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Introduction

One of the most important preoccupations that socialists mind are always challenging with, is that what contributions the mass media can have in the third world countries? Irrespective of its negative roles and other functions that can have in many other fields, we are going to recognize its positive and constructive roles in both political and economical development.

Undoubtedly, we cannot expect that the media should have the same function as well as have in the liberal developed societies. Nevertheless, despite of a few restrictions that are applied in some countries, we think that if they rightfully implement their duties, they would have the most important role in the development process.

In this research, firstly, the media situations in the third world countries will be studied and our means from the mass media expression will be cleared.

In the second step for recognizing the media task work in improving the development process in the third world communities, we have to give a definition of the political development that is the same in the most of societies, and the majority of political science researchers reach consensus about it too.

In the next step, we will introduce the vital ingredients of a political system, which its constructive parts are near to our definition of political development.

Moreover, in the final stage with pay attention to this reality that the officials applied limitations are not ignorable, we will examine the mass media roles in improving of ingredients in which are preconditions for the political development in the third world countries. Anyway as aforementioned, our primary premise is that, if the mass media constructive roles in brushing up political development in the third world countries figure out, they will welcome intensively without serious resistance.

In the other hand, with globalizing of the information and satellite program broadcasting, the absolute control on the media performance is not practical. Therefore, the governments do not

have a solution except from acceptance of the mass media roles in their countries in shaping the new political system. Under these circumstances, they should try to manage the media functions in their territories by attention to their interests in this field.

1- Mass Media in the Third World Countries

Certainly, without understanding the real situation of the media in the third world countries, we cannot analyze its functions in the development process, and having recommendations for upgrading its roles in the third world countries to achieve their goals in both political and economical courses. This reality is not deniable that the development of the mass media various dimensions in these countries are at a very embryonic stage. Therefore, firstly, we have to study the media situation both in the global and developing countries; in this regard, the experiences of developed societies are instructive.

We Should study the media roles from different angles. However, we concentrate our attention on some limited issues in this research and side away other unimportant subjects partly.

It was only in the 1920 s-according to the Oxford English Dictionary-that people began to speak of the "media", and a generation later in the 1950s, of a "communication revolution".(Bruke, 2006: 1). Therefore, the notion of the media with its special characteristics that now are familiar to us is a new concept that need to the new strategies to management and utilization from its opportunities in the twenty-one century. For this purpose, we should have enough knowledge about the new media instruments applied in the communication revolution and somewhat are out of states control.

One of the most important and complex of the communication instruments is the global network of the internet.

With the Emerge of the Internet, there were extended possibilities of learning throughout life, and there were claim that the World Wide Web, if access were open, would serve for many as a "university without walls" even that it would eliminate the classroom (Walzer, 1995: 252).

The internet is a sphere that can involve virtually all levels of the political world. Simultaneously, from the officials who are broadcasting their policies via websites, to the mass media that are interpreting these messages on separate websites, to the citizens sitting at their computers and absorbing Internet contents.

Given that the mass media institutions and their output are vital to the public sphere, the pursuit of progressive media policy remains of utmost importance.

Today many decisions, which governments face, require a degree of knowledge or even expertise far beyond the grasp of most citizens. In many countries, citizens, in turn, are increasingly withdrawing political classes. Mass media can play a key role in enabling citizens to monitor the actions of incumbents and to use this information in their voting decisions. This can lead to government that is more accountable and responsive to its citizens' needs. It is widely believed that information and knowledge is the key to development process. The Internet facilitates, classifies and enables the exchange of information, knowledge and news. The information can vary from local news to business or education developments to health, and therefore help enhance the standard of living of its users or viewers. Rapid growth of the Internet holds substantial positive effects on developing countries. The transition of information to electronic media is making information resources of the world available to more audience. The Internet has a major effect on the methods, the knowledge and information distributing among the consumers. There is no doubt that online computer use is widespread and growing. The census of people using Internet is growing and this is the case everywhere in the world, although the rate is very different among the developed and developing countries. Internet has not developed throughout the world in a uniform way. How many users and how many hosts are connected to the Internet are the two most widely used indicators of development of this emergent medium. The idea of free media is one that does not labor under censorship or restrictions on its ability to report, analyze and comment on public affairs-it's

