

Global Television Journalism and Foreign Policy: Theoretical Approaches; Debates*

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Abstract

Globalization, as being one of the key concepts of the 1990s, has brought important theoretical approaches in the context of different disciplines of social sciences. The impact of communication technologies has led to important debates in media studies, and the globalization of the media has enabled news to cross borders with the influence of large media companies. This has significantly changed the role of the media at the national level. There are two main views on this issue. First, the so-called CNN Effect argues that the media influence political leaders by informing and directing public opinion. By creating public pressure, the media can force politicians to act on certain issues. Another view is the “Manufacturing Consent” theory of Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman. According to this theory, the media is controlled by powerful economic and political interests and is used as a tool to encourage society to consent to the existing order. In international news, the influence of large media corporations and local powers complicates the impartiality of the news. Global television journalism, which started with the technological transformation, has opened the relationship between national media policies and communication flows to discussion and reconsidered the links between foreign policy and broadcasting practices. The study draws a historical, conceptual and theoretical framework on the relationship between global television journalism and foreign policy. As a result of the literature review, it has been observed that there are fewer studies on this relationship than expected.

Keywords: Global Journalism, Television News, Foreign Policy.

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Küresel Televizyon Haberciliği ve Dış Politika: Kuramsal Yaklaşımlar; Tartışmalar

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Öz

1990'lı yılların anahtar kavramlarından birisi olan küreselleşme; sosyal bilimlerin farklı disiplinleri bağlamında önemli kuramsal yaklaşımları ortaya çıkarmıştır. Kavram, iletişim teknolojilerinin bu süreçteki konumunu düşünüldüğünde medya çalışmaları açısından da önemli tartışmaları beraberinde getirmiştir. Medyanın küreselleşmesi, dünya genelindeki büyük medya şirketlerinin etkisinin artmasıyla haberlerin sınır tanımayan bir akışa dönüşmesini sağlamıştır. Bu durum, medyanın ulusal düzeydeki rolünü önemli ölçüde değiştirmiştir. Bu konuda iki ana görüş öne çıkmaktadır. İlk olarak, CNN Etkisi olarak bilinen yaklaşım, medyanın kamuoyunu bilgilendirerek ve yönlendirerek siyasi liderler üzerinde etkili olduğunu savunur. Medya, kamuoyunda baskı yaratarak siyasetçileri belirli konularda harekete geçmeye zorlayabilir. Diğer bir görüş ise Noam Chomsky ve Edward S. Herman'ın "Rızanın Üretimi" teorisidir. Bu teoriye göre, medya güçlü ekonomik ve siyasi çıkarlar tarafından kontrol edilmekte ve bu çıkarlar, medya aracılığıyla kamuoyunu kendi lehlerine şekillendirir. Medya, toplumu mevcut düzene rıza göstermeye teşvik eden bir araç olarak kullanılır. Uluslararası haberlerde ise, büyük medya şirketleri ile yerel ekonomik ve siyasi güçlerin etkisi, haberlerin tarafsızlığını ve objektifliğini zorlaştıran bir durum yaratmaktadır. Bu yıllarda yaşanan teknolojik dönüşümle birlikte başlayan küresel televizyon haberciliği uluslararası düzeyde iletişim akışlarıyla ulusal medya politikalarının belirlenme süreci arasındaki ilişkilerin tartışmasını; buradan yola çıkarak dış politika süreçleriyle yayıncılık pratikleri arasındaki ilişkilerin yeniden ele alınmasına neden olmuştur. Bu çalışma, küreselleşme sürecinin uluslararası habercilik alanındaki yansımalarını ve ortaya çıkan yeni eğilimleri ele almaktadır. Çalışmada, küresel televizyon haberciliği ve dış politika ilişkisiyle ilgili tarihsel, kavramsal ve kuramsal bir çerçeve çizilmiştir. Yapılan bu tarama sonucunda, söz konusu ilişkiye dair bu alanda beklenenden daha az sayıda çalışma bulunduğu gözlemlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küresel Gazetecilik, Televizyon Haberleri, Dış Politika.

