

# MEDIATED DAYS AND NIGHTS . INTERNET AND TELEVISION USAGE BY STUDENTS AT ZAYED UNIVERSITY

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## **Abstract**

The students of the title are 20ish, female Emirati students at Zayed University who move back and forth between the traditional Islamic culture of their families and the modernized Western culture they experience through the media and on the campus.

This paper looks at the when, where, and how they use television and the Internet and what they are looking for as they use it. Among the findings are that these women live a highly mediated existence, media occupying more than 9.9 hours on average a day, about a third more time than sleep. They read little, spending as much time on the Internet as they do reading magazines, newspapers and books combined.

Whether mesmerized by the soft glow of the television or furiously following the computer screen, these students are traversing radically different communications pathways than their parents – a generation much more intimately connected through interpersonal communication. Where the barrage of imagery from around the globe ultimately leads these young adults and their society remains unknown.

Can the society navigate the shoals between the old and the new? Will access to global images make this a more secular and Westernized society? Have new ideas and new role models already made an impact? And, what might that impact be? Is it a threat – or not?

These are serious questions for this society as it moves towards tomorrow against the backdrop of a clash between tenets of the traditional culture and that which a modernized communications brings into the nation's homes. This paper seeks to answer some of these questions and frame a discussion of the others.

## Introduction

The students who walk the well-manicured pathways of Zayed University in the United Arab Emirates belong to a generation unlike any other in their nation's history, living at a time unlike any other. In the last half century, the economic landscape of the United Arab Emirates has been transformed utterly. The great dream today is that educated and trained nationals will replace the thousands of foreign professionals now running the developing technology economy. To meet the needs of this vision, Zayed University, with dual campuses based in Abu Dhabi and Dubai, was founded in 1998 to prepare female leaders to help mold the UAE's future. Her students are being groomed to confront a rapidly changing information and technology driven world. The Maine-size country of perhaps 3.7 million needs these students to succeed. Although accurate population and employment figures are unavailable, Emeratis comprise perhaps 15 percent of the population and even less of the private company work force. Expats comprise the bulk of that private workforce keeping the country humming.

Like their print counterparts, broadcast media in the UAE have had a relatively short history. The first black-and-white television broadcasts found their way to the airwaves in Abu Dhabi on 6 August 1969; two years later, PAL color equipment was installed there; Dubai television's first broadcast dates from 1972 (Babbili and Hussain, p. 304). In January 1999, His Highness President Zayed issued a decree creating Emirates Media Incorporated (EMI) to replace all existing broadcast services. EMI, which is attached to the Ministry of Information and Culture, controls six of the country's 14 radio stations and three of the eight television channels. Based in Abu Dhabi, it is run by a board of nine directors, all of whom are nationals. His Excellency Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan (one of the president's many sons), the Minister of Information and Culture, serves as chair (*United Emirates Yearbook 2001*, pp. 232-233). Dubai media is mostly controlled through the Dubai Media Foundation (a arm's government entity) or another more closely regulated government monopoly. Much of today's entertainment programming is Western, though attempts are being made to create content locally.

Television is delivered in multiple ways: over-the-air, via satellite or on cable, offering a surprisingly broad menu of viewing alternatives assembled from across the Gulf and around the world. The UAE had eight satellite-delivered services plus about 30 free-to-air channels in 2002. Because of the country's compact size and relatively flat topography, over-the-air radio and television reach most parts of the country, except perhaps the villages on or beyond the Hajar Mountains to the east. Electronic fare also includes Orbit Satellite Television, billed as the world's first fully-digital, multi-channel, multi-lingual, direct-to-home, pay-TV and radio satellite service, with more than 30 television and radio channels; Showtime Network Arabia, a satellite pay-TV network for the Middle East offering exciting Western entertainment for the entire family; and ART Network, a Pan Arab satellite pay TV network. E-Vision Cable TV, operated by Etisalat, the government-run monopoly telecoms provider, offers a basic service of 75 channels, 33 in Arabic, many in Hindi and English, and several in European languages such as French and German.