"watchdog" role-and is generally accessible to most people most of the time. In developing countries, apart from government control or censorship, the principle restriction on public access to the media is cost, particularly in relation to new media like internet and satellite programs. Beyond such issues, limited sources of information - or restricted ownership of a number of media sources (particularly in relation to government) - has considerable potential to limit the range of information and ideas that might be made available to the public. Diversification of media ownership has become a critical issue in many societies with the potential for or actual concentration of media ownership. More conventional, however, there is alliance between media owners and politicians, in which there is both across over of interest and influence, and it is common for particular media to openly campaign on behalf of particular politicians or parties.

The issue of media diversification has been one that has not only troubled states generally, but it has troubled developing countries in particular.

There has long been a concern on the part of many developing countries that they have little control over what is said about them or from within them, to wider global audiences. Anyway, these countries worries are reasonable. Because global news media outlets are entirely owned by super power countries, and largely located in the US, further concentrates both the ownership of the global news media and its perspective. This in turn restricts the capacity for communication, which in turn limits the right to meaningful free speech.

As a whole access to media has asserted as of importance to the promotion of civil and political rights, particularly in the case where certain relevant opinions are perceived to be marginalized or censored.

One of the most important issues in related to media is freedom of speech. It is great point that freedom of speech cannot implement without requisite preconditions. Plainly, in this regard mass media instruments are very essential.

Freedom of speech, then, has evolved from being a simple right to express a particular view in a public place, to a much more complex and nuanced debate about ownership, control and "gate-keeping" or censorship, technology, cost, quality and quantity of information and, perhaps most of all, access. Freedom of speech and its relationship with the mass media is widely recognized as being fundamental to contemporary politics and essential to an open political society, yet the balance within it remains contested and for many controversial. Given the centrality of this subject, the contest of ideas and interests over this subject is itself one of the points upon which contemporary politics turns. The way in which societies, and governments on their behalf, decide these questions speaks centrally to core issues of informed public participation, official transparency and accountability. How a society addresses elaborations of the first principle human right of free speech, then, is a central determinant of that society's political development.

Nevertheless, in addition to some obstacles that media face with them in the third world countries materially and legally, the culture of utilization from media capacities is not institutionalize among political parties and whom access to media instrument like Internet. So some times they print and report some news that are secret or rumor that incite people's motivations to participate in illegal protest demonstrations that results to street violence, like events that happened in Iranian post-presidential election in 2009. Some reformist parties regardless to both Iranian crucial positions in the world and peoples substantial turn out in the presidential election, accused Iranian government to irregularity and fraud. Then those untrue statements result to unrest and violence in Tehran and overshadowed massive turn out of peoples in the election. In a whole analysis of what happened in the post-presidential election in Iran, we should say that unfettered freedom of media owners and not respect for every regime fundamental values and interests and other egregious violation of media regulations could result to calamity, willingly or unwillingly. Anyway, in these fields, there are number of

serious drawbacks that must be regulated to avoid of misusing of media capacities (and consequent damage) in untrue ways.

Anyway, irrespective of main challenges that the third world countries face with them in the media fields, to some extent, politicians make much of their strategies for modernizing government, by using these new technologies across the world. Undoubtedly, the third world countries can predict plans for utilizing of media technologies concerning modernizing state that those schedules can pave the ways toward development process for mentioned countries.

Under an exclusive division, mass media can obtain three functions in related to government:

- Electronic service delivery: Most of the effort, money and political attention available for electronic government are devoted to the provision of services on-line to citizens and businesses through the telephone, the personal computer or the digital television.
- Electronic democracy: New legislatures are using electronic voting system in their chambers, and there is some interest in on-line consultations with citizens.
- E-government: Less attention has been devoted to digital support for policy-making, decision-making, group work between ministers and their junior, senior civil servants working on policy formulation, development and management, and with policy advisers who are contracted to provide confidential policy support.

In addition to three parts of functions, because the main finding of the communication studies shows that people played fewer roles than expected in the political system, Internet can increase citizen's collective influence over governmental decisions in the political processes particularly in the third world countries.

