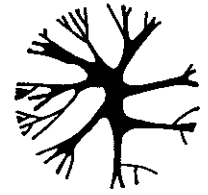


COMMUNICATION RESEARCH TRENDS



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A Latin Perspective on the Media: Gender, Law and Ethics, the Environment and Media Education

Edited By: William E. Biernatzki, S.J.
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This issue of *Communication Research Trends* represents the fruits of a second collaborative effort between *Trends* and *Revista de Ciencias de la Información*, the communication journal of the Faculty for the Information Sciences of Complutense University, Madrid. For its 1993 special issue, *Revista* published Spanish translations of four earlier issues of *Trends*. They were accompanied by six specially commissioned articles by Spanish and Latin American scholars presenting their perspectives on the same topics. Now *Trends* is bringing you English language abridgements of the six new *Revista* articles, together with their extensive bibliographic references. We hope in this way to encourage greater mutual awareness and dialogue between today's two leading arenas of communication scholarship: the more long-established one where English is the dominant language and the more recently developing, but vigorous, sphere in which publication is in Spanish and Portuguese.

Our thanks are due to the Publication Board of *Revista de ciencias de la información*, President, Dr. Javier Fernandez del Moral, Dean of the Faculty of Information Sciences, Complutense University, and especially to the Director of the Editorial Board of *Revista*, Dr. José Luis Piñuel Raigada. Special thanks also are owed to Rev. José Martínez de Toda, S.J., Gregorian University, Rome, without whose liaison efforts neither of these publications would have been possible. — *CRT* Editor

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I. Women and Men in the Latin American Media

By Mercedes Charles Creel, Iberoamerican University, Mexico City

Origins of the Gender Perspective

Serious study of the relationship between women and the mass media in Latin America began in the late 60s and early 70s, at a time when women scholars were becoming increasingly aware of the patriarchal bias in history, philosophy, and sociology which ignored the contributions of women. Most studies of the 70s and early 80s extended the prevailing Marxist themes of exploitation and subordination from treatments of social class to considerations of gender. Latin American women were seen as the ultimate victims, at the bottom of a pyramid of international, national and family exploitation, generalized as, "the triple subordination of Third World women."

The earlier writing on gender proclaimed transnational capitalism to be the chief oppressor of women, through economic, political and ideological means. More recently, the focus has been on the ways the patriarchal ideology has tried to legitimate social and economic oppression (Araujo 1975). The first studies concentrated on the ways female segregation in education, economics, religion, and other dimensions of social and cultural life caused this ideology of repression to be internalized and accepted by most of the population. The past twenty-five years of research have confirmed the media's role in this repression, a role continually reinforced by other socializing institutions.

Initial Concentration on the Message

Mass communication media did not begin to flood Latin American life and consciousness until the late 60s and early 70s. Until then, writing on gender was relatively mild: analyzing women's consumer preferences, for example, or studying romance novels, cartoons and women's magazines to look for the ways they portrayed women, for their ideological and cultural points of view, and for their economic and political contexts.

Studies by Michèle Mattelart (1977) and by Santa Cruz and Erazo (1980) identified those media as imperialist instruments justifying female subordination, promoting consumerism and otherwise maintaining the status quo. These two works have served as landmarks for subsequent investigation. Many, from diverse theoretical perspectives, have concentrated on

advertising messages aimed chiefly at women and employing stereotypes which reaffirm existing structures (Franco 1986a, 1986b, 1986c; García Calderón 1980 and 1993; Pinilla 1990). They also reveal how the media convey a deceptive image of Latin American women as white, tall, beautiful, blond, slim, and high in social status. Although Latin American media portrayals of women since the mid-1970s have begun to include non-traditional roles, they still proclaim male dominance and feminine defenselessness (Velleggia 1987).

Realization of the increased economic importance of soap-operas (*telenovelas*) stimulated interest in research on melodrama during the 1980s. However, since Latin America was by then one of the principal producers and exporters of the genre, the model of transnational imperialism no longer could be used. Research now focussed on the text itself, the structure of melodramatic discourse and its relation to popular culture, as well as to consumption patterns and its significance for different audiences. Studies have shown that soap operas have moved away from their earlier, family-oriented stereotypes of women, which had been described by Barros (1974). Without completely breaking with traditional values, the soap operas of the 80s introduced more interpersonal conflict and freer, less submissive, more independent female protagonists; although some observers note that the old images eventually triumph (Sarques 1983).

In the late 80s and early 90s, soap operas became deeper and more serious in subjects, conflicts and problems. Scripts and subjects were more carefully handled, and more diverse images of women appeared (Alfaro 1993). The line of investigation centered on the message has acquired many nuances. They show that the media establish a universal image of what it means to be feminine but also that there are many ways of establishing it. These studies have been fruitful in describing the images and stereotypes about women circulating in diverse genres and formats, as well as changes over time, but they also reveal that the media still reproduce, justify and confirm some of the conditions for women's subordination.

Accompanying the study of contents is an increasing tendency to study reception. Earlier studies often assumed that all audiences, male or female, but

especially female, were passive. Newer studies brought a more complete understanding. In a typical contemporary research project, women participants consider the images of women's identity proposed by the media contents and rank their uses and gratifications, creating their own "correct" model of the ideal woman. (Muñoz 1988; Bustos 1992).

Research Centered on the Receiver

Since the mid-1980s researchers have stressed that the viewer must be seen as a central player in the process of communication, rather than a passive victim of the mass media. Studies centered on reception tried to understand how the social subjects affect and adapt the messages in complex series of interactions, as co-producers of meaning (Mattelart and Mattelart 1991).

A large number of studies focus on the process of symbolic interaction to understand the relation of women to the media. This calls into doubt the power of the broadcasters and moderators, implying that the entire message becomes subject to questioning and challenge by the receiver. Although the media can set agendas, the possibility of many readings determines the meaning of the text. The sender and message still can create conformist social identities. The ways women receive messages, their reasons for watching, viewing habits, and other factors enter into the negotiation of meanings.

Orozco (1992a, 1992b) suggests that these studies help reconceptualize reception: 1. by showing that the reception process continues beyond actual receipt of the message, as the audience continues to process it and to be conditioned by it; 2. by recognizing that the process is subject to many factors: economic, social, cultural, demographic, etc.; 3. by stressing that it involves an holistic process of interaction among the subject, the medium, the genre, the message, the culture, and the institutions of society; 4. by noting that messages can be shown in many ways which define the assumptions they contain: passive or active, critical or non-critical, individual or collective; and 5. by understanding that the receiver is a multiple social agent, in her culture, belonging to various institutions, and having a defining history and combination of experiences.

The scenario of everyday life is especially important in this line of investigation, especially in the case of women. They already have an established dialogue between media contents and their estimate of what they need for their lives. While receiving media messages, they process them interiorly, establishing a clear role for television reception, along with housework, in their

daily ritual (Alfaro 1993).

Most reception research has been qualitative, almost all ethnographic, depth interviewing, observation and life histories. Quantitative methods are little used, and not highly regarded by many investigators.

Two themes have been prominent: female reception of commercial messages, and female reception of alternative messages. Most studies have focussed on adult women. Other studies have dealt with media reception by women in poorer sectors of society.

Feminine Reception of Messages

Reception studies have deepened understanding of the culture of Latin American women in regard to their use of the media as well as of the significance of media contents, and they have established benchmarks for seeing the world that is portrayed and the problems in it. Such studies transcend the individual subject to describe from women's perspective the conformity of actors in social groups, in a cultural matrix, with a common worldview and way of life. Individual women draw on this matrix to develop their ability to confront, accept, criticize, analyze and restructure the messages to fit their reality, interests and particular needs. The interaction between media and all aspects of the receiver's life becomes a necessary part of such research (Hernández 1989; Edwards 1989). This context is dull for many poorer Latin American housewives, as Paula Edwards has described for Chile: "The material scene in which life passes is also oppressive: marginal villages are almost colorless; neither trees nor forests. There exists a certain uniformity in this poverty stricken, dusty, dry area" (1989).

Reception studies have revealed the habits of female media consumers. Various studies show that radio is always present in poor families and in all stages of an adult woman's life. Poor women have little schooling and lack social legitimation because of their absence from the electronic media. Despite the importance of radio in these women's conditioning, television appears to act as a force which integrates and structures the other communication media (Edwards 1989).

On the other hand, there are primarily iconic feminine alternatives for amusement in periodicals, in the *fotonovelas* (photographic comic strips), and magazines, with their visual images, big print and color. Women first browse, look, and then proceed to read the text (Muñoz 1988).

Some of the characteristics of women's media reception which have been encountered are:

a) The home context

Women's consumption is home-oriented and closely related to the communication media (Edwards, Cortes and Hermosilla 1987). Most media exposure occurs in the home, except for cinema, but even that can now be accessed at home through videocassettes. Practically all the households in Latin America, however humble they seem, have radio and television, inserted into the family's private space and waiting to be used in the daily life of the housewife. Their use by women is a nearly reflexive act, part of the daily ritual and responding to a series of diverse motivations: escape from an uninteresting and unsatisfying reality, depression from excessive solitude, a need for entertainment and diversion, or simply rest from household chores. Television permits the satisfaction of unmet needs, but in the context of being a woman in the poor sector of society.

