

Conference paper:
Media and cultural education
A means to social cohesion in a global world

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1. Introduction

If you allow, I would like to start this workshop introduction with a quote that is taken from a talk that the Nigerian Novelist Chimamanda Adichie gave at „TEDglobal 2009“ in Oxford. Being born and raised in Nigeria, she gives us a taste of what it meant for her to move to the United States for university studies as a teenager. She says:

„I left Nigeria to go to university in the United States. I was 19. My American roommate was shocked by me. She asked where I had learned to speak English so well, and was confused when I said that Nigeria happened to have English as its official language. She asked if she could listen to what she called my "tribal music," and was consequently very disappointed when I produced my tape of Mariah Carey [...]. She assumed that I did not know how to use a stove.”¹

Now, this idea or projection that Adichie’s roommate had of her - or Africa respectively - is what the novelist then called a „single story“. This was also the title of the address that she gave at Oxford: „The danger of a single story“. But what does Adichie mean by a „single story“? She indeed refers to a story about someone or something - but the „single story“ is defined by being (a) a random, decontextualized and often uninformed snippet of a whole, and, even worse, (b) the often only story available. And this is exactly what renders the „single story“ problematic. Adichie puts it like this:

„The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story”.²

While stereotypes certainly are somewhat helpful to reduce complexity in everyday life, making social environments easier to comprehend and navigate, they become delicate if people get discriminated or appear in a distorted light because of such classifications.³ It is exactly this problematic character of the „single story“ that Adichie’s roommate got entangled in.

Regardless of the fact if Adichie’s account is anecdotal in character or not, we may well imagine her roommate as the incarnation of all those members of society that also - due to a lack of an appropriate frame of reference - carry with them rather undifferentiated and essentialized images of what is often called „the other“.

The reason for this surely may be understandable: If we follow Wa’Njogu on the example of Africa in his article „Representation of Africa in the Western Media“, „most Westerners have never visited and may never visit Africa, yet they hold an image of Africa in their

minds“.⁴ „Africa in the Western media“, he goes on, „is constructed through metaphor. The metaphors selected for the communication of Africa’s stories, however, do not come from Africa, but from stereotypes of Africa that have permeated Western culture“.⁵ Similar things may be true for other places such as China, Syria, Afghanistan or India. If we now add to the equation Niklas Luhmann’s famous formula of „Whatever we know about our society, or indeed about the world in which we live, we know through the mass media“⁶, it may not seem all too surprising that a differentiated idea about faraway places and cultures may be difficult to obtain.

While this is not to invoke long discarded hypodermic-needle- or stimulus-response-models of unidirectional and monocausal media effects - of course there is the agency of the subject, media appropriation, and all that - , it still is to recognize that in an increasingly mediatized world⁷, media usage is as much entangled in everyday life as everyday life is mediated - to an extent that is symbiotic and merely inseparable.⁸ Due to that, the media are important agents of socialization⁹ and are involved in the social construction of the world, as they do not only occupy a lot of people’s time, but also carry social meaning and scripts while they reproduce dominant social norms, belief systems, discourses and ideologies.¹⁰ In doing so, the media contribute to peoples forms of knowledge, not only about their immediate social surroundings but also about more distant contexts, places and cultures.¹¹ At the same time, the „media draw upon a wide range of taken-for-granted assumptions about the social world: assumptions that, more often than not, go unquestioned by media professionals and audiences alike“.

Now, in today’s world it is not only the media as institutions and image flows that are by and large increasingly globalized (while there of course are exceptions and inequalities)¹², but also the flow of people around the world that intensifies. Both, immigration countries where good parts of the population are foreign-born and the current refugee situation testify that the world is becoming a denser and more interconnected place. Sweden by far spearheads Europe since many years, being the country with most asylum applications and refugee intake per capita.¹³ About every fifth person that is living in Germany has their roots elsewhere.¹⁴

This is why it is essential to, through media and cultural education, proactively foster social cohesion by for example reflecting on the mixing of people, cultures, the images that

those people and cultures have of one another and where those are coming from, when forming a *mélange* of host cultures, guest cultures, and anything in between.

I would now, as a basis for the following workshop, like to unfold some of those ideas a little more.