Introduction

New communication technologies, which are considered as the main trigger of social transformation process experienced in the 1980s, are of great importance in terms of globalization debates. The effects of the technological transformation experienced in different social contexts have been discussed by all disciplines of social sciences; efforts to define the period after the 1980s have also brought new approaches to the field of international communication. In academic literature and popular usage, globalization is often seen as “inevitable” and “a brand new stage” in human history. According to these approaches, new communication technologies are the most important factor that makes the transition to the new period called “globalization” possible. It is thought that the social sphere from economy to politics has been reshaped in this new period; when it comes to the field of media studies, it is argued that the process in which global news, symbolic product circulation and media policies are determined has changed. In contrast to this approach, attention is drawn to the ideological aspect of the views put forward in the context of globalization. Accordingly, the world economy was at least as internationalized in the late nineteenth century as it is today; Presenting the developments as “brand new” and “inevitable” is seen as an ideological approach.

The formation of global corporations in the field of media and the discussion of the relationship between global communication flows and the role of the media in national contexts is one of the main debates on the globalization of communication (Freedman, 1998, p. 413-414). Among the many approaches to the issue, the CNN Effect and the Manufacturing Consent approaches stand out. The CNN Effect approach assumes a particular model of policymaking and attributes the influence of the media to the public pressure it exerts on political leaders (Gilboa, 2005, p. 38). The debate on who controls the media and whether groups other than political decision-makers have gained the ability to influence politics, although named after CNN, refers not only to CNN but also to all mass media with a global reach such as Fox, Sky News, BBC World and MSNBC (Palloshi, 2015, p. 49). In Herman and Chomsky's “Manufacturing consent” approach, political and economic power holders shape public opinion through media and public relations strategies (Denk, 2007, p. 147). In this process where symbolic content is commodified, the media serves the ideological reproduction of the system. This approach emphasizes the ownership structure that determines the news production process and the determining role of media-power relations in the process (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 54). In the field of international journalism, there is an international news ecosystem shaped by global corporations and economic and political forces that are being determinants at the local level. Starting from the debates around the concept of globalization, this study aims to present the theoretical approaches and the main debates in the field of international journalism and global television journalism in the post-1980 period.

1. Globalization Conceptual Framework

The concept of globalization is one of the 10 most popular words of the 1990s according to Merriam Webster Dictionary. The concept, which is considered as a key concept by different disciplines of social sciences, has created a sizeable literature with its popular use. This intense interest in the concept has led to

different definitions. The common point of these definitions is that the concept is mainly used to describe the transition to a brand-new stage in human history. Accordingly, in the 1990s, social life and the world order have been restructured, interdependence and integration have increased in a historically unprecedented manner, and a time-space framework has emerged that transcends previous sociological perspectives. The most important determinant of this change is seen as the innovations in communication technologies (Ampuja, 2012, p. 285). According to globalization thesis, in this new stage, which is seen as a “break” in human history, the “nation state” will lose its importance in all social processes from economy to politics and culture. Considering the possible consequences of the thesis that the importance of the nation state as a category that has a determining influence on the individual life of human beings from birth to death is diminishing, it would not be surprising that important theoretical debates will arise in all fields of social science.

In the existing literature on globalization, there are schematically three different views. According to absolute globalizers such as David Held and Anthony McGrew, globalization is a definite trend that changes everything and nation states can do little or nothing to do against it. The other view is that of authors such as Ellen Meiksins Wood and David Gordon, who question the impact, significance and novelty of globalization. According to this view, companies are not really free to move where they choose, when they choose, and the world economy was at least as internationalized in the late nineteenth century as it is today. According to this approach, globalization has become an ideology. The third view, which we find in authors such as Robert Went, Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson, is that serious changes have begun that have important implications for the organization and functioning of the world economy, but that at the same time we are far from a truly globalized economy, and that we are far from a linear economy, and that there is no development and that many of the claims of globalization ideologues are baseless (Went, 2001, p. 22-23).

In order to comprehend the post-1990 world and analyze developments, it is of great importance to be aware of these debates on the concept and to be able to evaluate the possible results. The field of Media Studies is one of the fields where globalization debates are intensely experienced. The fact that new communication technologies are seen as the “perpetrator” of the new era described as globalization makes these debates even more important.

2. Globalization and Media

New communication technologies have had a significant impact on all aspects of social life. The evaluation of these effects has created debates in the field of media studies as well as in different disciplines of social sciences. Absolute globalization thesis, which consider new communication technologies as the main actor of the social transformation process, see these technologies as the most important factor enabling the transition to the new era called “globalization”. It is thought that the social sphere, from economy to politics, has been reshaped; the global circulation of news, symbolic products and the process by which media policies are determined are said to have changed. The formation of global corporations in the field of media and the analysis of the relationship between

global communication flows and the role of the media in the national context constitute the main topics of discussion on the globalization of communication (Freedman, 1998, p. 413-414). These debates have led to four important approaches: modernization theory, cultural or media imperialism approach, critical political economy approach and cultural studies approach (Iosifidis, 2011, p. 93).