On the other hand, different contexts are found to co-exist within the home for the reception of different messages. At least three models have been found which act as context for women's reception of television programs (cf., Edwards 1989, and Charles 1993): individual, family, and unequal.

>>**Individual reception.** Television for women is primarily shown in the mornings and they watch it in solitude, mainly for companionship and avoiding loneliness. This tendency is greater among women who identify themselves as exclusively devoted to housework. Television and radio are there all morning, "talking" to women as they do the housework—even in another part of the house.

>>**Family reception.** During the afternoon, the woman hurries to get everything done so she can watch television with the whole family in the evening. Afternoon broadcasting therefore serves as company while many tasks are being performed. In the evening, it is generally the woman who selects the programs, although sometimes after discussion with other members of the family. During the program the family talks about the program, or carries on other discussions or exchanges.

>>**Spousal reception.** According to a third model, the husband chooses the program—usually at night or during weekends. Negotiation over program selection depends on the state of the husband-wife relationship and on the prevailing "rules" of interaction between them. Often, the husband watches alone, while the wife enters and leaves, attending to other chores. It also is common for a group of the husband's friends to come

to watch sports, especially football, and the wife is totally excluded, except for silently serving refreshments.

These three models reflect the diversity of viewing by women, their life circumstances, and intra-family relationships. Power relationships are revealed by control of program selection, control of the remote control device, and by what activities are done while the television is on. Sometimes, the woman dominates, but at other times program selection depends on negotiation. Women characteristically interweave media reception behavior with other roles and activities, but the men use media differently and more intensively. For example, they may go for long periods without watching television but want no distractions or interruptions when they do watch it.

b) Educational media use

Women get great educational value from the media. This is principally from books, at first, but as their understanding of different media develops they come to prefer radio and television. These media do little to give them competencies they do not already have, but women have more contact with them and greater belief in them. Women use media contents as an "apprenticeship," especially those who move from the country into the city and need to learn the rules of city life and to feel more at home in new surroundings (Mata 1991).

Many use radio and television to broaden their horizons, to see other contexts, other realities, other people, as well as other ways to live and to cope with problems. This allows them to contrast what they see and hear with their own experiences, in their relatively constricted world, and to understand public affairs better (Muñoz 1988; Edwards 1989; Téllez 1990; Mata 1991).

Hermosilla (1994) found that for some women the biggest value of media contents is to gain useful information for exercising their rights and bettering their lives. Soap operas and mini-series are used for socialization and understanding, as well as for entertainment and relaxation, according to many studies. The shows give them occasions to reflect on their own lives and compare them with other ways of living, as well as giving them reference points by which to judge similarities and differences, successes and failures. They provide models for social integration, avoidance of problems, and other behaviors (Hernández 1989; Parra and Parra 1993). Mata (1991) stresses that radio shares in this function by providing women with history to enhance their effectiveness and to internalize a coherent worldview and self-image.

c) *Likes and Preferences*

Women prefer, and are more exposed to radio and television than are men, who are more inclined towards newspapers and magazines (Edwards 1989; Hermosilla 1994). Preferences in style and format also differ within media. In radio, women prefer talk shows that give practical advice and love stories. On television, they prefer soap operas, musical programs and miscellaneous other programs, but not news or sports. In print media, they prefer women's magazines, romances and magazines about art (Varios 1993; Edwards 1989). Macassi, in Peru, found that only ten percent of women watched or listened to the news, while ninety-seven percent of men listened to it (1993).

The media have a seductive effect on women of lower socio-economic sectors. An Argentinean woman said of radio, "I say that if I miss the radio I miss everything. There are times when my husband turns it off to eat, but there are certain things I always listen to.." (Mata 1991). A Chilean woman remarked, about television, "I am glued to the screen, watching all of these pretty things. We pass the time...we cannot free ourselves from it. We center ourselves in the soap opera, living the thoughts of the characters and we are spoiled. The television shows us products we do not need at all, but which we want.." (Edwards 1989).

Women prefer television because many of their uses of media are best realized there. It gives companionship for home life. It helps tranquilize the nerves. It helps control children and avoid the risk of the streets. It substitutes for friends who cannot be present. It becomes necessary for physical and emotional survival, and thereby a profound commentary on contemporary society (Edwards 1989).

d) *Socialization of contents*

Research has shown that reception is a social process, involving symbolic interaction among the individual, her family and the larger society and culture. Messages go out to a "mass" audience, but are received in a particularized social milieu. The original message becomes a mere context for the multiple communication interactions that occur subsequent to its reception.

Alfaro (1990) found women's experience of soap operas (*telenovelas*) to fit this model. No matter how cheap, bad or stupid the story, the shared experience of viewing soap operas stimulated critiques, commentaries and interaction which created and strengthened relationships. What was important was not the flawed text but the dialogue and interaction to which the shared text gave rise (Alfaro 1990).

e) *Influence on daily life*

Media influence women's identity, subtly, pleasantly, invisibly, and with the women's complicity. They serve as a reference point for Latin American women. The demands of their traditional roles hold women in the home and largely control their trips outside the home as well. The monotonous world of the wife and mother often generates conflicts and problems. This situation can be deconstructed for her by television, radio or novels, creating a relationship with a world of drama in which problems are always solved, and which has nothing to do with her home life.

Research has helped to clarify the importance of this interaction, and of how the response to media messages crosses over into aspects of women's diverse real-life roles. Many criteria women use to evaluate themselves are traceable to media stereotypes. Many of the rules by which female identity is recognized are defined by the media. Even dreams, criteria of significance, the definition of reality, are woven from multiple information sources which include dramas, soap operas, women's magazines and advertising. The images of female identity shaped, at least in part, by the media, may conflict with the reality of home life.

Studies of reception certainly are incomplete. We still do not know how women process the images the media give them, which elements they keep and which they discard, which serve as factors of socialization, or of reflection, or serve as the material of dreams and fantasies.

Reception of Alternative Messages

Reception studies not only help us understand what messages succeed with audiences but that research also can affect the production of alternative messages destined for feminine audiences. The content of these messages has, for years, centered on complaints, denunciations and the elaboration of proposals for improving women's condition. The predominant subject has been diverse aspects of the oppression of women--beatings, violence, murder, physical and moral damage. The alternative media have tried to sensitize women to how terrible their reality is (Varios 1993).

But reception studies have shown that the audience looks to the media for entertainment, escape and pleasure, not as a way to analyze their reality or their problems. Certainly the reality of home life for Latin American women cannot be seen more clearly in media images than it can in daily life. But these images allow women to dream, escape and think that life can be lived in some other manner.

Reception studies have shown that the commercial media allow women to live other lives, through the

characters' trials and problems--lives that are more emotional, fun, complete and powerful in every way. This is very important for women. As a prominent feminist movie critic said, "people go to the movies to have fun, not to suffer; therefore, the viewer needs to believe that happiness is real, we need to dream.. We have many problems every day, so when we watch movies, we want to lose ourselves in the characters... cry during dramas, play a part, and later, rejoice in the happy ending" (Parra and Parra, 1993).

In addition to focussing on the developing role of alternative media, recent studies are showing how the media help construct new gender identities and how media products are received. The studies of alternative media require a shift towards understanding the public's point of view, their demands on the media and their relationship to the media. Consequently, many researchers have studied factors in the success of alternative messages.

The study of reception begins with constructing a mechanism to obtain feedback. An example was the seminar organized by the Asociación de Comunicadores Sociales Calandria (ACSC), in Peru, which assembled representatives of six associations from different countries of the Andean region to present the results of their studies of women's reception of alternative media products. Each project revealed strengths and weaknesses and was critiqued according to various criteria to establish a basis for creating successful and efficacious educational products (Varios 1993).

These alternative products are usually used by movements and social organizations formed for women, mostly dating only from the 1980s. The production of their messages was from two perspectives: determining the actual educational utility of existing programs, and analyzing the production process to try to realize maximum utility in the future. The ultimate objective was to develop technical training and professionalism as well as women's self-expression. The messages, generated by the women themselves, allowed them to speak to society in terms it regarded as legitimate and thus made them able to carry on dialogue in society (Alfaro 1993). In the first stage of the process women gained self-confidence and a sense of their own value and learned to speak and communicate effectively in public, especially to the poor. This implies the professional preparation of women as speakers, correspondents, leaders, reporters, actors, etc., so they might serve as the voices for people's organization.

Women look for information and orientation about subjects that touch on daily life, but they also need to

deal with different focusses and to refer to other contexts. Women want to see something on the media different from daily life. The customary denunciations do not attract them because they already know their situation. This is clear in research carried out in Bolivia, over television reporting of the situation of Aymara women. Denunciatory reporting was found to lack appeal to them, even though women were impressed at seeing Aymara women on TV and hearing their language on this medium (Quiroga, 1993).

Research also has shown that women do not like media products that are considered strictly educational, and those programs that end happily have a much better result and greater impact (Aneca 1993). Women use radio and television programs to foster family dialogue with their children and husbands. Alternative messages create a context in which women can discuss points of view and problems with each other and with other family members (Aneca 1993; Varios 1993).

But it is clear from the research that organizations mediate the reception of messages. Themes related to feminine problems were better received among women belonging to social organizations. This should be the principal treatment of the subject, along with the conceptualization of whether it is educational as opposed to play, and what relation it has to pleasure (Varios 1993).