Internet usage jumped from 0 to about 60 percent of the population in seven brief years since the sole Internet service provider, Emirates Internet and Multimedia (EIM), began operating in 1995. EIM estimated the current number of Internet subscribers at more than 210,000 and the number of users at about 775,000 in 2002. The International Telecommunications Union (ITU) has described the UAE as the "most wired nation in the Arab world" as well as one of the top nations of the on-

line world (See [http://www.hrw.org/advocacy/Internet/mena/uae.htm#N\\_130\\_](http://www.hrw.org/advocacy/Internet/mena/uae.htm#N_130_) and World Bank, 1999.) Other statistics available on the Internet estimate that the UAE ranked 18<sup>th</sup> in the world in 2001 in per capita internet users and that about 36% of the total population had net access.

The (largely) unspoken quid pro quo of the UAE's new mediated world is that the same information driving the new economy will enfranchise individuals by opening a window on the world. Zayed University students daily enlarge the boundaries of their work, and as they do so they become incrementally different from their mothers and grandmothers with each passing moment. With remote control trained at a television and mouse in hand, these students sit poised to fast forward into a brave new mediated world full of fresh experiences. (See Walters, Quinn, & Walters, 2003.)

### **Methodology**

"Days and Nights" was developed from Nielsen-like media diaries gathered from students in the College of Communication and Media Sciences during 2001, 2002, and 2003. These diaries recorded all media usage. Data included media channel used, when it was used, a start and an end time for use, day of the week, media vehicle, and the purpose for which the media vehicle was used. More than 15,000 lines of data input into SPSS for Windows from the 116 completed diaries. About 32.3 percent of the total diary entries were from 2001, 32.8 percent were from 2002, and 34.9 percent were from 2003. Respondents lived in five of the seven Emirates. About 24.3 percent lived in the city of Abu Dhabi, 8.7 in Ajman; 43.9 in Dubai; 12.1 in Sharjah, 12.1; and 8.3 in Umm al Quain.

### **Results**

A typical student in the College of Communications and Media Sciences was about 20.8 years old. By Western standards she lived with a large family, with about 3.7 sisters and 3.2 brothers. Gen Zeds tended to be middle children among their siblings who ranged in age from about 14 to 23.

ZU were among the most educated in their families. About 74 percent of them had fathers who completed high school or less. About 87 percent of their mothers completed high school or less; only 6 percent came from families in which both parents had graduated from college. They also were among the first of their siblings to attend college. Three in four of these students wanted to attend graduate school.

Students connected to the world in many ways. Three in five traveled outside of the United Arab Emirates yearly many for annual vacations in European destinations. Nine out of ten students reported that their household received a newspaper regularly. The same number had mobile telephones and computers at home. About eight of ten had Internet connections at home as well. (See Walters, 2002).

On a typical day, the average ZU student slept about 6.7 hours, exercised for about a half an hour, socialized with friends for about an hour, shopped for half an hour, spent about an hour eating and speaking with family members, and studied for about an hour. Except for sleep, the greatest part of any given day was spent using media. On that average day, the combined time students used all media was about 5.1 hours. If telephones were counted as part of the total, media usage occupied more hours than any other activity. On any given day, combined reported activities totaled about 20.6 hours. During the school term most of the remaining hours would have been spent in the classroom. (See also, Walters, Quinn, and Walters, 2003.)

Figure 1 Top 20 media vehicles	
Vehicle	Percent of total
www.hotmail.com	7.3
University e-mail	7.0
Al Jazeera	5.1
Dubai TV	4.6
MBC television network	4.0
Landline telephone	4.0
Al Khaleej newspaper	3.4
Mobile telephone	3.1
Abu Dhabi TV	2.9
www.google.com	2.7
www.yahoo.com	2.6
92.0 FM, Dubai	2.6
Gulf News newspaper	2.5
www.msn.com	2.3
Al Ittihad newspaper	1.6
LBC television network	1.3
Al Bayan	1.3
CNN	1.1
Gulf News online	1.0
Kuwait TV	1.0

Among the top 10 Internet sites, the most popular were related to E-mail, search engines, or entertainment. Students averaged 3 plus E-mail accounts. Standard was Groupwise, the university system, a site at which they used their real names. Other favorite E-mail addresses were at Hotmail or Yahoo – where students employed pseudonyms such as xoxoxo80, xoxoxo323, ShoOoOog, or rosycheeks. E-mail sometimes caused information overload. One student reported that she “received a lot of forwards” through her e-mail account and spent most of her time deleting them. Students who turned to *Gulf News* online or *Al Khaleej* online spent less time with the online versions than they did with the hard copy. They were about twice as likely to read a hard copy of a newspaper as they were to go to an online version. (See figure 2 below.)