Media are use to add new information to human knowledge and keep on upgrading it. Ignorance cannot eradicate without adequate information supply. The overall development is directly related to education. Media enable the spread of education through conventional as well as unconventional methods.

Mass media have also played leading and guiding role in regard to people and role of reflecting the public opinion in regard to states. These functions of media help to establish democracy or improving it in the third world countries. Using of media in a democratic polity creates critical awareness among the people. The media may not be able to perform these functions unless the access to them is ensuring to a large section of our population. Understanding the effectiveness and health of contemporary political systems, requires an appreciation of the media's role in general, and of the most influential mass media in particular: television and internet. Clearly rapid growth of the Internet holds substantial positive effects on developing countries.

So this question is remaining that whether or no third world governments can facilitate those services to a majority of their citizens, which should be answered in separate researches.

2- Political Development

For considering the mass media contribution to improving the political development in the third world countries, we should give the indexes that are indication of the political development. Therefore, we will introduce the vital ingredients of a political system, which its constructive parts are near to our definition of political development.

Political development is a complex notion, one that has many competing conceptualizations. To many, it is primarily seen as a process, while to others it is seen as an end in its own right.

We do not have the same definition from political development concept; nevertheless, some political theorists were trying to present a few elements that are vital components of political development process. It is clear that every definition have pros and cons for itself. However, if we classified and summarized these main ingredients that are involved in developed political systems, we would achieve to democratic systems that encompass those factors.

The idea of political development have increasingly begun to take into consideration non-material qualities, such as notion of human right, personal fulfillment, self-determination, and

access to political participation and representation . For this reason, there is increasing movement toward widening the development index, to consider aspects of "human welfare" as well as more conventional concerns such as governance, transparency and accountability.

It would seem, then, that there is at least a nominal relationship between democracy and political development. In this, it is useful to recall the point that the original definition of democracy was rule by the people. The relationship between civil society and government has been proposed as an indicator of the democratic health of the state. (Kingsbury, 2007: 147).

It is broadly held that the most desirable form of political organization is democracy. Like motherhood, almost no one argues against the positive value of democracy. Given a free choice, the individual members of a political society will invariably choose a political system in which their voice is heard as an equal participant in the political process.

For better or worse, democracy is also one of our most pervasive and all-purpose hurrah words. The powerful publicity extol it, the vast majority support it; few people will publicly admit to being against it.

The concept of democracy has an evocative rhetoric, which embodies so many of our desire for the good society. That is, democracy might not obtain universally or be universally the same in its application, but its key principles are universal. In relation to democracy and processes of democratization, recognition and acceptance of civil and political rights is perhaps the key marker of liberalization, and demonstrate the extent to which transition from an authoritarian or non- democratic regime has taken place. Beyond this, conceptions of civil and political rights are a reliable indicator of the extent of consolidation of democracy via the necessity of their application to allow basic democratic conditions. In that there can be claimed a standardized understanding of the meaning of "democracy" and that variations of it do not undermine its key principles, democracy can be said to have a potentially universal quality.

There are various interpretations of what constitutes civil and political rights, but the UN Declaration of Human Rights is the most broadly supported and widely adopted version, with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights have signed by most countries (UNTC, 2002). In this Declaration, there are 30 articles outlining people's human rights, but the central and arguably most important principles are the right to life, liberty, property and security of person(s), freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman treatment or punishment, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, and freedom of expression and opinion and assembly.

The democratization of civil society has to do with the development of a democratic culture or mentality within the context of everyday life. At the level of theory, civil society has a particular relationship to the public sphere. In brief, civil society constitutes the socio-cultural preconditions for a viable public sphere.

In the realm of human needs, adequate nutrition and shelter are necessary condition for survival, but there remains a question as to whether they are sufficient.

It is a reality that political freedom (that other elements of the democratic system is defined in its framework) could only be gained after and as a result of political development in the frame of democratic system. Undoubtedly, without formation of democratic values in every society, we cannot expect to experience political freedoms. In other words, democracy is a necessary precondition of political freedom. Freedom based on equality, which can most suitably occur through a broadly participatory, representative and accountable process. The question then becomes how can this best be realized, and what conditions must prevail in order for this to happen?