This actually produces a reconceptualization that accepts pleasure and entertainment as integral parts of the message. This is the case of the photo-comic (*fotonovela*), *Manuela*, produced by the Manuela Ramos Feminist Movement (*Movimiento Feminista Manuela Ramos*), in Peru. It omitted schematic discourse and denunciation, which cast women as victims, in an effort to use this genre as a vehicle for alternative messages. This permitted identification with the people to iron out problems creatively, but also to create dreams, fantasies and new alternatives for the relationship between the sexes.

Today, Latin American alternative productions are attracting larger audiences and becoming more professional, aiming to enter the commercial media with reasonably competitive products, which will continue to carry their message. New possibilities are opening up for delivering alternative messages on the commercial media whose quality is enhanced by research. Reception studies, in particular, are helping develop effective alternative models of communication for additional social protection for women and for helping women face diverse social and political demands, especially that of equality between the sexes (Varios 1993).

Media Education Programs

Some media education programs have dealt with the relation of the communication media to gender. They are especially directed at women and now try to avoid demonizing the media or considering women as victims of media messages. Their main objective is to increase women's negotiating ability by increasing their reflective and critical processes and turning them into active receivers. They use a process of group deconstruction and reconstruction of the feminist proposal for the communication media, the sense of life that they contain, as well as the images of women which they hold up as ideal models.

The tendency of modern societies is to reduce people's reflexive, analytical and critical capacity, but media education programs try to raise these capabilities. To do so, they look for spaces for collective reflection and analysis of the languages and contents of the media as well as the process of reception by the participants and of their habits of exposure to the media.

Particularly important in this field has been the work of CENECA (Comunicación y Cultura para el Desarrollo), in Santiago, Chile. The methodology of this institution takes as its point of departure a diagnostic study of television reception by poor women which shows that the relation between women and television is constant, involving and intimate. The CENECA methodology, characterized as ludic, active and participative, seeks to improve the critical capacity of the participants in front of the television and to get them to demand a programming and structure which responds to their interests and needs (Edwards, Cortés and Hermosilla 1987).

Generally, media education tries to work through flexible and participatory methodologies, to achieve the following:

a) To create spaces for reflecting on the relation which women have with the mass media. The success of this requires participants to see themselves as the receivers of media communication, to analyze the role of the media in their home lives, and to figure out what messages about women are being sent out across various groups and languages as well as what significant positive elements are lacking from media contents and outlooks.

b) To create a mechanism to explore and expand the creative and expressive capacities of groups, to create a group dynamic which permits the reevaluation of the positive elements of their own culture and to stimulate

the creativity and expressiveness of the participants, as well as processes of self-evaluation

Through these programs of media education, in addition to analyzing the relation of women with the communication media, space is created for them to analyze group problems, in their capacity as women and members of a social and cultural group, and thereby to evaluate their collective situation.

Conclusion

After 25 years of reflection about women and the communication media there has arisen, in the last few years, a new line of research which relates the theme which occupies us to one of greater breadth: the need to question the role of the media in regenerating and deepening democracy in Latin American societies.

From this perspective, women's movements seek to intervene in the politics of the communication media so that they come to reflect a new position and image of the Latin American woman in agreement with her activity in recent years in social, economic and political processes. The media have retained a reduced and simplified view of women in their role in private life. The projection of the new feminine identities in the media is considered to be a requirement of modernization and a nodal aspect of communication for development. Likewise, it requires a major change in the media to accept women in management positions in the determination of media contents and images (Hermosilla 1994).

Also, it has been proposed that the media include information useful for orienting women in the most diverse fields: informal educational communication on the themes of health, living, community life, ecology, nutrition, relations with partners, sexuality, law, labor, recreation, culture, etc. (Hermosilla 1994)

Some stress that the transformation of women's situation--a necessary question for development and democracy--can only succeed in confrontation and dialogue with men. The relation between the sexes has to be changed to do this, stressing complementary aspects, questioning inequality but respecting differences. Democracy requires egalitarian and comprehensive dialogue between men and women, questioning what ought to be reflected on and fostered in the mass media. Inequality must be found and denounced, but also forms of exchange, new models of being man and woman and communication perspectives which enrich plurality should be in the media's messages. It is important to construct new models for men and women that permit the construction of egalitarian home, political, social, and legal lifestyles

(Alfaro 1993).

Certainly, the studies reviewed here show the need to understand the special relationship of the media to their feminine publics, something which men are only beginning to recognize.

A lack of parallel studies about men poses one of the major hindrances to understanding and defining with precision the significance of mediation of gender roles of male and female media receivers. Such studies also are needed in order to weigh the other variables that act as mediating elements in the processes of reception, such as culture, social strata, age, education, etc.

There are many other unexplored zones about the subject, as well, which require study in the light of recent findings to clarify the interaction between media and its public as differentiated by gender. The current path which analysis of the feminine situation has taken has permitted a better understanding of the significance of the woman receiver in a Latin American context, where the media intertwine many social and cultural aspects that conform to daily life. But there is still a long and thrilling road to travel.

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II. Public Communication and Gender: Research in Spain

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Interest in gender-related research among communication scholars in Spain has been increasing in recent years, paralleling increasing concern about gender in public institutions and developing social movements to improve the status of women. These changes all are influenced by Spain's increasing integration into the European Community and the more intensive interest such concerns have attracted, for a longer time, in many other countries of the

Community.

A substantial body of sociological work already exists concerning the social situation of women in Spain. The Institute of the Woman (Instituto de la Mujer 1990) has collected the findings of research on this topic done from 1984 to 1990. This theme is an especially valuable one for the exploration of many sociological processes which go beyond gender and are important for understanding basic questions about communication, as M. Martin Serrano (1986: 19) has

discussed. The present article is intended to review the convergence of social and scientific interest which have affected, both positively and negatively, the presence and representation of women in the Spanish communication media. Men's studies, arising from a different tradition, are less developed in Spain. Typically "men's studies" have tended to be concerned with gender identity crises arising from the historic progress of women in social life.

The Encounter Between Social Policies for the Promotion of the Equality of Women and Communication Policies

The "public communication" critique stresses the reproduction of the cognitive and cultural bases of the discrimination women suffer, but it also holds out hope that public communication can contribute to constructive changes in this area, as represented by the statement of the World Conference held in Nairobi, in 1985, on the occasion of the United Nations' Decade of the Woman (Estrategias de Nairobi., 1987). These views reflect studies at the end of the 1970s, which regarded communication media as the most important determiner of society's attitudes towards women (cf., M. Mattelart 1981:36). But the more recent developments recognize that social policies in general, not just communication policies, have been equally responsible.

In UNESCO

UNESCO sponsored its first World Conference of the International Year of the Woman in Mexico, in 1975. Although UNESCO's action programs had begun much earlier, the 1975 Conference was the catalyst for increased interest in the status of women by the world's mass media. The Conference particularly stressed the need for greater opportunities for women to move into professional and decision-making roles. But UNESCO's capabilities were limited, among other reasons because of its own tactics, which reduced the sphere of communication laws to a mere instrument and created a counterproductive spirit of confrontation. The 1980 World Conference for the UN Decade of the Woman, held in Copenhagen, acknowledged these limitations and inserted communication policies into its agenda. Accordingly, the "Program of Action for the Second Half of the UN Decade of the Woman" took cognizance of the fundamental interrelation among communication, change of mentality and knowledge, and development--abandoning some of the earlier confrontationalism. However, even the 1980

Conference neglected to address its message to the "priority principles and strategies" of the communication sector, which had evolved out of international debate during the preceding decade. Omitted was significant interest in problems of international communication, advertising, new technologies, planning and development of communication infrastructures, democratization of communication, and the professional methods of communication specialists. Consequently, the proposals lack the vigor needed to articulate well with communication policies.

Despite their public statements, the institutions which debate national and international problems of communication did little to integrate and operationalize policies in favor of women. Neither the MacBride Report (MacBride et al., 1980), nor the International Program for the Development of Communication (IPDC), the two principal outgrowths of the debate on information and communication of the 70s, achieved adequate recognition of the existence of women as a group with identity, needs, rights and special problems, vis-a-vis communication media. IPDC was restricted by its dependence on the initiatives of individual governments which had little sympathy with the needs of women, although the Program itself took the lead in calling for a project relative to women, in its meeting of March 1985.

In The European Community

The experience of the European Community (EC) was similar to that of UNESCO. After approval of its social action program, in 1975, the EC promoted legislative means to specify and broaden the sphere of application of the principles of gender equality, embodied in article 119 of the Treaty (Comision de las Comunidades Europeas 1992: 5). It at least recognized "the communication media industry as one of the key sectors able to influence public opinion" (ibid., pg. 23). The Third Program of Action (1991-1995) ratified that position and strengthened its position.

The Commission would secure a fundamentally larger representation of women in the communication media industry, as also in the institutional and professional environment of those organisms; and, in addition, development programs and innovative supports intended to combat traditional clichés and to promote a positive image of women and men. (ibid., pg. 24)

In Spain

As Spain moved into democracy it came under increasing pressure to bring its legal structures more into line with those of other Western European countries, as well as with various articles in its own Constitution of 1978, on the principle of *no discrimination by reason of sex*. In consideration of the historical context, significant changes were accomplished, but by December 1986, a report of the Institute of the Woman (*Instituto de la Mujer*) said that the laws were still inadequate to ensure that women could attain a position of equality. Both material and cultural obstacles also impeded the movement of women into traditionally masculine professional and political roles.