Figure 2 Internet sites and their primary uses	
Top 10 Internet sites	Primary site uses
www.hotmail.com	E-mail
University E-mail system	E-mail
www.google.com	Search for homework
www.yahoo.com	Search for homework, E-mail
www.msn.com	Chat
<i>Gulf News</i> online	UAE news, regional news
www.cnn.com	News
<i>Al Khaleej</i> online	UAE news, regional news
www.bindubai.com	Chat, E-cards
www.6arab.com	Music, E-mail

The top ten television stations included only one Western source – that was CNN. Students dropped in to CNN for quick headlines but did not linger long. When they wanted in-depth coverage of regional, national, or international news, they preferred Arabic language programming and sources

on Al-Jazeera, Dubai TV, and Abu Dhabi TV. When the war in Iraq began in earnest in mid March of 2003, Al Jazeera and Abu Dhabi TV dominated. BBC was next. CNN was a distant sixth. Despite what promos might shout, CNN was *never* the most watched network for any reason at any time among these students. Abu Dhabi TV leapt to the fore during the most recent Gulf War. Its spectacular on-the-ground coverage helped that channel emerge as a serious competitor to Al Jazeera in the process. (See figure 3.)

**Figure 3**  
**Top 10 Television vehicles and their uses**

Top 10 television vehicles	Primary uses of that site
Al Jazeera (cable or satellite)	News
Dubai TV	News, entertainment
MBC	Entertainment
Abu Dhabi TV	News, entertainment
LBC	Entertainment
CNN (cable or satellite)	News
Kuwait TV (cable or satellite)	Arabic entertainment
Future TV (cable or satellite)	Entertainment
MTV (cable or satellite)	Music segments (Arabic and English)

Many television shows the students watched for entertainment were either feature-length movies or shows on comedy channels such as Paramount. In order, the most watched specific shows were: *Friends*, *Who will win a Million*, *Mad About You*, *Cup of Coffee*, and the *Secret Life*. Other popular television shows included *Ally McBeal*, *Ricki Lake*, and *Montel*. They also watched an Egyptian serial concerned with the machinations of husband with four wives and a Mexican soap opera called *Rosalinda* and. Some reported that they viewed soap operas because the soaps dealt with human relationships, in particular with romance between men and women (Anonymous, 2003). When one student missed her soap, she ruefully recorded in her diary that she “missed (that) Mexican series today.” Many students surfed channels to “spend some time” or “to kill some time.” They also watched women’s-issue programming dealing with marriage, divorce, family, children and fashion. On Friday, students in Abu Dhabi and Sharjah, the two most religiously conservative emirates included in this sample, viewed prayers from the Holy Mosque in Mecca and religious lectures about religion and life.

In 2001 and 2003, television became the principal way to view the world at war. Both the war in Afghanistan and in Iraq worried students greatly, raising issues of family security and American foreign policy toward Islamic states. “I watch the news,” one said “because I can see it with my own eyes.” When the most recent war in Iraq began in earnest in March, 2003, the move to Arabic language media became palpable. Students quickly migrated from BBC and CNN to Al Jazeera, Dubai TV, and Abu Dhabi TV. They looked at interviews with “Arab people, asking them for their opinions about what’s going on ... their suffering.” They watched to see “what the American people did to ... people,” believing that Americans used “tricks and politics to rule the war.” Some turned to television for snippets; then went on the Internet to chat with friends for the “what happened and why it happened context.” One pragmatic student worried that the American stock market was not doing well because “my family has shares in it.”

**Figure 4**  
**Top uses by channel in rank order by frequency of use**

Channel	In descending order of importance
Internet	E-mail, homework, chat, and news
Television	News, entertainment (movie, serial, American TV, and cartoons)

The top use of all media was for retrieving the news. Next on the list was E-mail. Not only was E-mail the most encouraged form of communication on both campuses but it was also a way that students kept in touch during and after the school day. Commonly, students attached pictures of babies, spouses, or soon-to-be spouses and sent them mostly to friends. E-cards also were common attachments; these varied from humor to greetings to announcements. Homework was number three in the list of all uses of media. Homework was not the product of either conventional reading or pulling books from shelves at the university library. (See figure 4 above and 5 left.)