In order to do so, I would, first of all, like to spend some minutes on the question of ‚global media‘ and an alleged ‚global flow of media images‘. In combination with that, I would like to give some thoughts to the representation of said faraway places, cultures and people in those image flows.

I would then like to lead into the workshop-part by suggesting that media and cultural education as an integral part of public higher education, in an increasingly interconnected world, might lead to improved social cohesion and therefore is desirable.

2. Global Media Flows?

As the world becomes an increasingly globalized place, the flow of media images generally follows this trend. It does so, however, in a quite unequal fashion, creating what might be called a divided global village, whereas uneven flows of media images in their „representation“¹⁵ often reproduce the inequalities of the social world.¹⁶ This matters, because in as much as economic institutions have economic power through material resources and political institutions have political power through authority, cultural institutions such as religion, but also the media, have symbolic power through means of information and communication.¹⁷

Kai Hafez in his 2007 book „The Myth of Media Globalization“ advanced in an analysis of several systems like international reporting, film, tv, internet, or media policy the idea that there, most likely, is no structurally equal world media system in the sense of balanced media flows and media power.¹⁸ Global media flows are predominantly uneven and hegemonic, offering little to no considerable alternatives to dominant images of others. Daya Kishan Thussu, in a 2010 article titled „Mapping Global Media Flow and Contra-Flow“, by and large, reaches similar conclusions.¹⁹

In addition to what he calls ‚dominant flows‘ that largely emanate from the global north, he does, however, identify an increase in what he calls ‚subaltern flows‘²⁰ from peripheral southern urban creative hubs such as Cairo, Hong Kong, or Mumbai²¹, that „create new transnational configurations“²². While those flows are relevant and important,

they are still very disparate in comparison to the dominant flows in terms of volume and economic value, which is why caution is required when talking about a potential rise of non-Western media.²³ In an emphasis on Hollywood dependency, for instance, a 2005 report of the UNESCO states that „more than one-third of the countries in the world do not produce any films at all, while Africa as a whole (constituting [by then; M.W.] 53 countries) has only produced just over 600 films in its history“²⁴.

Others are no less cautious about the potential of the subaltern to create correctives or contra-flows to the depictions and narratives of the hegemony. While ‚Nollywood‘ (the Nigerian film industry) and ‚Bollywood‘ in India are major producers of motion pictures beside Hollywood²⁵, the often less formal character of these film industries makes it difficult to plug into the dominant networks of global media flows.²⁶ On top of that, the mere availability of such media content does not help, if it is not systematically embedded into the programming of local media stations²⁷.

At times, there is emphasis on the new, participatory media, such as YouTube and the Web 2.0 that would empower people because these media allow for easy ‚talking back‘ and creative ways of self-presentation.²⁸ In the context of Africa, Wall has advanced a study that sought to trace possibilities of alternative representations of stereotypes about Africa on YouTube, but the results in that regard were rather disappointing. Videos that were tagged with ‚Kenia‘ or ‚Ghana‘, for instance, receive little attention - most of the videos uploaded came from accounts that were registered in Europe or North America.²⁹ Wall sums up the findings of her study as follows:

„More broadly, the findings here suggest that YouTube enables the average westerner in particular to become a chronicler of other peoples in faraway lands just as travelers and missionaries ‚discovered‘ Africa in previous centuries. [...] Indeed, many of their contributions to YouTube reinforce and naturalize stereotypes. [...] [A]ge-old inequities still exist and still allow westerners to dominate“.³⁰

3. (Logics of) The Representation of ‚the Other‘ the Media

When it comes to representation of others in the media, where the word ‚representation‘ may be defined as „using language [or symbols; M.W.] to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people“³¹, language and symbols obviously play an important role - i.e. if we accept a constructionist take on language and symbols, meaning that we agree on the view that „meaning is constructed in and through language“³².