The protagonists of gender equality have therefore concluded that success depends upon developing a global strategy aimed at even more profound changes. This strategy has been embodied in two recent "Plans for Equality of Opportunity for Women" (1988-1990 and 1993-1995). The new strategy embodies lessons learned, both within the country and internationally, over the past twenty years (Comisión de las Comunidades Europeas 1992: 6). It also offers opportunities for further research to establish a basis for practical policies.

Research on Public Communication and Gender

Tendencies of Research on Women and Communication

Public institutions and social agencies started their efforts for equality by relating them to effective communication policies. Soon, however, they began to study women's roles on a broader scale. The image of women projected by the media continues to be one of the themes of greatest interest to social scientists in many countries, led by Margaret Gallagher's pioneering study for UNESCO (Gallagher 1981). Many other international studies followed on specific aspects of the relation of women and the media. We shall look at some of the Spanish contributions to studies on this theme.

Feminine presence and interests in media contents

The Spanish studies on this topic almost necessarily link presence of women in media with the ways they are represented. Their non-appearance may be as indicative of a problem as is their misrepresentation. Many studies analyze the media contents for such things as the ways social roles are represented, then they compare the analysis with data from secondary sources about the social situation of women--

employment of women in each economic sector, for example.

Concha Fagoaga and Petra María Secanella (1983: 60) found a heavy predominance of masculine images in the daily newspapers. A major contributing cause of this was felt to be the lack of women in responsible positions, not only in media organizations but also in government or private institutions which channel news to the media. Furthermore, there is little indication that women are taken into account as audiences. The upcoming generation of women, with heightened career aspirations, will find little media content which supports those aspirations. A conspiracy of silence about women's contributions to society seems to dominate the agenda setting in much of the world's media. Despite their many practical contributions to development projects in the Caribbean Basin, one analysis of journals from that region shows that, in practice, "the communication media have denied their existence."

Social representations of Women

Studies carried out in many parts of the world, up to 1985, reveal commonalities in the ways women are represented in the mass media. [Editor's Note: the sources for this section were not clearly specified in the original.]

- **Social roles:** With few exceptions women's roles are stereotyped as the traditional roles of housewife, mother, sex symbol, etc. They almost always are shown as subordinate to men. With disturbing frequency their image is unreal, and sometimes derogatory and prejudicial.

- **Media:** Press, radio, television and cinema, worldwide, do not give either particularly negative or positive impressions of women, despite broad cultural differences. The only exception may be small-scale, local media, which seem inclined to present a more favorable image.

- **Communication product:** The kinds of media product do not present significantly different images. Advertising is most conservative, with news and entertainment only a little better, and even educational programs leave something to be desired.

- **Socio-cultural differences:** Different cultures do show some significant differences in representation. Countries with a firm commitment to the social equality of women definitely display a more positive image.

- **Diachronic changes:** The period covered, 1980-1985, was too short to expect much change, and little was observed. Some longer-term studies also suggest little radical change.

Some studies maintain an "optimism with reservations." Although the changes they perceive are slight, at least they are in the right direction. Representative of this view, internationally, is the study of the changing representation of women and work in Canadian and U.S. magazines (Robinson 1983). Other researchers think that important changes have occurred, but that they are changes in the consciousness and communicative practices of women themselves, not in the media.

At the beginning of the 80s, determinants of authentic changes in favor of women were assumed to be structural conditions of society, as much as the mass media. It was assumed that revolutionary social change would bring about gender equality. But historical experience has shown this conclusion to be less and less obvious. Regardless of socio-economic structure, the status quo seems to be altered only when women unite to exert their influence.

In general, the image of women projected by the media is a traditional one, lagging behind the changes which actually have taken place in women's social situation. When the new roles and images are portrayed in the media, they often are juxtaposed with the old, traditional roles and images, in ways which vitiate their influence on the audience.

The agent of the most successful changes in feminine representations in the media tends to be public institutions or other social agents which promote the equality of women. Sometimes images are changed by new advertising policies oriented toward the new market perceived to be emerging among professional women--"the executive woman", "the woman of today."

In Spain, most studies of the image of the woman in the mass media have been done since the second half of the 1980s, when the UN Decade of the Woman (1975-1985) already had ended. In general, their conclusions are similar to those of the international studies.

An early study of the image of women on Spanish TV was that of M. Martín Serrano (1974), published in France. The author's main purpose was to study the vision of the world projected by television, but in doing so gender was taken into account. The data for the study was drawn from television narratives in the programming of 1970 through 1972. In a later study, the author contrasted the television image of the woman with that projected by the Spanish press (Martín Serrano 1986). That study, too, was broader in concept than gender issues, dealing with social change and change in public communication. In a more recent and specific study (Martín Serrano 1993), the same

author compared the images of women in advertising and in live programs on Spanish network television.

Another pioneering study, from a semiotic perspective, was done by Gérard Imbert (1982). He concentrated on the image of women on radio during the period of transition to democracy (1976-1982), as it was reflected in the radio page of "Elena Francis". Later he turned to the same theme in radio and cinema advertising of that same period (Imbert 1990).

Carlos Olmeda Gómez (1989) has published a bibliography on the broader picture of women in art and literature during the mid-1980s. The following are some of the major Spanish studies of the image of women in different sectors of the mass media:

Television programming in general, including information and entertainment programming, have been addressed by C. Frias (1987), B. Navarro (1984), M. Martín Serrano (1974, 1986, 1993), Rita Radl Philipp (1992), C. Fagoaga (1993), and M. A. García de León (1993).

Soap operas (telenovelas) have been singled out for study by A. Martínez (1987).

G. Imbert (1982) and R. Franquet (1986) have studied general radio programming.

M. A. Galán Quintanilla (1980) and M. Martín Serrano (1986) have dealt with the press.

G. Imbert included the cinema with radio in his 1990 study.

N. Garreta (1987) surveyed school textbooks.

M. R. Garrido Arilla (1983) studied general information magazines.

A. Perinat and M. I. Marrades (1980), as well as M. Domínguez (1988) concentrated on women's magazines.

In their book on women and advertising (1985) María José Barral González, et al., covered newspapers, magazines, television and even wall posters.

M. L. Balaguer (1985), and M. Martín Serrano (1974, 1986, 1993), have both dealt with women in television advertising.

G. Imbert included women's images in radio advertising in his study of social images during the transition to democracy (1990).

Uses of Media and Their Repercussions on Women

M. Martín Serrano's broad study (1982) of the uses of social communication by the Spanish was a major contribution to the understanding of how distinct groups, including women, in the Spanish population above the age of 15 years consume the mass media. His research covered TV, radio, the daily press, the sports press, general magazines and women's

magazines.

Although it resembles the "uses and gratifications" model, his approach uses a separately-derived model of his own, called "social mediation." For example, he uses an entirely different set of categories of "functions" than the North American models would use (Martín Serrano 1982: 8-9).

In Spain, E. Boliches (1987) studied women's uses of radio, TV, and "the press of the heart" (*prensa del corazón*), in the region of Valencia. Miguel Roiz (1986) studied the communicative uses of space by the women of the Leonaise Mountains.

In Latin America, this tendency has achieved its greatest success in the study of the feminine audiences of telenovelas, film and radio, especially as mediated by village conditions and domestic space (Nora Mazziotti 1993; Sonia Muñoz 1994). Some of these studies of reception and uses of the media by women include more global studies of the institutional production and circulation of the media contents, and narrative analysis of those contents (Jorge Gonzalez 1992; Norma V. Iglesias Prieto 1994).

The influence of transnational communication on Third World women has attracted special research attention. A. Santa Cruz and V. Erazo (1981) studied this in relation to women's magazines, and M. Mattelart (1981) with regard to advertising aimed at female consumers. The latter study found strong attempts to associate products with values of progress and modernity. Mattelart (1978) previously had studied the influence of transnational audiovisual media on the political behavior of Latin American women.

No equivalent research was encountered in Spain.

Feminine employment in mass media

The presence of professional women in the mass media industry can, in itself, be expected to influence all other aspects of the relationship of the media to women, as the European Community's statement of its "third program" for community action states (Comisión de las Comunidades Europeas 1992: 23). But, in the early 1980s, relatively little was known, on a worldwide scale, about the participation of women in media institutions. As Margaret Gallagher has pointed out (1981: 79-105), the early studies revealed extreme underrepresentation of women on the higher rungs of all communication organizations. Almost uniformly, women in media work receive lower pay than men, and some suffer flagrant discrimination in contracts, training and promotion. Many of the discriminatory practices originate in beliefs and prejudices related to sex (*ibid.*, 105). More recent data, including the report on a questionnaire responded to by 95 UN member

states at the end of the UN Decade of the Woman, have confirmed the worldwide character of such discrimination.

In general, as Gallagher (1984) has noted in the European context, while many communication organizations say they are committed to "equality of opportunities", that objective is very vague, and the will to succeed is lacking. Up to the middle 1980s, the media industries in the United States, Canada and some European countries had made some efforts in the right direction, but only in the Swedish Radio Broadcasting Company did the results seem especially significant and enduring.