Through modernization theory, the discipline of international communication has traditionally been defined through the national imagination. This framework, which emerged in the 1950s, dealt with the modernization of social life and the role of communication tools in this process (Türkoğlu, 2003, p. 70-74). At this point, the transformation in the field of communication technologies is also considered as an independent variable that determines a new era.

The cultural imperialism approach argues that developed countries dominate the global economic system and that peripheral countries do not have control over their social, political and cultural developments. The view theorized by authors such as Herbert Schiller and Armand Mattelard emerged after the Second World War as a critique of modernizationist views in the field of international communication (Uluç, 2008, p. 103). In the cultural imperialism approach, the media is positioned as an instrument of “neocolonialism” in the sense of disseminating Western culture (Uluç, 2008, p. 104). Another view in the context of the cultural imperialism approach is the media imperialism thesis developed by Oliver Boyd Barret. This thesis describes the situation where the ownership structure, distribution system and content of the media in a country are determined by interest groups in another country or countries (Uluç, 2008, p. 111). According to this approach developed in the 1970s, the concept of media imperialism is defined as the promotion of an image of America and the world in line with US interests and the advertising of American goods and services as a result of the sale of cultural software and hardware of US origin (Boyd-Barret, 2010, p. 139-141).

Since its emergence in the 1970s, the critical political economy approach has been examining the structural transformation of the media under capitalism. It is argued that there are dominant economic structures in the media and communication sector and that these determine the views and perspectives disseminated by the media (Iosifidis, 2011, p. 97). Accordingly, commercial media is an instrument of class domination and aims to maintain the status quo. The role of the media in creating surplus value through the production and exchange of a commodity is scrutinized, as well as the indirect way it plays through advertising (Garnham, 2006, p. 179-180). Nicholas Garnham, an important figure in the field, argues that structures of domination are based on class relations. Graham Murdock and Peter Golding criticize the disruption of the balance between public and commercial media and discuss the consequences of deregulation and privatization in the 1980s and 1990s. The effects of media on the cultural sphere in global capitalism are analyzed (Iosifidis, 2011, p. 98).

Cultural studies theory focuses primarily on the phenomenon of how cultural forms are produced, disseminated and interpreted by media and communication systems and the concept of cultural migration. Like the political economy approach

to mainstream media sociology (Iosifidis, 2011, p. 99). The cultural studies approach questions the importance of the globalization process in the formation of the cultural identity of national and territorial borders. Dislocalization and hybridization are the key concepts of this approach in the context of globalization and media. Accordingly, the constant flow of people and ideas has brought connectivity at the global level. Cultural identities have become less stable. They are now more rootless than ever. Nation states will be less successful in developing “official” identities. This process will overcome the crisis in the reproduction of identity and clear the way for the “post national imaginary” (Ampuja, 2012, p. 291).

Globalization theses see new communication technologies as the main source of the post-1980 transformation. While criticizing globalization theses, theorists who draw attention to the “positive” aspects of globalization as a brand-new stage also see new communication technologies as a transformative force. This approach is also seen in Manuel Castells' view that we live in a network society whose structure is not fixed in time and space, hierarchical and decentralized while underlining economic, social and cultural transformation (Ampuja, 2012, p. 287). Castells sees the end of the great totalitarianism of industrial society, the unidirectional anomie mass, the statist forms of governance and the increasing political apathy of the people.

While there is a widespread view that the trend towards globalization in the field of communication will ultimately abolish nation states, another debate is whether national variations of media systems can be used to understand media policies. According to Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini, there are three models: the liberal model in North America, Britain and Ireland; the democratic-corporatist model in Northern Europe; and the polarized pluralist model in the Mediterranean countries of Southern Europe. The liberal model is dominated by the market mechanism and commercial media. The democratic corporatist model is one in which commercial media and media associated with social and political groups coexist, while the state plays an active role. The polarized pluralist model is one in which the media is integrated into party politics, commercial media is weak and state control is strong (Iosifidis, 2011, p. 6).