Now language is based on making distinctions. A „chair“ for example refers to a class

of objects that you can sit on and that, on top of that, have an armrest - as opposed to a stool. With this concept in mind, anything that we can see in the world can be categorized as to whether it is a chair or not, according to the agreed definition of what a chair is. While this might be pretty straightforward, it is easy to overlook the fact that such contrasts or categories as expressed by a language are not a ‚reality‘, but only a more or less random construction that often incurs meaning only culturally. ‚Reality‘ does not even force you to have a name for things that allow you to sit on them - it just makes practical sense to name those objects, because they have a meaning for us.³³ When it comes to categorizing color, for instance, human beings are capable of physiologically distinguishing an almost unimaginable amount of several million colors or shades of colors. This wealth of perceptual information is organized into the meaningful categories your language and culture gives you. While the English language distinguishes colors such as red, orange, yellow, green, blue, or purple, speakers of Shona in Zimbabwe would use only four different terms to distinguish the same spectrum. It would be dangerous, however, to infer that speakers of Shona are not aware of the differences that are perceived by speakers of English, just because they use different labels to organize them.³⁴ Those differences might well just not matter. Hence, while appearing to be a ‚reality‘ to the users of each language, none of those colors are more or less real. And while it may be perfectly fine to label dogs or horses as food in one culture, this may be beyond the imaginable in another - yet, labelling them as a pet does not make one version of ‚reality‘ universally more true than the other.³⁵

Most of the distinctions above are pretty innocent and it doesn't really matter if they have any objectively true equivalent. If you treat sitting accommodation unequal (by placing armchairs in the living room and stools in the bathroom) or degrade them (by finding the former more comfortable than the latter), not much harm is done. The same can not be said for human beings. While some perceived differences might, at first glance, also have correspondence in ‚reality‘ - such as „black“ or „white“, a closer look will reveal that there are different ‚shades of black‘ that move along a continuous spectrum.³⁶ This is not to speak of my own, mixed-race Afro-European children, that are more often than not perceived as ‚dark‘ by one cultural background and as ‚light‘ by the other, while I am quite convinced that their actual skin tone has remained the same in between these two justifications. Anyway, it gets really problematic once such blurry ‚distinctions that are based on reality‘, become charged with negative properties.

The representation of the other in the West often invokes binaries such as the ‚primitive other‘ vs. the ‚modern us‘. Communities in Africa, for instance, in Euro-American thought often are referred to as ‚tribal‘, invoking pre-modern associations, while the very same type of categorization in the northern hemisphere would more neutrally be called an ‚ethnic group‘.³⁷ The de-scriptive language used plays an important role in constructing perceptions: when people are said to live in ‚huts‘, not homes; when people reportedly have ‚traditional belief‘, not religion; or ‚kinship system‘, not relatives,³⁸ it may indeed be hard to appreciate anything to do with this ‚other‘ as equal, on eye-level, or at least as a valid and possible alternative to what is taken for granted. One of the problems related to that is the invisibility of some of these underlying operational logics. Peggy McIntosh, in her insightful Essay „White Privilege - Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack“ reflects that „whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work which will allow ‚them‘ to be more like ‚us‘“.³⁹ This is also evident in many people not even reflecting on ‚Whiteness‘ as a racial identity - this is how strong the normativity is.⁴⁰

When we watch movies, we can for instance see Bruce Willis as a professional U.S. Soldier in the 2003 film „Tears of the Sun“, kindly trying to save a war-torn Nigeria, as he argues that „God has already left Africa“. ⁴¹ Beautiful sunsets, acacia trees, Africa as romantic scenery and pristine Garden Eden, least to forget the infamous „struggling but smiling African“, of course, are the other extreme.⁴² Another issue is an often quite undifferentiated and de-contextualized news coverage about larger places such as Africa, where more than a billion people, 54 countries and over 2000 different languages apparently often share little more than the experience of domination and resistance on the ‚big black continent‘⁴³ - a place that seems to always become but maybe never belong.⁴⁴ The website „AfricaIsACountry.com“ - the name says it all - is an excellent source for media criticism in those directions.

While much of what has been said so far may well be ‚only naive and unreflecting projection‘⁴⁵, the structurally problematic patterns of dualisms, essentialism and ethnification are rather apparent: while dualism differentiates into ‚us‘ (inclusion: ‚the modern west‘) and ‚them‘ (exclusion: ‚the primitive other‘)⁴⁶, and essentialism ascribes exclusive properties to this other,⁴⁷ we can understand (media-)ethnification as a

„one-sided, dominant media focus on a person or group as an *ethnic other*, an emphasis on her difference (from a presumed 'us'), based on her being (more or less) visibly different or on a tacitly presumed *background* that differs from the mainstream“ (ebd.).