Even when women occupy decision-making roles in the industry, there is no guarantee that programming will change to project a better image of women or to better fulfill women's communication needs. The factors which determine media policies are too complex to allow for quick modification of established practices and production routines.

Nevertheless, the European Community has continued its steady pressure on its member states for greater gender equality through the Third Program of Community Action (1991-1995). Women's organizations also have been mustering their forces to ensure greater feminine influence on the general culture by such diverse means as the establishment of alternative media at all levels, including journals, news agencies, publishing houses, audiovisual production enterprises, bookshops, etc. These efforts have met with different levels of difficulties in different countries, and there is little empirical evidence that the vertical and horizontal segregation traditionally experienced by women in the media industry has been significantly diminished.

V. Romano et al. (1989), and Cáceres and Caffarel (1992), have been among the few in Spain addressing the broader perspective of job segregation in the media industries. The presence of women in journalism has been dealt with by P. Marsa Vancells (1987). R. de Mateo (1986), A. Commas i Marine, et al. (1988), and Sara de Andrés García (1989) have studied the professional situation of women in journalistic enterprises. The increasing incorporation of women into the main newspaper publishing companies has been explored by M. G. Santa Eulalia (1986).

Practices controlling the mass mediation of public events

A final research tendency deals with relatively new obstacles to pro-feminine communication policies, or new perspectives on obstacles which cannot be adequately dealt with by traditional "uses and

gratifications" research approaches. Factors influencing female employment in the media, cultural variables which restrict the degree to which professional female communicators can influence the mediation process, the over-all effect of economic interests on women's media roles and interests, and the ways the "dominant communication" exerts political pressure to inhibit "alternative communication", all are examples of such topics.

Internationally, the early development of this research tendency is represented by the work of Pingree and Hawkins (1978), who concentrated on the values which influence news selection. They pointed out that the insufficient coverage received by women is due to the concurrence of diverse factors, such as the orientation of information towards "success", focus on political and economic elites, the tendency to "ambush" news--assigning reporters to cover institutions where it is, a priori, considered probable that news will occur--and response to public presuppositions.

Gaye Tuchman (1983) also took this approach in studying reality construction among men and women working in editorial offices in the United States.

Jensen ([1982] as cited in *La comunicación al servicio de la mujer*, 1986: 33-34) found indications in a study of Danish TV news services that women producers and reporters really conceive, organize and execute their tasks differently from men in the same roles.

Concha Fagoaga (1994) is one of the few Spanish researchers to undertake this kind of study, with her work on the construction of news on spousal abuse in the regional press of the 1980s. Others have studied broadcasting network production routines and the ways they influence mediation (Villafañe, et al. 1987; R. Franquet 1985 and 1989, as cited in Franquet 1992). R. M. Martín Sabarís (1992) studied the sociological profile of journalists and the process by which they produce the news. But among these studies, only Frenquet's 1989 study dealt with gender explicitly, focusing on the role of women in the process by which news is selected and channeled. She found, as others had done, that the incorporation of female journalists in the editorial process had no qualitative effect on the treatment of women in the reports of the media (Franquet 1992: 149).

Men's Studies

For at least 3,000 years, people might, from time to time, have asked, "What is woman?" but they had little occasion to ask the same question about men, since the male was taken for granted as the standard, to which

women might be compared. Men were the known, women the "other." Recently, however, women, in their effort to redefine themselves have forced men to do the same. The masculine identity has been found not to have been "inscribed in marble" (Elizabeth Badinter 1992: 14). This questioning started in the United States, under the impetus of the feminist onslaught. It spread to Britain, Australia, and, to some extent, the Nordic countries--possibly because of the more sharply drawn image of the male in those countries and men's confrontation there with a more radical feminism than, for example, in France (ibid., pg. 21).

Empirical "Men's Studies" are less developed in Spain. The best known are those of P. Escario, et al. (1987), INNER (1988), and F. Ortega, et al. (1993). The first two of these use the same analytical categories. They report the attitudes of middle class men before women entered into salaried work, with the successive changes in the relations of equality, the education of children, the relation of men to their children, and the sharing of housework. Their main difference is methodological, with the first using data from ten discussion groups and the second based on a national survey (N=1,405), representing all Spanish men between 18 and 65, in towns of more than 5,000 population.

These studies indicate that the developing transition towards an egalitarian model of male/female roles has generated ambivalence among men, which might signal the emergence of a kind of "double life." Ideologically, a man might hold to an egalitarian position, with regard to women, while more traditional values would govern his domestic and private life. He could be progressive in general and in public, but sexist in particular and in private. Also, while many men might agree that women should be able to do the same work as men, many areas of traditional women's work would still not be thought appropriate for men.

In the third, and most recent of the three studies, Ortega, et al. (1993), also drew data from discussion groups and a national survey (N=1,503: 748 male and 755 female). This sample represented the Spanish population of both sexes between 15 and 25 years of age. The study found that men are characterized by defect, and women by excess, in contemporary society. Women retain more of their primary feminine identity, but men often take roles which lack a coherent identity. "In either case, the identity has little consistency (ibid., pp. 12-13).

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New Work on Gender and Communication in English -CRT Editor

Gunter, Barrie. *Television and Gender Representation*. London/Paris/Rome: Libbey, 1995. Pp. v, 179. ISBN 0 86196 478 0; ISSN 0956 9057.

Tseëlon, Efrat. *The Masque of Femininity: The Presentation of Woman in Everyday Life*. Thousand Oaks/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1995. Pp. viii, 152. ISBN 0 8039 8806 0; ISBN 0 8039 8807 9 (pb.) \$19.95.

Valdivia, Angharad N. (ed.). *Feminism, Multiculturalism, and the Media: Global Diversities*. Thousand Oaks/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1995. Pp. viii, 332. ISBN 0 8039 5774 2 (hb.); ISBN 0 8039 5775 0 (pb.) \$19.95.

Research on gender in the mass media has flourished in recent years. It ranges widely in quality. The three books reviewed here are only samplings from a deep and broad ocean. Nevertheless they do represent different dimensions of the topic, as well as geographic range.

Barrie Gunter, of the Department of Journalism, Sheffield University, surveys research on gender representation in television. Most of the research was done in the United States and Britain. First, he deals with studies which have analyzed the portrayal of gender on television--in programs, in advertising, then in the way the portrayals are perceived. In the second part of the book, he reviews research which has been done on the complex and difficult topic of the social effects TV gender role portrayals have on children, on adults, and on sexual relations, as well as studies of positive effects TV may have in breaking down gender stereotypes.

Efrat Tseëlon, Senior Lecturer in Psychology at Leeds Metropolitan University, explores the construction of femininity in Western society. The book is not chiefly about

mass communication, but draws on both theory and research to sketch how Western women have constructed their social images through the use of clothing, hair styles and other artifices, and the social meanings this construction tends to convey. Tseëlon's perspective is chiefly historical and psychological. The book includes an extensive bibliography.

The volume edited by Angharad N. Valdivia, of the Institute of Communication Research at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, targets diversities of race, class and culture, as well as of gender, in the media. All the contributors are women. Although all teach or have studied at North American universities, some represent other cultural backgrounds. The editor wishes to go "beyond binary contradictions and into multicultural spectrums," as the subtitle of her first chapter puts it. The chapter by Roth, Nelson and David, on "information (mis)management" in the 1990 conflict between the Mohawks and the Canadian government brings most of the various "diversities" into play in a single case study.

III. Spain: Between Ethics and Law; Latin America: Between Integral Development and Colonialism

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Spain

Ethics, especially in regard to information flow, recently has become the most important topic of debate in Spain about the communication media. Much activity has centered on drawing up ethical codes and statements of regulatory principles.

One of the first formal statements to emerge from the recent flurry of interest was the code drafted by the College of Journalists of Catalonia, approved on October 22, 1992: "Deontological Code: A Declaration of the Principles of the Journalistic Profession in Catalonia."¹ It was followed, in 1993, by an agreement

on self-regulation between the Ministry of Education and Science and the public and private TV networks. That agreement committed the networks to control programming contents which might adversely affect children. Then, on November 28, 1993, the Federation of Spanish Press Associations adopted a "Deontological Code of the Journalistic Profession." Finally, the *Grupo Correo*, the most important press concentration in Spain, published its own Code, on May 3, 1994.

More or less simultaneously, the Council of Europe was going through a similar process, beginning with discussions on journalistic ethics in Helsinki, in September 1991, and issuing the "European Deontological Code of Journalism" on June 1, 1993.

These efforts have met with resistance at many levels, in Spain, as in Europe in general. The cooperation of the media industries is essential for the codes to be effective, and a cooperative attitude is still lacking.

¹CRT Editor's Note: *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (New York/London: Macmillan & Free Press/Collier Macmillan, 1967, vol. 2, pg. 343), distinguishes the modern use of "deontology" as that part of ethics which states principles which are morally obligatory regardless of particular circumstances.

Need for a New Treatment of Codes

The European Code raises some questions which are not resolved in the Spanish codes. While the European Code recognizes something of the external pressures to which journalists are subjected, the Spanish codes do not give adequate attention to those factors. Any code, in fact, should not be directed only at journalists, but at the whole media industries, of which the journalists are only a small part. Many of the pressures on individual journalists come not only from outside, but also from inside their own institutions; so codes should apply to all levels of the institutions in order to have hope of success. Too many owners and managers of media enterprises regard them only as economic institutions, whereas a full ethical attitude requires the recognition that they have a social dimension which is of greater importance than the economic dimension.