When we look at the changes in the media since the 1980s, we see that contrary to globalization theses, nation states are still active in determining media policy. Elizabeth Fox and Silvio Waisbord, who analyze the developments in the media in Latin America during the 1990s, argue that the media is determined by two parallel forces. The process is determined by both the local balance of power and global forces. Technological change and the emergence of a global market are determined by global powers, while ownership and content are determined by local politics. The state determines the system in Latin America through its censorship mechanism, advertising and licensing policy. Local monopoly broadcasting has developed under the control of the authoritarian state (Fox & Waisbord, 2002, p. 3). Privatization, liberalization and deregulation have been the main tools of media policy makers. In the case of Latin America, it is seen that political power and market forces determine the process through mutual negotiation (Fox & Waisbord, 2002, p. 6).

3. Globalization and International Journalism

One of the most intense areas of debate in the context of the globalization-media relationship is the field of international news reporting. International news is defined as news that concerns and affects the whole world due to the data it contains, and that conveys developments, changes and events that spread to countries around the world in a short period of time by utilizing the speed of distribution of communication technology (Özmen, 2013, p. 131). International news is prepared to cover stories from all around the world and is effective in determining both domestic and foreign policies of countries (Özdemir, 2021, p. 85).

In his study, Guy Berger made different definitions as “international news”, “transnational news”, “global news” and foreign news”. Accordingly, “international news” is news produced in a national or international arena and prepared for consumption by a specific audience within a nation-state that is assumed to have a national identity and interest. “Transnational news” refers to content produced in one national sphere and then distributed unchanged to another. “Global news” is news that can be produced from anywhere, but with a view to serving audiences worldwide, almost independently of national or local interests news. “Foreign news” is a specific subset of “international” and “global” news. It does not include all “international news” about what is happening in a particular country, but it has an international dimension (Berger, 2009, p. 356-357).

In this table, Berger categorized the different news he defined in the international framework in terms of the source of production, the content of the news text, the audience and its distribution. The last dimension is the geographical location of the audience. According to Berger, any of these four variables can affect the definition of a particular news item (Berger, 2009, p. 356).

Table 1. Geospatial schema of news

	Production	Content	Distribution	Audience
Transnational 1	One or more nationally produced	Same content, different countries and communities are associated according to their culture	International	Diasporas (e.g. Africans, Hispanics, Jews); transnational communities (expatriates, international workmen)
Global	News where agencies are located	Her undifferentiated content in place (celebrity gossip, bird flu	Everywhere	National characteristics or identities not based on, but rather on

		like the global problems etc.)		common flavors or problems, interests. Communities
International	Usually to be distributed for a or more national in the field produced	Different national adapted to contexts	National different from the distribution	Differentiated national audiences
Foreign News	Outside the national space produced	Nation related international events	Content is often sourced by external income	The target audience is the audience within the nation state

Whether the international circulation of news can be manipulated and even this news can be outside the interests of the country is an important issue of debate. According to Özmen, news organizers, i.e. media organizations or media professionals, do not act against national interests if the news has an international character (Özmen, 2013, p. 130). What is called international news differs from one national media space to another. This type of news varies according to definitions of news that differ from one country to another in accordance with geo-political and cultural interests. Political conflicts and economic interests play a decisive role in the production of international news (Tutal, 2014, p. 173-174).

4. Global Television Journalism and Foreign Policy

Following the developments in satellite and cable technologies, global television journalism began in the early 1980s with CNN television's 24-hour uninterrupted broadcasts outside the United States (Gilboa, 2005, p. 27). With the Gulf War of 1990-1991, international journalism began to be seen as a decisive “actor” in the field of international relations, bringing a new era in terms of the debate on the relationship between foreign policy and media. Periods of significant political ruptures and wars also bring about new journalism practices. During the American Civil War of 1861-1865, newspapers began to broadcast 7 days a week; the phenomenon of live broadcasting after the Kennedy Assassination in 1963; and the emergence of “breaking news” in the American media with channels such as ABC and NBC are important examples of this relationship. CNN's broadcasts during the Gulf War created a similar transformation in the field of broadcasting. First of all, 24-hour uninterrupted news broadcasting is a reality; global news broadcasting has become a developing field with the emergence of channels such as BBC World, Sky and Fox (Gilboa, 2005, p. 27).