Often discussion about normative models of government defaults to notions of "democracy" or "democratization". It is generally assumed, at least in Western societies, which "democracy" is the single most effective means of ensuring that the wishes of a society are most suitably represented and

supported. Indeed "democracy" is generally the single most effective form of government.

The term of democracy is taken to mean a form of rule in which citizens either act as the policy- making authority (direct democracy) or is represented by others to make policy on their behalf (representative democracy). In both cases, democracy is, or should be "the political regime where the will of the people becomes the law of the country". The former tends only to exist in small or closed societies, while the latter is the more widely applicable model. The issue of participation might also be included in such a definition, providing citizens opportunities to both stand for election as representative and to express their views outside the formal policy-making or representative-election process.

The link between political development and civil and political rights is a basic one. At one level the presence of and respect for civil and political rights indicates that the political community in which they exist also respects its citizens as valued members of political society who should be free to participation in political life and who should not be restricted from political participation. This society also offers certain guarantees to its citizens, especially in relation to the application of law. Then the democratic system with its ingredients could be the criterion of political development, that we will consider mass media in relation to its vital component (political participation) in the next step.

3- Mass Media and Political Participation

Mass media with obtain the situations that under those circumstances political freedom such as freedom of expression, civil society, freedom of press and freedom of choose be assembled, can enhance political participation. In this regard, access to media has asserted very importance to the promotion of civil and political rights, particularly in the case where certain relevant opinions are perceived to be marginalized or censored.

Overwhelming, this implies the need to have a vibrant civil society, which can be said to include a free and questioning media, an active intelligentsia and non- government organizations. Undoubtedly, without formation of democratic

values in every society; we cannot expect to experience political freedoms. Freedom based on equality, which can most suitably occur through a broadly participatory, representative and accountable process. The democratization of civil society has to do with the development of a democratic culture or mentality within the context of everyday life and this issue cannot be done without help of mass media.

Therefore, mass media can play a key role in enabling citizens to monitor the actions of incumbents and to use this information in their voting decisions. This can lead to government that is more accountable and responsive to its citizens' needs. Today many decisions that governments face require a degree of knowledge or even expertise far beyond the grasp of most citizens. However, in many countries, citizens, in turn, are increasingly withdrawing from political classes. Under this circumstance, mass media can make a difference among the people to have participation in the power. The problem is that the rhetoric of democracy, which celebrates the formation of popular will and the power of the people, must also live with the insight that the majority may not always choose the enlightened path. Plainly as mentioned, development of mass media increases the level of education and free flow of information among the people and de-monopolizing of access to communication instruments by the arrival of the Internet. Hence, these events improve people's knowledge about their governors and electoral nomination and apply the reasonable ground for right choice.

However, the dynamics of democracy are intimately linked to the practices of communication, and societal communication increasingly takes place within the mass media. In particular, television and internet have gained a prominent position within the political systems of the modern world. Concerns for democracy automatically necessitate a concern about media. Therefore, a literature, however, is emerging which focuses attention on the importance of the so-called fourth estate of government in the policy process.

In the other hand, the media functions would not summarized to some extent, but also this process helps to governments to strengthen their legitimacy principal. Because, according to some commentators, institutions are or quickly become meaningless without popular legitimacy. That is to say, for institutions to function properly there need to be checks and balances, in some cases as competing elements which nevertheless find an equilibrium between the institutions and the system of checks and balances (smith, 2003: 109). So in this regard, governors can take advantages from media technologies capacities for awakening from up and down of their legitimacy factors in the society. Clearly, people participation index in the political power is one mean for measurement of government legitimacy among the people. So in this regard the media vital role in strengthen of political power legitimacy is not ignorable by encouragement of the people to take participate in the political power process.

Clearly the political participation is essential in the democratic system and other factors are secondary to main aim of the democracy be realized. In the other hand, considering of all elements of democracy will take the more time, our attention will be concentrated on the mass media contribution to improving of political participation in the third world countries as a main factor of democracy system. The rudimentary question that here should be answered is that how media can improve the people participation in the power as a symbol of formation a real democracy?