**Figure 5**  
**Top 10 uses of all media in rank order**

Use	As percentage of total
News	17.6
E-mail	16.4
Homework	5.8
Music	5.0
Chat	2.8
Soap operas	2.0
Movies (mostly TV)	2.0
The Holy Quran	1.3
E-cards	.5
Cartoons	.4

Because of the university's emphasis on technology and the students' interest in it, the Internet has become the number one source for study, research, and doing homework. Students searched sites such as Google and Yahoo as well as distinctly Arabic sites such as Ajeeb instead of using the card catalogue or checking out a book from the campus library. As a break from doing homework, these students often made Internet side trips to explore the world at large, monitor the news, and play in game rooms at sites such as Yahoo.

In addition to keeping connected by using E-mail, students looked to MSN and hotmail for chat.

Although mostly reserved for friends, students also made use of chat rooms to meet new people. If

**Figure 6**  
**Minutes per session by channel**

Channel	Mean
Book	60.2
Television	54.1
Magazine	42.9
Internet	36.6
Newspaper	32.0
Radio	30.4

they had sufficient technical experience, some created their own rooms to express opinions, hopes, and fears and to create dialogue with Emirati contemporaries. Just like many other college-age students around the world ZU students enjoyed music. But, they were just as likely to download music from the Internet at sites such as [www.ozq8.com](http://www.ozq8.com) as to listen to a CD. Most viewed vinyl records as interesting, but quixotic, antiques.

Mean minutes per session varied by media. (See figure 6.) The highest number of minutes per session

**Figure 7**  
**Minutes per session by specific**  
**Internet vehicle**

<b>Vehicle</b>	<b>Mean time in minutes</b>
<a href="http://www.google.com">www.google.com</a>	45.5
<a href="http://www.6arab.com">www.6arab.com</a>	44.0
<a href="http://www.yahoo.com">www.yahoo.com</a>	42.9
<a href="http://www.ask.com">www.ask.com</a>	39.6
<a href="http://www.hotmail.com">www.hotmail.com</a>	33.3
<a href="http://www.ajeeb.com">www.ajeeb.com</a>	32.1
University E-mail	31.2
Gulf News online	28.9
<a href="http://www.aljazeera.net">www.aljazeera.net</a>	26.3
<a href="http://www.alshamsi.net">www.alshamsi.net</a>	25.9
<a href="http://www.zu.ac.ae">www.zu.ac.ae</a>	24.5
Al Khaleej online	23.6
<a href="http://www.bbc.com">www.bbc.com</a>	23.5
Al Bayan online	19.6
Khaleej Times online	19.6
BBC online	19.3

was for Book; the lowest was for Radio. Television viewing typically comprised longer sessions than reading a newspaper, listening to radio, or doing homework at an Internet site. (See figure 7 below and 8 next page.) Much of this difference was because students viewed television in long programming blocks that included hour-long shows, back-to-back comedy programming, or feature-length movies. Movies, in particular, increased the mean time. Students tended to watch Western films such as *Gladiator*, *Pearl Harbor*, *Titanic*, *Gone with the Wind*, and *The Mummy*. One honest student noted that she enjoyed “the late night English feature film although the timing was very inconvenient.” Translated that meant she stayed up until 2 a.m. watching on a school night.

Internet and television use varied according to day of use. Sunday was the most used day for Internet; Friday was the most used for television. Friday was the least used day for the Internet; Tuesday was the day least used for television. Spearman’s rho of rank order for usage days between the two was -.357. (See figure 9 below.)

Daypart usage showed patterns as well. Typically students used television and Internet during these times:

**Figure 9**  
**Week patterns**

Channel	Day of week	Frequency	Percent of total channel frequency
<b>Internet</b>	Sunday	764	15.6
	Monday	747	15.3
	<b>Tuesday</b>	<b>788</b>	<b>16.1</b>
	Wednesday	833	17.0
	Thursday	566	11.6
	Friday	455	9.3
	Saturday	740	15.1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>4893</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Television</b>	Sunday	504	13.1
	Monday	501	13.0
	Tuesday	477	12.4
	Wednesday	582	15.1
	Thursday	634	16.5
	<b>Friday</b>	<b>669</b>	<b>17.4</b>
	Saturday	479	12.5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3846</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\_ Television was mid-afternoon (3 p.m. to 5 p.m.) and evening activity (9 p.m. to 11 p.m.).