In the literature on the relationship between global television broadcasting and foreign policy, four different approaches stand out. The first approach is the “watchdog” approach, which defines the media as one of the control mechanisms of the current system within the framework of liberal media theory. The second

approach is the CNN Effect approach, which adopts the view that the media is directly being a determinant in the foreign policy making process. The third approach is conceptualized as the “production of consent” and sees the media as a means of legitimizing the existing system. The fourth approach is the so-called “interdependence” approach, which argues that the media cannot report on international relations without cooperating with the state, just as governments cannot formulate policies without the media (Gilboa, 2003, p. 97).

Two of these approaches stand out in recent studies. The first approach is the “CNN Effect” approach shaped within the framework of the classical liberal paradigm. The second approach deals with the media-foreign policy relationship through the conceptualization of “the production of consent” (Denk, 2007, p. 147). The “CNN effect” approach, which came to the fore with the 1990-1991 Gulf War, argues that the coverage of the war eroded US public support for the war and had consequences that led the government to withdraw its military forces. The concept was first used in newspapers to describe the psychological, economic and financial consequences of CNN's coverage of the war (Gilboa, 2005, p. 325). The concept was used to describe the impact of global television journalism on political decision-makers' perception of world events (Zhaparaliev & Atabek, 2021, p. 6). According to this approach, the media has a direct impact on the process of public opinion and foreign policy formation and this impact is evaluated positively. The concept of CNN Effect has been discussed in different ways by policymakers, journalists and academics. Those who adopt the CNN Effect approach argue that CNN broadcasting has become very important in the formation of foreign policy and in the process of conducting military interventions such as Kosovo, Iraq and Somalia. Those who do not adopt this approach believe that CNN has not brought about such a dramatic transformation in foreign policy processes (Gilboa, 2005, p. 326).

Three events were decisive in shaping the CNN Effect approach: 1991 Northern Iraq War, the fall of the government in Somalia in 1992-93 and the outbreak of civil war, and finally the 1994 bombing of Sarajevo and the situation of Bosnians trying to live in prison camps (Çeçen, 2014, p. 46). During the 1991 Gulf War, CNN, the only broadcasting organization allowed to stay in Baghdad, was watched all over the world and the US reflected the war to the whole world from its own point of view, which is seen as an important turning point (Övür, 2016, p. 71). In 1993, the withdrawal of the American army from Somalia after the images of 18 American soldiers who lost their lives in Somalia were broadcasted by CNN is stated as the second important journalism event. In his 1997 study, Livingston, in his analysis of the Somalia incident, described the CNN Effect through a three-stage effect: agenda setting, obstruction and acceleration. In the first stage, as in the case of Somalia, the foreign policy agenda was set; in the second stage, the “obstruction” effect was realized as the recall of troops from Somalia, and the third effect “acceleration effect” was the shortening of the decision time (Livingston, 1997, p. 2-3; cited in Karaduman, 2018, p. 485).

The concept of the CNN effect, resembled to a curve, suggests that television can compel political decision-makers to intervene militarily in a humanitarian crisis, and again to end the intervention when military force casualties occur. This definition has two parts linked to the “coercion” function. The first represents the process of forcing leaders to engage with an issue they would rather ignore. The

second refers to the power of television, through public opinion, to force political decision-makers to adopt a policy against their will and interpretation of the national interest (Gilboa, 2005, p. 29).

Herman and Chomsky's "Manufacturing Consent" approach argues that power shapes public opinion through carefully planned media and public relations strategies (Denk, 2007, p. 147). Accordingly, media products are commoditized and serve the ideological reproduction processes of the system (Kurban & Sözeri, 2012). This approach emphasizes the ownership structure that determines the news production process and the determining role of media-power relations in the process. Unlike the CNN Effect approach, in this approach a news production process directed by governments, corporations, community leaders, media owners and advertisers has been defined (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 67).

Walter Lipmann, an American journalist and researcher, was the first to use the term "Manufacturing Consent". The importance of propaganda has also been recognized by researchers working on public opinion and social policies. According to the "Propaganda Model", there are five class filters that has an on influence the construction of news. These filters could be listed as: media size and ownership structure; advertiser support; news sources; reaction and sanctioning institutions; and anti-communist ideology. The news texts that emerge as a result of these filters turn into a source controlled by those in power to hide or legitimize their political behavior and to maintain their power (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 54). Unprocessed news passes through these filters and those that "fit" into these filters could be publicized. Filters determine what is newsworthy, and media professionals characterize the information that flows through this filter as objective. The limitations imposed by this filter are so strong that alternative news selection is unimaginable (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2010, p. 293).