Generally, there are number of serious actions that media with taking help from them can improve the important democracy system characteristics, namely, political participation in the democratic regimes:

- A) Trying for encouragement, the people and political leaders to tolerate each other choose and opinion and respect for the majority choose. Anyway, democracy is not correspondence with prejudice. There is always the ominous dark side of democracy; it dose not ensure peace and light. Under some circumstances the media role in training people via informed them, will be clarified. Only a democratic state can create a

democratic civil society; only a democratic civil society can sustain a democratic state. In the one hand, if the state is too weak, it cannot foster democratization of civil society. In the other hand, if it is too strong, it becomes too interventionist; without a viable civil society, the state becomes too all encompassing. In the other hand, in the case of representative democracy, which is exclusively the practiced type at the state level, citizens must have the capacity to vote for candidates of their choice, without fear and any barricade. Attendant to this, citizens must have free access to information about and from candidates and other sources of relevant information, the freedom to speak or otherwise communicate on issues they deem relevant, and the freedom to assemble with others to discuss such matters.

- B) Planning for open and free debates among the electoral nominations to deliver their schedules and point views about various issues, but only under special subjects and without account to marginal topics (as something which happened in during of presidential debates in Iran in 2009). Anyway, this is the main duty of media that apply the situations, which ideas and viewpoints of electoral nominations challenge in the space without insult. In the other hand, the transition of information to electronic media is making information resources of the world available to more audience. Therefore the best way to guarantee on-line involving of citizens in decision-making processes consists of introducing dialogue tools in official democratic processes and thus to provide regular and full access to the legal public information, especially about constitutional rights of citizens.
- C) Trying for elimination of any discrimination against women and some political and religious minorities, which their right for elect and elected is not recognized in some third world societies. Anyway annihilating of traditional wall in this field is not practical as soon as possible.
- D) Trying for simplification of people presence in the political power decision-making process by Tele-democracy blessing.

Nevertheless, nobody can deny the substantial role of the media in the supplying of the new opportunities for consulting with people or at least with their elites for governments to make the right decisions in the politic process. It is obvious that the role of the mass media is not limited to consulting, but also its role extended to other areas.

Governments by absorbing the right information from their societies, that reflects the people viewpoints about their government performances, and giving a development story about their activities to the people, can take the mass media to reconstruction and improving their legitimacy principals among the people. It is clear that if people do not justified about their political leaders performances, they would protest against them and overthrows them from power. Without popular legitimacy, institutions are or quickly become meaningless. That is to say, for institutions to function properly there need to be checks and balances, in some cases as competing elements which nevertheless find an equilibrium between the institutions and the system of checks and balances.

Clearly, there are many physical and socio-economic barriers to equal access, especially in the third world countries that don't allow to them take advantages from new technologies facilitates. Barriers to using of the Internet are including: no computer or terminal is available, do not know how to use, expensive and then various other factors that their close explanation will take more time. Therefore, predictions about Tele-democracy in these countries cannot realize unless the third world countries overcome to their problems by investment in these fields.

Conclusion

Considering relationship between mass media and political development was the primarily aim of this research. Most of political science researchers believe that democratic system ingredients are the indications of political development in every society and democracy is the system that those components can realize in its matrix.

Certainly, there is a mutual relationship between mass media and democracy. In every society that democratic values were dominated, mass media can develop. In addition, if mass media increase freely and cautiously, the democratic values can enhance.

Mass media via training citizens and making interests for them can increase people participation in the power, which, is the essential of the political development component. Nevertheless, it is accepted point that the third world countries face with the fundamental challenges that make barricades for them in the utilization of media capacities in their societies. Then for utilization of new services of the mass media such as Tele-democracy (and its side effect of privileges) they should overcome to those problems. Hence, the situation of mass media is now more complex and contradictory than its predecessor. Anyway, constant with international affaires there is the keen desire among the third world countries to set up a new independent media, which would be capable of preventing the scourge of authoritarian structures and their gross misconducts from human rights. Although the new independent media can change the statues quo of official monopolizing control on the mass media which do not allow to other opponent parties to deliver their viewpoints about domestic events. Anyway they should be endeavor to harmonize their programs with the law to averting any intrusion of dominance powers into their own domestic affairs and preventing from breaking the guidelines of legal systems and protection of its identity and preventing from ethnic, racial, and religious conflicts - increasingly rife in so many parts of the third world countries.