Prior government censorship disappeared from the Spanish scene with the rise of democracy, but many factors still impose a kind of de facto censorship: discrimination in decisions about where to place advertising; limits on access to information, the fear or favor of powerful officials, desire for prestige, etc. In time these influences can create a climate in which disinformation is reified, constructing a picture of the world which is so false that the credibility of journalism is undermined. All such factors should be addressed by ethical codes, but they are factors which bear most directly on institutional management, not on the individual journalist.

Every deontological code should safeguard the fundamental objectives of journalism. These are twofold: the transmission of news which is as truthful as possible, and the fearless statement of responsible independent editorial opinions regarding important issues. The right to true and ethical information, on the one side, and freedom of expression, on the other, are two faces of the same coin. The ethical stance of most European countries treats the guarantee of both these rights to some degree, but often in a dissociated way. The European Covenant on Human Rights guarantees the right to true and honest information in Article 10, and the Spanish Constitution does so in Article 20, but neither mention the right to freedom of expression in the same articles. The intrinsic linkage between the two rights needs to be explicitly stated.

Similarly, communication impacts on other dimensions of society and other rights. The impact of television on education, for example, cannot be ignored in contemporary society.

The formulation of deontological codes for communication automatically puts a brake on tendencies towards more extreme solutions to

communication problems. One of these is total deregulation, which would allow market forces to prevail and would leave the audience to sink or swim, depending on individuals' own ability to protect their interests. Another extreme is total censorship, which would punish journalistic violations under the Penal Code. The middle ground made possible by deontological codes is essential to maintain a viable communication system in a functioning democratic society.

The hot debate about the codes currently going on in Spanish communication circles makes it impossible for a code to be agreed on. It does seem clear, however, that self-control must enter into the Spanish codes, as it does in the European Code, and that it must apply to all components of the communication community--journalists, editors, publishers, owners, university communication experts, and judges--not just on journalists alone.

"Reality Shows": A Case in Point

Much of the current ethical debate in Spain has been stimulated by the proliferation of "Reality Shows." These have aroused much critical comment, as signs of "the cultural and ethical deterioration of Spanish television." They are justified by their producers on the grounds that the public demands them. To the producers, the market is what counts. Communication is mere merchandise. The market is king.

The critics deny that television should be a "market," but they have to agree with the producers that it has become one--a market for "teletrash" [Spanish: *telebasura*]. Both positions seem also to recognize the corollary of this: that the common people, who constitute the audience, are both stupid and can pay, so it is fair to talk to them in a stupid way. However, even the intelligent are easily seduced by the steady flow of sophisticated sense images which modern technology can produce.

One Spanish network executive openly admitted that his company had a policy of committing excesses in order to attract audience attention. Content is thus tied to the ability of the program to attract advertising. However, a basic ethical principle in communication requires the differentiation among information, opinion and advertising.

The solution to the "teletrash" problem will not be found in ethical codes alone. They must be accompanied by a widespread system of media education which will help the members of the audience defend themselves against manipulation and the negative effects which can come from misuse of the media.

Parliamentary Debates

If self-control by media organizations, through mechanisms such as ethical codes, were effective there would be no need for legislative action. Unfortunately, in Spain the codes are not having much effect on Reality Shows and other teletrash, so pressures are rising for the Parliament to act. Linked to the legislative debate on ethics is consideration of the regulation of professional secrets and the clause of conscience of journalists, both foreseen in Article 20 of the Spanish Constitution.

Proposals advanced in the course of the parliamentary debates have stirred up a hornets' nest of rejection by various sectors of the communication industry. On the one hand, critics say the proposals will not solve the real problems of the media. On the other hand, it is claimed that some of the proposals would reduce journalists to mere instruments of the media organizations.

Latin America

Long-standing cultural links make it inevitable that communication activities in Spain and Latin America influence each other. Efforts have been made to formalize this interaction through documents issued by summit meetings of Heads of State of the Ibero-American Community of Nations. They make explicit reference to the shaping of an "Ibero-American Audiovisual Space," and each country promises to eliminate any juridical obstacles blocking such a process.

The launch of the HISPASAT communication satellite is another step in that direction. The Antonio Machado Euro-American Institute of Culture, Science and Communication, is an important Ibero-American cultural forum to promote cooperation between Spain and Latin American countries.

But Latin America is a large and complex region, often perceived as a deteriorating scene of corruption, inequality and anachronism. The 1990 *World Communication Report* of UNESCO indicated that Latin America and the Caribbean are very receptive to new technologies, but economic factors have obstructed the adoption of many technological innovations in communication. Most regional and local publishing firms, for example, still use obsolete printing systems; although most of the big publishers in cities have adopted the new technologies for data flow, editing, composition and printing.

Radio covers most of the region, and has the largest media audience, while television coverage is variable. Satellite use is spotty.

Neoliberal Triumph

In general, governments of the region have surrendered to neoliberal ideology, abandoning any efforts to limit media privatization or to preserve the principle of public service media. Free market competition has resulted, and in turn has had great social repercussions. Advertising creates desires among the poor which can never be fulfilled, with consequent frustration. The nearly universal availability of television to the urban poor only exacerbates the problem.

North American patterns and commercial interests have influenced this situation, and many North American media products are imported into the region. Latin America also has become a center for production and export of programs. It is a source of transnational influences, as well as a receiver of such influences. Two big media industries dominate this influence in the two language areas, respectively: Televisa in Mexico, and Globo in Brazil.

With the spread of media technology, the demand for more media production also has increased. Although interest in the positive use of the media has increased among intellectuals, most of the general audience demand has been filled by telenovelas, often of questionable quality. At this writing, the effect of the North American Free Trade Agreement on the flow of Mexican productions is unknown, but in 1992, before the agreement, the value of the stock of Televisa, the Mexican media giant, increased 61.7% in just six months.

One effort to preserve something of the public service principle has been the creation of ULCRA, the Latin American and Caribbean Broadcasting Union. Its formation has been done quietly, and has involved government representatives and radio-television broadcasters from fifteen countries, including Cuba, as well as some non-governmental organizations, such as the Latin American Association of University Television.

Given the strength of market forces in the region, and the lack of any government controls on them, the efforts of ULCRA appear to have little hope of bearing fruit.

In the research field, ALAIC, the Latin American Association of Researchers in Communication Media, has held important international meetings, notably in São Paulo, in 1992, and in Guadalajara, Mexico, in 1995. The efforts of FELAFACS, the Latin American Association of Faculties of Media and Social Communication, are growing and especially significant in view of the large number of university-level departments, faculties and schools of communication

studies throughout Latin America. These movements nevertheless require the honest cooperation of public authorities and all levels of the media industry in order to reverse the deteriorating and discouraging climate in

which Latin American media professionals must work. Such collaboration also is needed to begin to establish a foundation for the creation of effective ethical codes in the region.

New Work on International Communication and Law in English

—CRT Editor

Jim Hill, Martin McLoone, and Paul Hainsworth (eds.). *Border Crossing: Film in Ireland, Britain and Europe*. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast/University of Ulster/British Film Institute, 1994. Pp. vi, 173. ISBN 0 85389 504 X; ISBN 0 85170 489 1 (pb.) £8.95.

Eli M. Noam and Joel C. Millonzi (eds.). *The International Market in Film and Television Programs*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1993. Pp. xv, 202. ISBN 0 89391 545 9 (pb.).

Cees J. Hamelink. *The Politics of World Communication: A Human Rights Perspective*. (Communication and Human Values Series). London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage, 1994. Pp. xiii, 337. ISBN 0 8039 7822 7; ISBN 0 8039 7823 5 (pb.) \$24.00.

Bella Mody, Johannes M. Bauer, and Joseph D. Straubhaar (eds.). *Telecommunications Politics: Ownership and Control of the Information Highway in Developing Countries*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995. Pp. xxviii, 337. ISBN 0 8058 1752 2 (hb.) \$69.95; ISBN 0 8058 1753 0 (pb.) \$35.50.

Ben A. Petrazzini. *The Political Economy of Telecommunications Reform in Developing Countries: Privatization and Liberalization in Comparative Perspective*. Westport, CT/London: Praeger, 1995. Pp. xv, 227. ISBN 0 275 95294 0 (hb.).

Paul Teske (ed.). *American Regulatory Federalism and Telecommunications Infrastructure*. Hillsdale, NJ/Hove, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995. Pp. vii, 167. ISBN 0 8058 1625 1 (hb.).

Manuel Nuñez Encabo's essay departs from the usual *Trends* approach of surveying the research literature on a topic; so a bit more attention perhaps needs to be given, here, to some of the recent tendencies in studies of international aspects of communication law and ethics. The six books reviewed here represent topics directly or indirectly relevant to one or the other.

Dilemmas of European Film

The nine papers in the Hill, McLoone and Hainsworth volume explore various aspects of the European cinema industries, their value, their problems, their viability, and their potential for collaboration. All the writers are from either the United Kingdom or Ireland.

Audio-visual "products" have a special significance, beyond the merely economic, as was illustrated by the conflict between the United States and the European Union during the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations of 1993.