These filters determine what and how the news would be covered. Chomsky and Herman explain how a similar incident involving Turkey and Poland was covered in the US press through these filters. The US supported the 1980 coup in Turkey. There was no reaction to the restriction of trade union rights and it was not covered as news. On the other hand, the restrictions on trade union rights in Poland, a country in the socialist bloc, was covered as an important news agenda (İşleyen, 1999, p. 147).

According to Herman and Chomsky, the media in the US supports the US's aggressive foreign policy. US violence is covered up in the media. The government has the power to set the grounds and agenda for the public debate on foreign policy and to keep challenging facts far from public scrutiny. The media propagandize state policy. The media takes sides under the US flag and presents the US-backed massacres of the government in Guatemala as a defense of freedom (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 112).

Within the framework of media relations in foreign policy, it is seen that the claim of global journalism does not reflect the reality. The determinant nation-states produce news for their own national interests through the media organs they control and use this news within the scope of their information operations. In a study on the framing of Turkey's "Operation Olive Branch" by global news outlets such as CNN, TRT World and Sputnik, it was observed that there were parallels

between the framing of the relevant outlets and the approach of the foreign ministries of the countries (İlik, 2023). Looking to the use of news sources in the news items studied, it was observed that TRT, CNN and Sputnik primarily featured government representatives and then military officials as news sources. It was also observed that the foreign ministries of the relevant countries were used to define the operation. This was followed by military officials. CNN International defined the operation as 'Military Operation' with a rate of 46.4% and 'Attack' with a rate of 42.8%; TRT World described it as 'Anti-Terrorist Operation' with a rate of 76.3%; Sputnik included the category of 'Military Operation' with 81.2% rate (İlik, 2023).

5. Global Television Journalism: Historical Development Process

CNN was the first broadcasting organization to establish itself as an “international news channel” in a very short period of time. CNN, the world's largest global television channel and a 24-hour news channel, was founded by Ted Turner in 1980 and has set its borders as the whole world. CNN's audience consists of politicians, high-level bureaucrats, military, clergy.

CNN describes itself as a “world elite” consisting of academic groups. Forefront claims including its broadcast content is global, its employees come from different nations and its being independent from the economic and political interests of the US are the claims that CNN relies on in order to position itself as a “global television channel” (Kaypakoğlu, 2004, p. 75). Nilgün Tatal states that CNN's claim of appealing to those who are free from ethnic identities and who have been displaced is not real when we observe its broadcasting practice; an ethnocentric broadcasting approach is maintained (Tatal, 2014, p. 173). In particular, events such as the 1991 Gulf War and the dissolution of the USSR were monitored through CNN broadcasts via satellite, and thus the concept of news changed its form and began to mean reporting not only events that had “already happened” but also events that were “still happening” (Uluç, 2003, p. 249). The introductory text of the channel on CNN's website includes the following statements:

We are truth seekers and storytellers. We are journalists, designers and technologists united by a mission to inform, influence and empower the world. We bear witness to history and explain not just what happened, but why it happened and what it means for you. Our products and platforms take you to the farthest corners of the world while bringing the world to you, delivering content and services that enrich your lives, families and communities (Cnn, 2023).

After CNN International, international news televisions such as BBC World, FOX News, SKY News, CBC, Euronews started broadcasting. Initially accepted by the whole world, as the broadcasting territories of these channels expanded, their content supply demands began to increase. These international television channels, which began to have correspondents and cameramen in every country of broadcasting, began to overflow with regional news content (Artun, 2016, p. 26). BBC World, (1991) and Euronews (1993) were established during the Gulf War (1991) to take measures against some of the disturbances caused by CNN's emergence as the only source of news for all Western broadcasting organizations,

and to balance and prevent an American news television from dominating their national markets and the international news market (Uzunay, 2006, p. 67).

BBC World faces significant financial difficulties as it is a public broadcaster. It prepares its agenda with British or Anglo-Saxon audiences abroad. Euronews, on the other hand, does not broadcast to the whole of Europe. Its sole objective is to prevent the European television market from being taken over by American or British companies. Unlike CNN, it does not aim to capture the worldwide market or expand its existing market share (Tutal, 2005, p. 150).