Particularly problematic is a pattern that Andreasson has called „reductive repetition“:

„Reductive repetition [repeatedly] reduces the diversity of [...] historical experiences and trajectories, sociocultural contexts and political situations into a set of core deficiencies“.⁴⁸

This is, then, pretty close to what Adichie has brought forth when talking about the „single story“. In this process, one category is often hegemonic defined as the ‚norm‘ while the ‚other‘ (i.e. anything that the ‚norm‘ does not comprise) is imagined as the ‚deviation‘ from this norm.⁴⁹ So while it appears ‚normal‘ to some to be white, secular, that romantic relationship is an affair between two individuals, that the proper way to eat is with silverware and to believe that „life is what you make it“ - being of color, muslim or polytheistic, interpreting marriage as an affair in between two extended families, seeing the hands as a suitable eating utensil and „fate in gods hands“ must necessarily feel strange. It certainly does not belong to a conceived ‚us‘.

This logic has been thoroughly described as „Orientalism“ by Edward Said. By opposing an Orient to the Occident, the focus is much less on a particular place or people, but much more on the Orient as a western cultural construct of the strange, peculiar, and odd.⁵⁰ Let's consider a final example on this logic, and listen to what Horace Miner in his essay „Body Ritual among the Nacirema“ has to say:

„The daily body ritual performed by everyone includes a mouthrite. Despite the fact that these people are so punctilious about care of the mouth, this rite involves a practice which strikes the uninitiated stranger as revolting. It was reported to me that the ritual consists of inserting a small bundle of hog hairs into the mouth, along with certain magical powders, and then moving the bundle in a highly formalized series of gestures“.⁵¹

In this account, the Nacirema become an exotic and ‚primitive‘ Other. The point of this narrative then becomes apparent, when we reveal that this is a parody only, using a certain type of language to describe the American (which is Nacirema spelled backwards) brushing their teeth.⁵²

While I have now used many examples from Africa, since this is my research background,

I do believe that much of what has been said so far can, very vividly, also be observed right now - with what has been coined 'the refugee crisis'. Devereux in his book „Understanding the Media“ writes that the fact that „media coverage tends to problematize minorities is confirmed by a large number of studies“⁵³. He then goes on to describe several examples, in which the media for instance construct connections between race and crime.⁵⁴ This is something that I have noted myself by observing, in a rather unstructured manner, people's everyday discussions of the refugee situation. „Some of them are criminals“ or „I read they bother people in the streets“ are rather common remarks that I have witnessed. Ressentiments can be strong and it is not long time ago that a group of masked men in Stockholm's city centre went chasing and beating up what the media in their coverage referred to as „Non-Swedes“ - an incident obviously connected to fear and disorientation. I have commented on such misconceptions and misconstructions like „the criminal immigrant“ on my blog thinkbeyondborders.org about a year ago. In this piece, I have attempted to advance the point that while criminal statistics may at times show that the variables „migration background“ and „deviant behavior“ may correlate, there is no causality. And this is a very important fact that the media often blur or omit. The short explanation to this correlation is: crime is mostly caused by social, not cultural factors. The slightly longer explanation is that crime often has to do with social inequality, disempowerment, tough conditions of socialization, and so on. This is exactly what many immigrants went through - and continue to go through while being in the asylum procedure: not being able to choose where to live, difficulties in moving around freely, difficult access to education and finance, maybe no family around or even passed away, never knowing what the asylum decision might bring - all that causes a tremendous amount of stress that can be extremely hard to cope with. This is unfortunate, but a very important context that mainstream media, more often than not, rather obscure than illuminate.⁵⁵

4. Media and Cultural Education

We, then, need media and cultural education to (a) understand said media flows and constructions in order to reflect and de-construct and (b) also to understand how to approach belief systems, values or cultures that are distinct from our own.

What could help here would be an increased engagement with questions of mutual

(cultural) understanding in order to allow for and facilitate social cohesion. This involves questions such as:

- ◆ What are the (media) images that ‚we‘ have of ‚others‘?
- ◆ What are the (media) images that ‚others‘ have of ‚us‘?⁵⁶

and also

- ◆ How do these imaginations come into existence? What mechanisms of representation are at work?