\_ Internet usage took place all the time. It was a morning (8 a.m. to 9 a.m.), noon, afternoon (2 p.m.) and night (8 p.m. to 9 p.m.) activity. Sometimes chatting stretched into the wee hours of the morning.

### **Discussion**

At the most basic level, the “Days and Nights” shows patterns of television and Internet usage among

selected female college students. Media are a bigger part of their average day than any other activity. Television is used for entertainment and for looking at news, mostly from an Arabic/Islamic perspective. As children of the digital age, these students are much more likely to use the Internet than to read. The computer, which delivers messages in many audio and visual ways, has become a multi-purpose appliance. It brings the world into their homes, their bedrooms, and their study space. They use the Internet morning, noon, and night.

More generally, “Days and Nights” also describes advantaged college students who could be living in a media-rich environment anywhere in the world. In this, these findings largely agreed with the conclusions of the Pew Internet and American Life Project in determining that:

- The Internet helps build and maintain communities on line.
  - People bring their “off-line” lives on line.
  - The Internet has moved off the desktop and into (the users’) lives ....
- (Regan, 2002).

Like their US counterparts, ZU students have taken “advantage of the Internet to play, explore their world, try out different identifies, express themselves through personal webpages, develop relationships with friends and family, and become socialized” (Katz. 213; See also Cherny, 1999 from Katz p. 213).



Although sharing these common denominators, ZU students also exhibit media-use patterns that are a product of their life view. In no small sense, they live split lives. One foot rests in a highly mediated Westernized environment; the other is anchored in traditional Arabic/Islamic culture. For them, the Internet provides a brief respite from the rigid dogma of traditional life – the role of a woman, an overwhelming duty to kith and kin, a fatalistic view of life, and an “other” imposed hierarchal order. For the moments they are on the Internet, these melt away. The Internet allows a breathing space in which they can be as anonymous as they choose. Sometimes they create a new self that is reflected in an online persona complete with a pseudonym integrated into an E-mail address. This is also a space in which their parents, most of whom lack technological and English language fluency, would find difficult seas to navigate (Rahimi, p. 110).

Besides the obvious technological and language hurdles, the Internet’s distinctive “vocabulary” also creates an expression largely unfamiliar to their parent’s generation. Lacking contextual information such as body language, tone of voice, or physical surroundings, this “Net lingua” has subtleties and emotional cues that their parents do not understand (Katz, p. 64). For the ZU students, the Internet embodies Zamenhof’s Esperanto, distancing them from those who are “Net illiterate.”

The Internet also has helped Zayed University students develop new forms of relationships. In other cultural contexts such as the United States, some observers believe that Internet-inspired, peer-to-peer relationships will reduce civil and community involvement. They feel that the exchange of information among individuals and groups online might produce a range of unhealthy dyadic relationships (Katz and Rice, pp. 4-5). This observation appears culturally bound. Internet communications such as Instant Messaging, Chat, and E-mail help ZU students develop (and reinforce) peer-to-peer oriented relationships less hierarchical (and traditional) than those in either their families or in society at large (Katz, p. 212). In the UAE context, these students are fabricating associations that could lead to more independent, albeit mediated, lives (Rahimi, p. 110). The Netville that they have created, which is implicit in the *how* and the *why* of their patterns of Internet usage, is liberating. It grants them personal autonomy from outside control and influence.

The Chat room and E-mail provide a space in which they can conduct social relations overcoming physical and psychological distances implicit in their sheltered environment. As social beings, they have a strong need to be part of large groups (Sproull and Faraj, 1995; Katz, p. 201). For most, the Internet facilitates interaction more than it fosters introversion (Walters, 2002). That is because these students lead sheltered lives anyway, often shepherded in public by younger male siblings. The new technology allows them to explore multiple aspects of their lives without chaperons of any kind, expanding their personal possibilities, and liberating them from cultural expectations (Katz, p. 266). This freedom helps foster a new self that can interact with (and to) mediated dyads and groups of their own choosing (Katz, p. 266).