With the establishment of Al Jazeera in Qatar in 1996, a perspective other than international global television channels such as CNN, BBC and Sky News, which produce and interpret content from a Western perspective, was brought into the field (Artun, 2016, p. 26). Established with the claim of being global, TRT World channel started broadcasting via satellite on October 27, 2015. The English-language news channel reaches 190 countries. TRT World, which aims to offer an alternative to BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera channels, broadcasts in English and focuses on news. İbrahim Eren, the former CEO of TRT World, explained the reason for the establishment of the channel as follows:

We can say that the news channel fills a very specific gap in international media. There are several famous international news channels such as CNN, BBC and Al-Jazeera. CNN focuses on the US, the BBC is Euro-centric or more specifically UK-centric, and Al-Jazeera cannot be considered the voice of the voiceless as it no longer has the voice it once had" (Daily Sabah, 2016).

When we look at the historical development process of global television news channels, we see a development in which nation states are very involved in the process, unlike the theses of globalization approaches in the field of media. Although the technological transformation in the 1980s brought significant changes and new practices in the field of media, the influence of nation states remains decisive in the process of determining media policies and the relationship between foreign policy and media.

6. Methodology

Literature review covers the process of examining, evaluating and organizing previous studies related to the research topic. In this process, publications are summarized, analyzed and brought together to form a synthesis. The main purpose of the literature review is to determine where previous research is on the current topic, to reveal the gaps and gaps in the literature and to determine the place of the study in this field.

A literature review distills the existing literature in a subject field; the objective of the literature review is to summarize the state of the art in that subject field. From this review of earlier and recent work, it becomes possible to identify areas in which further research would be beneficial. Indeed, the concluding paragraphs of the literature review should lead seamlessly to research propositions and methodologies. It is therefore important that the literature review is focused, and avoids the more comprehensive textbook-like approach (Rowley & Slack, 2004, p. 32).

Comprehensive review of previous research on the research topic was conducted. Published works were found, read and analyzed. Various academic sources such as national and international publications, books and graduate theses were examined and compiled through literature review method. The evaluations and analyses of these publications were synthesized and presented. A historical, conceptual and theoretical framework on the reflections of globalization in international journalism was drawn, gaps in the literature were identified and the place of the study in this literature was determined. There are very few national publications on the CNN Effect approach, which is based on the view that the media manipulates public opinion and exerts pressure on political leaders. Likewise, there were not many national publications on Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman's "Production of Consent" theory, which argues that the media is directed in line with political interests. As a result of this review, there is no study on the relationship between global television journalism and foreign policy in this field. In this sense, it has been determined that there is a gap in the literature.

Conclusion

The concept of globalization has been presented as a "brand new stage" in the history of humanity; the concept had a significant impact on the literature within the framework of different disciplines. It is of great importance to reveal the relationship between globalization, which is defined as an unprecedented "integration" through the strengthening of multinational companies and technological developments, and new liberal policies as a political ideology. Globalization approaches, which have had a significant impact on the field of media studies, reveal approaches in which the political sphere is determined by the media through the omnipotence of technological change.

From the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, a series of developments in the field of communication brought about the internationalization of communication. The establishment of news agencies, the structuring of the intercontinental cable system, the regulation of radio waves and the technological developments of the 20th century enabled the global distribution of media. New communication technologies enabled broadcasting to reach a much larger scale than before, and new distribution channels emerged at national and international levels (Gorman & McLean, 2008, p. 267). Privatization and deregulation policies led to a shift in media operations to low-cost areas and the spread of goods and services to new markets (Freedman, 1998, p. 415).

These changes in the media since the 1980s presents the basis of the globalization thesis that the nation state is not an effective actor in the media field. However, when we look to the actual practice, it is seen that nation states are still active in determining media policy. Elizabeth Fox and Silvio Waisbord, analyzing media developments in Latin America during the 1990s, argue that the media is determined by two parallel forces. The process is determined by both the local balance of power and global forces. Technological change and the emergence of a global market are determined by global powers, while ownership and content are determined by local politics. The state determines the system in Latin America through its censorship mechanism, advertising policy and licensing policy. Local

monopoly broadcasting has developed under the control of the authoritarian state (Fox & Waisbord, 2002, p. 3). Privatization, liberalization and deregulation have been the main tools of media policy makers. In the case of Latin America, it is seen that political power and market forces determine the process through mutual negotiation (Fox & Waisbord, 2002, p. 6).