Gust Yep in his essay on „Encounters with the Other - Personal Notes for a Reconceptualization of Intercultural Communication Competence“ writes that

„[t]he citizens of the twenty-first century must learn to see through the eyes, hearts, and minds of people from cultures other than their own. Several important trends of the late twentieth century have transformed the world into a global village: technology development, globalization of the economy, widespread population migration, the development of multiculturalism, and the demise of the nation-state in favor of sub- and supranational identifications. In order to live meaningfully and productively in this world, individuals must develop their intercultural communication competence“.⁵⁷

Having that said, Yep also reminds us that, when conceptualizing such intercultural communication competence, we need to question the assumption of white, middle-class culture as the center or ‚ideal-order‘ against which other cultures are then compared: ⁵⁸„Competence and acceptance from whom? Who decides the criteria? Who doesn't? Competent or acceptable on the basis of what social and historical context? To assume that ... [communicators] negotiate mutual rules of appropriate conduct is to deny the power of ideology, historical structures, and limitations on the file of choices.“⁵⁹

On the move from what Tu Weiming calls „an old world of divisions and walls to a brave new world of connections and webs“⁶⁰, we need „genuine dialogue as mutual learning that we will be able to achieve unity in diversity and build and integrated global community“⁶¹. While the world has never before been so interconnected and interdependent, but of course being far from a monolithic global village, this is especially important, because in as much as this process is characterized by and brings diversity, there is also a tendency towards assertiveness of ones own culture, because globalization also accentuates local awareness, consciousness, sensitivity, sentiment and passion.⁶²

So when (globalized) media worlds increasingly become (intercultural) life worlds,

media education has to become part of essential education, because it is desirable that people are able to competently assess, navigate through and participate in those media-life-worlds.⁶³ In the context of Africa, for instance, Orgeret calls for a „media literacy about Africa“⁶⁴ that will not only allow for critically and reflectively interrogating one-sided and stereotypical representations of the continent and its peoples, but also for a questioning of those aspects that are completely left out⁶⁵. Furthermore, **cultural education** needs to become integral, since the concepts of cultural relativism and cultural sensitivity⁶⁶ allow to appreciate different cultures from within their very own logics, history and contexts, without measuring them against own standards. While *cultural sensitivity* refers to not making any „value judgements based on one’s own cultural values about other cultures’ practices or artifacts (i.e., better or worse, right or wrong)“⁶⁷, *cultural relativism* means the appreciation of the fact that „the differences in peoples are the results of historical, social, and geographic conditions and that all populations have complete and equally developed cultures“⁶⁸. This is also to say that while two systems A and B may be perfectly functional within their own system’s logic, the application of system A’s rules for an explanation or understanding of system B’s workings may be a forlorn undertaking - not because one of the two systems is superior to the other or on a different state of so called ‚development’, but simply because the rulebooks are different. Playing chess on the rules of backgammon will just end up somewhat funny. Fuglesang advances this powerful idea on the very first page of his 1982 book „about understanding - ideas and observations on cross-cultural communication“. He writes: „It is my belief that a culture cannot be justly described in the concepts of another culture. It can truly be rendered only through its own means of expression“.⁶⁹

The university as a place for social and personal development could and should be a forum in which such knowledge is actively formed and fostered. In an educational context, it is especially intercultural pedagogics that can contribute to this mission, if this sub-discipline is understood as aiming for pedagogically intervening in xenophobic, racist, or ethnocentric world views by challenging the norms and stereotypes of the dominant systems.⁷⁰

Endnotes

¹ Adichie (2009).

² See Adichie (2009).

³ See Öztürk (2012), p. 2.

⁴ Wa’Njogu (2009), p. 76.

⁵ Wa’Njogu (2009), p. 76.

⁶ Luhmann (2000), p. 1.

⁷ For an overview of the concept of mediatization, see the editions of Lundby (2014) or Hepp & Krotz (2014).

⁸ See Röser (2007), p. 7 or Paus-Hasebrink (2013).

⁹ See e.g. Hoffmann & Mikos (2012).

