the minds of people during Cold War, radio played a central role as a purveyor of propaganda. Thus propaganda itself remained a central issue in international communications during the Cold War.

14.5 DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION

You have read about the concept and theories of development in detail in Unit 5 of this course and in this section we shall link development with International communication. As you are aware, the idea of development is as old the history

of mankind. In the Stone Age and the subsequent Ages, development could probably be understood in the context of better techniques of hunting, gathering and provision of basics. In the Middle Ages, development came to be associated with the word progress. The classical sociologists such as Emile Durkheim and Ferdinand Tönnies understood development to be a change from folk to modern society.

In the last century, development emerged as an important idea in the aftermath of the Second World War. This period saw the emergence of the major power blocs headed by the US and the USSR, the 'First' and 'Second' worlds, the concept of the "Third World" or developing countries outside these power blocs also emerged. Decolonisation had occurred in countries across Asia, Africa and Latin America. Many of these countries while newly free were pre-occupied with development and the international communications of the time reflected the importance of this issue. Subsequent movements such as the Non-Aligned Movement also helped to put development on the international agenda.

In the period following the Second World War, development became salient internationally because of a number of reasons. Some of these were: firstly, the large-scale destruction witnessed during the Second World War; this was followed by reconstruction in Europe. Secondly, the political division of the world into two camps after the Second World War, made development an important issue in international communications. Thirdly, this period also saw the establishment of the United Nations organisations, with their emphasis on humanitarian issues. There were also economic reasons for developed nations to have links with developing countries.

Paradigms of Development

The ideas about development have been dominated by those of the developed countries and have undergone changes from economic growth in the 1950's and 1960's to social change in subsequent periods. Under their influence, developing countries have received guidance, aid and support that have hence influenced communication flow and efforts from the developed world. There have been three major paradigms of development. These are Dominant, Dependency and Participatory. In the period 1945-1965 Dominant paradigm held sway. During 1965-75 it was dependency. From the 1970's onwards it has been the participatory paradigm.

To briefly recapitulate, the **dominant** paradigm is associated with the Liberal, Modernisation theories that links the idea of development to industrialisation, capital intensive projects and economic growth. The role of media, in the dominant paradigm, saw top down communication, presumption of strong mass media effects and the primacy of hypodermic needle or bullet theories. The dominant paradigm was critiqued for the fact many poor countries that applied these ideas did not find that they had developed.

The dependency paradigm was an outgrowth of Imperialism, Colonialism. It was based on Marxist ideas structural inequality and economic relations in the global system. The role of media in the dependency paradigm was to challenge cultural and media imperialism and the agenda of the power elite. Top down flow of communication and presumption of strong media effects remained.

The current participatory paradigm of development puts people at the center of the development process. Makes them partners, rather than targets of development strategies and emphasise peoples empowerment and emancipation and seeks their involvement at all levels - decision-making, programme implementation, evaluation, monitoring and benefits. The role of media within this paradigm is one of the inputs. It stresses the importance of dialogue and sharing of knowledge and bottom-up flow of communication using community media as well as new media technologies which are interactive in nature.

14.5 LET US SUM UP

In this unit it was discussed that International communications and intercultural communications are important types of communications, which have been studied extensively during and after the Second World War. Different issues have dominated the field of international communications in different decades, for example the importance of propaganda during the Second World War and the Cold War.

We examined propoganda in its historical context. It was associated with religious movements in Seventeenth century Europe, and with political messages in the subsequent centuries. By the mid twentieth century, the word acquired strong negative connotations for democracies and was replaced in official bodies with the term information. Propaganda has been recognised to be systematic and aimed at serving the agenda of the propagandist. Propaganda has certain functions such as influencing domestic or foreign public opinion. In wartime it is used to demoralise the enemy. In fact propoganda is used along with conventional weapons as one more weapon in the arsenal of the propagandist.

It was further discussed that the study of propoganda has grown more nuanced over a period of time. Propaganda can be classified into black, white or grey depending on whether the message has a clearly identified source and also based on whether the message is lies or truth. Some of the factors which influence the effectiveness of propoganda are the type of government, uncertainty; construction of the message and so on. Further, propoganda relies on the use of particular techniques such as repetition, fear appeals, appeals to authority, demonising the enemy among others.

From above analysis you will be able to appreciate the need and relevance of international and intercultural communication in the present times. You will also be able to analyse how communication flow helps in shaping public opinion and foreign policy.

14.7 FURTHER READINGS

Gorman, Lyn and McLean, David, (2003), *Media and Society in the Twentieth Century, A Historical Introduction*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, UK.

Jowett, Garth S. and O'Donnell, Victoria (2006), *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 4th Edition, Sage, USA.

Mowlana, Hamid and Wilson, Laurie (1990), *The Passing of Modernity, Communication and the Transformation of Society*, Longman, Whiteplains, N.Y.

14.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS: POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Grey
- 2) Grey
- 3) White
- 4) White
- 5) Black

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) General slogans
- 2) Demonising the enemy
- 3) Repetition
- 4) Appeal to fear
- 5) Dualism