The Americans sought the abolition of all European quotas and subsidies on the grounds that they distorted free trade while the Europeans wished to exempt the audio-visual industries from the GATT agreement on the grounds that European films and television programmes were not simply a matter of 'trade' but were also

activities of cultural importance. (pg. 1)

The rising U.S. share of the European film and video market suggests that some kind of protection for the domestic industries is necessary. Some favor increasing cooperation among nations of the European Union, but both political and cultural factors, as well as language differences, constitute barriers which are difficult to overcome. Other commentators (not in this book) have observed that North American culture, constituted as it is chiefly of a broad amalgam of European cultural influences, may already best represent the form which might be taken by a truly "united" European culture!

Producer David Puttnam notes that no matter how "Irish," or "British", or "French" a contemporary film may be, it almost always has wide international involvement—American and Japanese capital, if nothing else. Nevertheless, he, too, senses a problem in a Europe with a 1992 "audio-visual trade deficit with the United States of \$3.5 billion" (pg. 82).

Colin McArthur stresses that good, and financially successful films can still be made for relatively low budgets—the extreme example being the 1993 Spanish-language film, *El Mariachi*, made by Texan Robert Rodriguez for \$7,000 (pg. 112). McArthur advocates a low budget approach for Scottish cinema, rather than trying to compete with Hollywood. One expensive Scottish effort, filmed in Middle

Europe, "with largely French money" but partly subsidized by the Scottish Film Production Fund, could claim little connection with Scotland except its producer, director, and one major actor. McArthur criticized the unprofitable result as a "Euro-pudding, connecting with no actually existing society except perhaps that of the European art house" (pg. 115).

Steve McIntyre, also from a Scottish perspective, supports McArthur's low-budget emphasis. Competition with Hollywood in the high budget area is practically out of the question, because the mature Hollywood industry is vastly more attractive to capital --from all parts of the world--and the massive home audience for American films provides an unparalleled basic market: "30 per cent of the total global cinema audience is made up of American 12-29 year olds, .. with overseas sales as icing on the cake" (pg. 95).

International Film and TV Markets

Eli Noam and Joel C. Millonzi have assembled papers which deal with the international cinema and television market on a broader scale. The contributors' perspective is largely that of the economist, with several papers devoted to statistical analyses of particular problems. Jonathan B. Baker, for example, concludes after his statistical study of gray markets in video products, that although video piracy may economically benefit some consumers, on the whole it hurts more than it helps, after many factors are balanced against each other (pg. 107). Noam's own chapter, also based on hard economic analysis, "takes issue with the assumption of the inevitability of U.S. producer dominance in international trade" in media products. The United States has, heretofore, been successful in the international trade in media products, but that success is not guaranteed in the face of the emergence of multinational media firms (pg. 57).

Regulation at the International Level

In developing his contribution to the UNESCO *World Communication Report* of 1989, Cees Hamelink assembled 1,500 pages of texts of regulatory instruments which had been generated by governmental and non-governmental organizations seeking, over a period of 150 years, to regulate international communication. The texts have been published separately (C. J. Hamelink. *Rules for World Communication: A Compendium*. Amsterdam: IFSCE, 1994.). In the present volume, the author wishes to ponder the fact that all those documents do little to address the concerns or needs of the vast majority of the world's population. "The leading question of the book thus became: do people matter in the actions and processes of world communication politics?" (pg. 2) International human rights law has set certain standards, but do "the political arrangements of the world community measure up" to those standards? A wide range of topics is covered, including telecommunication, intellectual property rights, mass communication, culture, development, transborder data flow, and the standardization of consumer electronics. He found that most of the international documents and agreements in each area contained either

weak or negligible reference to human rights, if they were mentioned at all (pg. 286, Table 11.1). He concludes that the people's rights will be protected only when people organize internationally, but from the grassroots, to resist the special interests which have controlled world communication politics in the past (pp. 313-316).

The International Information Highway

Valiant efforts have been made, over the years, to develop and enforce international agreements about communications technologies. To some degree these have been successful, but the growth in complexity and the rapid spread of telecommunication technologies in recent years, as well as the rising power of transnational corporations and their relative invulnerability to state controls, raise new questions as fast as old ones are answered.

The papers in the Mody, Bauer and Straubhaar book address some of these questions as they pertain to developing countries. Factors involved include increasing private sector participation (part one of the book), various major political forces (part two), and the role of regulation (part four).

Nikhil Sinha cites the need for an effective and credible regulatory system, in developing as in developed states, to address in the new context of rapid and massive privatization the problems which led many countries to nationalize their telecommunications industries only a few short years ago (pg. 306). Commercial interests must be balanced against political and social concerns.

The investment policies of the American Regional Bell Operating Companies (RBOCs) provide an example, carefully analyzed by Sharmishta Bagchi-Sen and Parthavi Das (pp. 85-111). No sooner had the Bell system been regionalized than the individual companies established their own international divisions and began to explore overseas markets for their services. These were mostly in regions of relative stability--shunning, for example, most of Africa. But where conditions were favorable, the companies often were willing to make huge investments and to vastly increase the services provided. For example, Southwestern Bell, collaborating with Telmex, the privatized Mexican telephone company, invested \$9 billion in Mexico and has helped expand telephone service to 2,000 villages. It planned to increase Mexican phone lines from 5.4 million to 7.5 million between about 1991 and 1995 (pg. 97).

On the other hand, private telecommunications ownership in the Philippines lasting nearly a century has resulted in a system which adequately serves the needs of the elites and business but continues to lack the incentive to provide even rudimentary service to remote areas and the poor, according to Alexandrina Benedicto Wolf and Gerald Sussman (pg. 220).

Making Privatization Work

Ben A. Petrazzini also looks at telecommunications in developing countries, with case studies concentrating on reform and restructuring efforts in Argentina and Mexico, with comparative data from other countries. He, too sees

some instances of privatization in which service penetration increases, rather than decreasing. Some governments have treated their nationalized telecommunication companies as ready sources of capital for other purposes, rather than reinvesting it in expanded service facilities. For example, in 1987, before its privatization, Telmex contributed US\$500 million to the Mexican national treasury, while receiving back only \$150 million to finance its operations. Since 1990, it has controlled its own budget and investment policies, and it committed \$2.5 billion to investment in the first year of privatization (pg. 166).

Nevertheless, circumstances differ in different countries, with differing political and economic dynamics. Privatization failed in Thailand, Colombia, South Africa, and Uruguay, and succeeded in Argentina only after a long period of failed attempts. Often, reforms have been blocked by local interest groups which benefit from the prevailing system. Consequently, policy-making must be insulated from the influence of such groups, and a strong central authority is needed to carry through the policy (pp. 192-193).

U.S. Telecommunications Regulation

Teske's book notes that the two-tiered structure of United States telecommunications regulation, with both federal and state governments exercising jurisdiction, depending on particular circumstances, is unique among western nations. This may be an anachronistic survival, but, on the other hand, the emergence of the European Union and similar regional arrangements elsewhere may be creating similar tendencies in regions where controls heretofore have always been centralized.

Eli Noam notes, in chapter 7, that federal-state friction was "built into" the 1934 Communications Act, which has dominated federal communications law and policy since that time. More recently, the picture has begun to change.

American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) was divested of its local operating companies in 1984. In early 1996, Congress passed a law, with bipartisan support, massively deregulating cable television and other telecommunication services to a degree which promises to result in an unprecedented explosion of competition. This represents a tendency to move towards one solution to federal-state conflict among several which Noam lists: total deregulation. Nevertheless, regionalization has helped the U.S. to build a highly functional telecommunications system, as Sharon Megdal documents in chapter 6 (pp. 85-94). At the same time, some federal leadership always will be essential, as all the contributors agree.

The emergence of the so-called "information superhighway" and of new wireless technologies greatly complicate an already complex issue. International considerations, too, are increasingly important in influencing the domestic federal-state regulatory mix. Teske feels that, under such pressures, in the long run state regulation "will lose much of its role over time." But, for now, state regulation remains an important factor in the effectiveness of the U.S. telecommunications industry.

Conclusion

These six examples of relatively new research on the topic manifest some areas of agreement, but also much disagreement about such issues as privatization, media imperialism, and the degree to which the communication industry and international regulatory structures are fulfilling the needs of the world's people. The issues are complex, and the stakes are high, both economically and in terms of social effects. At least some important aspects of the issues are receiving attention, including, with increasing urgency, moral and ethical issues which would have been totally ignored a few years previously.

IV. The Social Construction of the Environment Beginning With the Catastrophic Events Which Are Destroying It

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The natural environment is physically real and always has been a fact of human experience. Nevertheless, it also is a social construction--and more so since its "rediscovery" by intellectuals in the 1960s. The social image of the environment has come to be intimately linked with environmental disasters, rather than environmental harmony. Threats to that harmony have become the major focus of our attention in recent years, rather than the equilibrium which is threatened. A principal factor in this construction is the mass

media, which pay little attention to the environment unless it is threatened by some catastrophic event--flood, storm, volcanic eruption, etc. Typically, too, the media stress only those disasters which have social effects. Our constructions of both the environment and the catastrophes which affect it thus become largely anthropocentric. Our mediated construction of "environment" therefore is dominated by two elements which are extraneous to the environment's natural state: catastrophe and the social effects of catastrophe.