Though the Internet and television offer advantages, they also limit face-to-face time. Because a day only has twenty-fours, the more students are involved with the media, they spend less time with the physical community, including that which their families provide (Walters, 2002). It is certainly true that this generation is less likely to discuss family and community life at the family Majlis. The physical Majlis, which developed from Bedouin traditions, was a safe and welcoming place where people could gather to talk or share a special meal. Though many modern houses have such a room for women, ZU students are less likely to visit them than their mothers. That is because they have turned to other less hierarchical and more personally relevant and thus individually welcoming

gathering places. The virtual Majlis of the Internet complements and expands offline relations with circles of friends. Some even create their own meeting rooms, motivated by individual interests and by a desire to express those interests in a new way (Katz, p. 199).

Although students use the Internet for conversation and information retrieval and delivery, shopping largely remains the domain of real life (Flanagin and Metzger, 2001; Lohrn, 2003). The reasons are several. Zayed University students like to go out with friends and sisters even when escorted by brothers, are concerned about both privacy and security on the Internet, and usually do not have credit cards. The limited availability of home mail delivery for online purchases is another effective curb.

Even though the Internet plays a major part in their mediated day, the role of television looms large. It is not possible to make the observation that this generation watches less television than the previous one because many of their grandparents and parents grew up without television. But it is true Zayed University students have become “virtual voyeurs” as they inspect a potpourri of lifestyles and images of sexuality from distant ports such as France, India, Mexico, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Those who worry about the potential effect on society from virtual voyeurism need remember that such media and its imagery are relevant as life change agents only if they are used. Without use, only the potential remains. That’s because, as Johnstone has said, “The media can have little or no impact on persons who have no use for them. ...Media fare is selected rather than imposed, and ... particular media offerings are chosen because they are meaningful to those who choose them” (1974, p. 35). And exposure to mass communication comes only because someone is seeking something of personal value in a particular media vehicle (Dervin, p. 261). Today, ZU students are making those choices, which are different than those of their parents, daily.

### **Conclusion**

ZU students media usage reflects the preferences of those who are seeking independence and exploring their lives, but who are also shuttling between two distinct worlds. Presented with a Western style of thought embodying the value of "individual distinctiveness" in many of their mediated encounters, they are also daily reminded as they return home of the learned "interdependence" ever present in traditional Arabic/Islamic society (Nesbitt, 2003).

In the evolution of their way of communicating and in their life view, ZU students have developed patterns of communication. Changing these developed patterns would require a monumental communications failure – or a heavy-handed government or parent. That is because what they have chosen to see, watch, or listen to has proven useful to them (Miller, 1956. See also, Walters & Turk, 2002). These choices, which help them juggle complex information-processing situations, are becoming woven into the fabric of their lives.

Over the long term, the mediated environment that bombards them with information and in which they exist may have far-reaching consequences. As the United Arab Emirates maps out its future, traditional culture and that represented in the modernized communications world to which they have access must collide in a marketplace of ideas; this collision will force this Arabic/Islamic society

either to examine issues fundamental to continued development. Either they will move forward or they will turn back the clock.

One key issue that must be examined is that of world view. In a Western “to do” culture, a person defines himself in terms of what he does. In the United Arab Emirates, a person defines himself in terms “to be’s,” that is in terms of tribal and family ties and on community (Willett, 2002). Some posit that incremental steps can produce profound change over time. Such change *is* possible if no constraints exist to prevent it, if a person perceives more social pressure to change than not to do so, if that person’s emotional reaction is more positive than negative, and if that person perceives that he or she has the capability to perform the new behavior in several different circumstances (Fishbein, 1977; Gerbner, 1973 & 1977; Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975). Certainly these conditions are met on campus, but whether they will continue being met outside the walls of the university is a mystery. No one knows how the UAE’s citizens will actually confront the future when faced with stark choices between old and new; no one also knows how much these young women actually value the social, cultural, and spiritual paths that their parents and grandparents have taken.

The United Arab Emirates seems at a crossroads at that pathway between old and new. Perhaps the country will use education to cut new roads leading to the future. Perhaps she will find a middle ground combining the best of the past with that of the future. Or, perhaps she will revert to a past with more familiar boundaries. No one knows for sure. That uncertainty is a part of the grand adventure in which the United Arab Emirates and her citizens are now participating.

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