¹⁰ See Devereux (2014), p. 19ff.

¹¹ See Devereux (2014), p. 20.

¹² See e.g. Devereux (2014), Asante, Miike & Yin (2014) or Thussu (2009).

¹³ See e.g. Ritzi (2015), p. 5 & 9.

¹⁴ See e.g. Zandonella (2015), p. 5.

¹⁵ See Devereux (2014), ch. 3 & 7.

¹⁶ For a general overview regarding this statement, see e.g. the chapters in part 3 „Global media systems“ of the book „International Communication - A Reader“ (2010), edited by Daya Kishan Thussu.

¹⁷ See Thompson (1995), p. 17 as quoted from Flew (2007), p. 5.

¹⁸ See Hafez (2007).

¹⁹ See Thussu (2010).

²⁰ See Thussu (2010), p. 221.

²¹ See Thussu (2010), p. 230.

²² Thussu (2010), p. 229.

²³ See Thussu (2010), p. 221ff.

²⁴ Quoted from Thussu (2010), p. 227.

²⁵ See Acland & UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2012), p. 8.

²⁶ See Miller (2012), p. 117.

²⁷ See Orgeret (2010), p. 51ff.

²⁸ See Wall (2009), p. 393.

- ²⁹ See Wall (2009), p. 398ff.
- ³⁰ Wall (2009), p. 405.
- ³¹ Hall (2013), p. 1.
- ³² Hall (2013), p. 1.
- ³³ See Stefanowitsch (2012), p. 28.
- ³⁴ See Jandt (2007), p. 57f.
- ³⁵ See Jandt (2007), p. 59f.
- ³⁶ See Stefanowitsch (2012), p. 28.
- ³⁷ See Wa’Njogu (2009), p. 77.
- ³⁸ Arndt (2004) gives similar examples related to the German language, see section 9.
- ³⁹ McIntosh (2014), p. 33.
- ⁴⁰ See McIntosh (2014), p. 35.
- ⁴¹ See Orgeret (2010), p. 53.
- ⁴² See Orgeret (2010), p. 47.
- ⁴³ See e.g. Wasserman (2010), p. 7.
- ⁴⁴ This sentence is inspired by Uimonen (2015), p. 35, who used it slightly differently, though.
- ⁴⁵ See Hoffers (2010), section 4.
- ⁴⁶ See Wa’Njogu (2009) S. 77.
- ⁴⁷ See Eide (2010), p. 66.
- ⁴⁸ See Andreasson (2005), p. 971.
- ⁴⁹ See Sturken & Cartwright (2009), p. 111.
- ⁵⁰ See Sturken & Cartwright (2009), p. 113.
- ⁵¹ Quoted from Yep (2014), p. 341.
- ⁵² Quoted from Yep (2014), p. 341.
- ⁵³ Devereux (2014), p. 191.
- ⁵⁴ See Devereux (2014), p. 191.
- ⁵⁵ See <http://thinkbeyondborders.org/gefangen-in-empathiemangel-und-unverstaendnis-ein-kommentar-zum-grassierenden-fluechtlingshass> .
- ⁵⁶ See e.g. Said (1978) or Hall (2013) for the concept of the ‚other‘ and ‚otherization‘. For a coverage of the topic of ‚other‘ and race in the media, see e.g. the edition of Rodman (2014).
- ⁵⁷ Gust (2014), p. 339.

⁵⁸ See Gust (2014), p. 339.

⁵⁹ Collier (1998), p. 142 as quoted from Yep (2014), p. 339.

⁶⁰ Weiming (2014), p. 497.

⁶¹ Weiming (2014), p. 496.

⁶² See Weiming (2014), p. 499,

⁶³ See Süss, Lampert & Wijnen (2013), p. 122.

⁶⁴ Orgeret (2010), p. 59.

⁶⁵ See Orgeret (2010), p. 59.

⁶⁶ See e.g. Jandt (2007), p. 427.

⁶⁷ Jandt (2007), p. 427.

⁶⁸ Jandt (2007), p. 427.

⁶⁹ Fuglesang (1982), p. 13.

⁷⁰ See e.g. Niesyto (2005), p. 5 or Niesyto (2009), p. 864.

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