At this point, the CNN Effect and the Manufacturing Consent approaches offer important opportunities to discuss the impact of global television journalism (Gilboa, 2005, p. 325), which began in the early 1980s with CNN television's 24-hour uninterrupted broadcasts outside the US, on the foreign policy-making process. The CNN Effect approach refers not only to CNN but also to all mass media with a global reach, such as Fox, Sky News, BBC World and MSNBC (Palloshi, 2015, p. 49), and argues that global television journalism is a determinant in foreign policy-making processes. The Manufacturing Consent approach, on the other hand, interprets the process through the effects of new liberal policies on the media field. In the post-1980 period, the new liberal policies in the field of telecommunications led to massive competition, a deregulated broadcasting market and consolidation in the media sector, which created a monopolistic structure. The relaxation of restrictions on advertising time limits and the facilitation of cross-ownership have increased this concentration. While national policies at the government level support this process, international organizations also contribute to the global expansion of commercial media (Gorman & McLean, 2008, p. 268).

Nation states are influential in determining media systems. Different languages, political systems, power structures, cultural traditions, economies, international connections and histories of different nations make different media systems possible (Curran and Park, 2005, p. 11-12). Within the framework of the media-foreign policy relationship, the claim that global journalism is the decisive actor in the foreign policy-making process does not reflect reality. Nation states intervene in the news production process in line with their foreign policies through the media organs they control.

With globalisation, media has become an important actor in international relations and foreign policy processes. Especially television journalism has functions such as informing the public, providing fast news flow in times of crisis and putting pressure on governments. The 'CNN Effect', one of the two main approaches explaining the relationship between foreign policy and the media, argues that the media can accelerate foreign policy decisions by putting pressure on governments in times of crisis. 'Manufacturing Consent', on the other hand, argues that media content is directed by states and large media organisations; therefore, the media is not an independent actor but an instrument of state policies.

The research shows that states directly or indirectly control media content. In many countries, global media companies are often financed by large economic groups with close ties to governments. This makes it difficult for global media organisations to be an independent actor in the foreign policy-making process. States can shape media content directly through public broadcasters, or they can determine foreign policy discourse by exerting economic and political pressure on

private media organisations. How news is presented and which events are emphasised are shaped by the foreign policy priorities of states.

There are many examples of this issue. For example, in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war, Western media organisations presented news frames that strengthened Ukraine's position, while Russian state media presented events with a different narrative. RT and Sputnik News emphasised that the war was a “special military operation” and claimed that the West provoked the conflict by arming Ukraine. Russian state television argued that the war was necessary for the security of the Russian people. The Western media, on the other hand, countered this narrative by reporting in favour of Ukraine's struggle for independence and portraying Russia as an aggressive power. The same applies to Israel's occupation of Palestine. While major media organisations in the US and Europe present news in a supportive framework of Israel's foreign policies, they give less space to the views of Palestinian groups. Western media outlets frame Israeli attacks through Israel's security perspective. Israel's attacks are generally presented as “defensive”, while the actions of Palestinian groups are labelled as “terrorist attacks”. Palestinian civilian casualties are relatively under-emphasised by the media, while Israeli casualties are more prominent. Palestinian sources are rarely quoted in the Western media, while Israeli government officials are more likely to be interviewed. Also, during the Syrian Civil War, the media used different framings in line with the foreign policy determined by the governments. The Western media presented the Assad government as a “dictator” and presented the opposition groups as “freedom fighters”. The Russian media, on the other hand, defined the Assad government as “the legitimate leader fighting against terrorism” and portrayed the opposition groups as “radical Islamist terrorists”. Similarly, the US media produced content emphasising the necessity of the war in the 1991 Gulf War and shaped public opinion in support of the war. In 2003, the US raised the allegation of weapons of mass destruction to legitimise its military intervention in Iraq. In this process, the US media made news in favour of the war in parallel with the government's discourse. However, post-war investigations revealed that there were no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and showed how the media was instrumental in the government's manipulation.

The findings reveal that the power of global media networks to shape foreign policy decisions is limited, on the contrary, it shows how states present foreign policy to the public through their control and steering mechanisms over the media. Examples of how the media is used by governments, especially in times of crisis and war, show that the media is not only a tool that provides news, but also functions to support foreign policy objectives. Although theories such as the CNN effect suggest that the media can change foreign policy decisions by exerting pressure on governments, in practice this influence is controlled by states.

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