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The Mass Media and Political Development in the Third world Countries

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***Abstract:** Undoubtedly, the both opportunities and challenges that all countries about the media contributions in their countries face with them are not the same. In this regard, we must distinguish between the democratic developed countries and the undemocratic developing countries, in their utilization from the mass media capacities. Most investigations have been done in the developed countries, but unfortunately, the third world societies are depriving from high-level studies in the communication sciences. Anyway, the weakness of the third world countries in this field is not deniable. The premise of this research is that these countries could not understand the real capacities of the mass media in their societies, for this reason always their thoughts about the media contributions are negative. The monopolizing control of the state institutions on the media activities comes out from this approach. Conversely, we believe that the media can have positive and constructive roles in both political and economical development processes across the third world countries provided that we have right analysis and information about our society, and our decision-makings will base on reality, without any misapprehensions. By attention to this point, the main question that here posed is that, what are the contributions of the mass media to the third world countries in the enhancing of political development? It is the most important question of this research about the mass media influences in the third world countries that will be examined in this research extensively.*

Key words: Mass media, Third world, political development.

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government, in an establishment of justice. Certainly, the initial work on e-democracy and political participation was exuberant in its hopes for a betterment of society.

It is believed that, if this phenomenon will be realized, we would have returning to Grecian democracy that had been done directly. However, there are many different viewpoints about media capacity in apply the situations for direct democracy. Anyway, there still are many causes of disagreement involved in the question of how to hold the direct democracy. In the fallow, we consider the pros and cons idea about formation of direct democracy.

Hacker and Dijk (2000) as define digital Democracy is:

"The use of information and communication technology (ICT) and computer mediated communication (CMC) in all kinds of media (e.g., the Internet, interactive broadcasting, and digital telephony) for purposes of enhancing political democracy or the participation of citizens in democratic communities"

Along with this process, writers such as Rheingold (1995), Toffler (1995), Negroponte (1995), Rush (1997) and Dyson (1998) saw the new digital technologies as key to the renewal of direct democracy and citizen empowerment.

Proponents of tele-democracy believe that new information technologies will make direct democracy possible in some developed countries.

The proponents of digital democracy believe that the use of Internet technologies will serve to enhance participation in governmental affairs or "transfer democracy to the demos" (Norris, 2001).

There were still others however, who saw the Internet and its associated applications as inherently dangerous to democracy, reducing the responsibility for collective action (street, 1992) and eroding social capital and community ties (Etzioni, 1999; Galston, 2003) and for reducing of the accountability of the government (Wilhelm, 2000).

Some theorists have argued that the Internet is destroying community groups and voluntary associations that are necessary for democratic process to succeed.

In this regard increasing people participation necessitate the enough and right information supply for them by media. There are consultation capacities with majority of people for passing some bills and resolutions in some countries parliaments to some extent but it is not general in most of developed and developing countries. One means of pursuing this new purpose is World Network of Internet. These is not the new sort of democracy, but only it is come back to real democracy, namely, direct democracy, that apply most of people presence in the power by eliminating former restrictions (In the fallow we take account to this issue in the separate part extensively).

4- Mass Media and Tele-democracy

As stressed above, the developing of media makes an upheaval in the political systems and challenges the traditional patterns. Moreover, in this information age, it is appropriate to explore the ability of advanced technologies, and particularly Internet capabilities, to enhance citizen participation in government. The Internet has major effects on the methods, and distributed knowledge and information among the consumers.

One of the important issues that posed by communication and political science researchers is that what influences mass media can have in the democratic models of government in the new circumstances of international community. Therefore, the fundamental issue is whether the Internet decreases or increases political participation and community involvement, fostering more diverse and better-informed citizens and mediated communities with greater social capital.

It is clear that mass media assemble new opportunities for people participation in the power and enhance their monitoring role to avoid of political leader misguides in the power. The basic motive power of promotion in a direction of e-democracy is the aspiration to make democracy, the government, a legislature, the constitutional courts and political processes more open for each member of a society and by that to give to everyone chances and opportunities of active participation in