Dominant media interpretations of environmental disasters tend to have certain emphases. They are seen as uncontrolled and uncontrollable. The uniqueness of the event is stressed, enhancing the sense of human inferiority in confrontation with the forces of nature. The sudden and unpredictable character of the events is linked to their lasting effects: life for the survivors will never be the same as it was before. Finally, disasters which have a human origin may arise from aggression, and thereby be intentional, but their social construction tends more to stress the negligence or error which has brought them about, thereby constructing them more in accord with the "uncontrollable" and "unpredictable" emphasis given natural disasters. Conversely, the human role in natural disasters is emphasized—lack of preparation for them, mistakes which exacerbate their effects, and efforts to limit their future social impact.

Risk reduction is an important component of disaster reporting. The General Assembly of the United Nations declared the 1990s to be the "International Decade for the Reduction of Natural Disasters." Poverty and underdevelopment are seen as major components of risk, with casualties and property damage much greater in countries with lower gross national products, according to an analysis of world-wide data from the period 1960 to 1981.

Spanish scientific periodical coverage of catastrophes, analyzed by the author, revealed that more than half (59.3%) the articles surveyed adopted a natural science perspective, while only 16.1% took a social science point of view.

The author studied, in particular, three Spanish periodicals specializing in popularized presentations of scientific information. He found that their articles, through the period from May 1986 to April 1991, were quite uniform, both in the amount of attention given to environmental disasters throughout the period and in the orientation of such stories. The publications were *Investigación y Ciencia* (Research and Science), *Mundo Científico* (Scientific World), and *Muy Interesante* (Very Interesting).

Discursive exposition of the magazines' articles was analyzed to try to determine how their mode of presentation revealed their authors' attitudes towards the topic. The authors generally preferred deductive over inductive argumentation. They also preferred to conceptualize argumentatively before expressing the subject matter numerically. Furthermore, when less information was available about the catastrophe the authors tended to express what was known with a greater sense of certainty; and when more actual information was available, their inductive presentation

became more doubtful.

The authors tended not to "adjectivize" or evaluate the catastrophic phenomena, while they had a much greater tendency in their discourse to give the disasters substance, independence and reality by naming them. Substantivity and particularity were more frequently used because they more clearly establish a shared meaning between senders and receivers. "Cyclone" and "disaster", for example, carry much more meaning more quickly than would "cyclonic" or "disastrous." Similarly, more attention is paid to past and currently ongoing disasters than to possible future ones because the latter are less amenable to concrete conceptualization. Environmental disasters caused by humans also are given more attention than "self-generated" natural disasters. Most of the human-generated disasters discussed have a technological origin. These data imply that references to catastrophes hold special interest if they are related to the activity of man, with the consequent possibility of mitigating or eliminating them.

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New Work on Communication and Environment in English

—CRT Editor

Muir, Star A., and Thomas L. Veenendall (eds.). *Earthtalk: Communication Empowerment for Environmental Action*. (Praeger Series in Political Communication). Westport, CT: Praeger (Greenwood Publishing Group), 1996. Pp. xviii, 233. ISBN 0 275 95370 X (hb.) \$59.95. (ISSN 1062 5623).

This book is concerned with the always problematic act of moving from research to action. Many organizations exist to save the environment, and many research projects have been undertaken, not only to study environmental problems but also to study communication about the environment. Many are "concerned," but moving from concern to effective

political and legislative action is not easy.

Communication difficulties have been compounded for environmentalists in recent years by a rising backlash among "wise users"—whom many environmentalists might call "anti-environmentalists"—people who feel that less attention should be paid to environmental questions in the interest of

stimulating local, regional or national economies by increasing the "wise use" of natural resources. Polarizations abound in the debate, as "environmental radicals" are pitted against "conservative extremists" in an intensifying battle. Even the shift to a moderate, centrist policy, towards which this polarization forces many, can lead to tolerance for undue environmental damage (pp. xiii-xv).

The editors see a need, in these circumstances, for communication scholars to rush to the rescue of the environmental movement, applying research findings about rhetorical strategies and other methods of persuasion and organization to achieve the movement's goals more effectively. Many research themes come into play, including the evaluation of the power of the mass media, the

educational use of video production, the use of metaphors, symbolism, the social/communicative construction of reality and self, interpersonal communication and intercultural communication. Even feminist mysticism appears, in the final section on "alternative rhetorics," in a chapter titled, "Constructing a Goddess Self in a Technological World," by Trudy Milburn (pp. 191-205).

All the authors teach or work in the United States; so they assume political, social and communicative dynamics which might not be the same elsewhere; but much of the theory, methodology and research findings can be adapted to different situations.

An extensive bibliography is provided.

V. Latin American Focuses on Education for the Media

By José Martínez de Toda y Terrero, S.J.

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The growth of the electronic media, and recently the appearance of interactive and multimedia TV, have raised serious questions about their effect on people, especially the young. In many quarters, there have been calls for media education to help youth cope with the challenges of the media, but efforts to implement it have been erratic, stymied by uncertainty, and sometimes based on inadequate or faulty research. It is an area especially prone to subjectivism, in Latin America as elsewhere.

Historical Background

The media have long been criticized. Even the novel, *Don Quixote* was lambasted, in its day, because of the insanity which overtook its hero. The recognition of the power of the growing mass media has given urgency to its critics. Umberto Eco's (1964) polarization of "apocalyptic" and "integralists" finds students of the media torn between these two extremes: Are the media active agents for evil socialization or only reflectors of the prevailing culture? Theories about the media are numerous, but can be classified according to whether they are centered on the sender, the message, or the audience. Sender-centered theories include Marxism, functionalism, normative theories and those of moralists. Message-centered theories would contain semiology, stimulus-response theories, diffusionism, and cultivation theories. Audience-centered theories are represented by reception analysis, cultural studies, interpretation theories and mediation theories. Sender-centered theorists were not interested

in media education for the audience. Rather, media education was, at first, the concern of the message-centered theorists, and, since the middle 1970s, quintessentially that of the reception analysts.

First Stage: The Birth of "Critical Reading" (1970-1980)

Pasquali, working in Venezuela in 1953, moved the focus of communication analysis in a culturally underdeveloped society away from functionalism and towards a more critical vision of the media. In the 1970s, this reaction against the negative power of the media had a double objective: to try to change broadcasting policies and to educate people for reception. The latter effort came to be called "critical reading." The pursuit of this double objective inevitably became entangled with political considerations as well as considerations of education and communication.

About the same time, the conscientizing work of Paulo Freire was gaining an enthusiastic following throughout Latin America. It became a natural base for the critical reading approach to popular education for media use, since both movements aimed to give ordinary people the ability to protect themselves against exploitive forces.

Massive technological and social changes in most of the developing countries during the 1970s coincided with UNESCO's call for more study of communication and its relation to development (Soares 1992: 274-275) and with growing dissatisfaction with prevailing

research methodologies among communication scholars. Functionalist social science--perceived as a "North American" importation--was criticized as socially, politically and culturally decontextualizing, and as tending to support an undesirable status quo.

A seminar held in Costa Rica, in 1973, defined what the participants felt should be the central objective of Latin American communication research: the critical analysis of communication with respect to internal and external dependency, and the study of what communication could contribute to constructive social change. The seminar called for the inclusion of people's organizations in research activities, with a view to demythologizing the media in the minds of ordinary people and to helping them develop a critical consciousness about the media. In the mid-70s two theoretical tendencies began to dominate, replacing functionalism: the theory of cultural dependency and structuralism.

Dependency Theory

The objective of dependency theory was to reveal the economic and political structures of domination underlying the communication process. A group of scholars centered on the review, *Comunicación y Cultura*, in Mexico, spearheaded this movement. It was led by Armand Mattelart, Hector Schmucler, and Hugo Assmann. Other outstanding representatives of this line of investigation include Roque Faraone, Reyes Matta, Luis Ramiro Beltrán, and Juan Somavía. They held that it was useless to begin the study of communication with the message, but that the conditions of the reception of the message had to be understood first, to grasp the message's real meaning. That meaning depended heavily on the mix of ideological influences working on--or in--each member of the audience.

Structuralism

Unlike the dependency theorists, structuralists started with the message, considered as a component of an ideological system. They used semiological methods, derived from linguistics. The review, *Lenguajes* was at the center of this tendency, and its chief representatives included Eliseo Verón, Luis Prieto, and Oscar Massotta. They wished to demonstrate that different aspects of the same complex ideology are transmitted through the media for the benefit of the dominant class of society.

People's Communication (Comunicación Popular) and Critical Reading

Many communicators who worked at the grassroots level were discouraged by the contradiction between

the mass media and the common good. They began to construct alternative information systems "at the base." Various new terms, arising through the early to middle 1970s, emphasized slightly different aspects of this tendency: *comunicación popular* (people's communication - 1971), *comunicación alternativa* (alternative communication - 1973), *comunicación grupal* (group communication - 1974), *comunicación de base* (communication of the base - 1976), *comunicación participativa* (participatory communication), and *comunicación horizontal* (horizontal communication). Whatever the name, this tendency stressed "critical reading," in contrast to unsophisticated simple or 'magical' reading, which would allow the absorption of such undesirable media effects as consumerism and foreign dependence. It was an effort to create popular independence from the influence of the main media, controlled by national and international elites. This tendency promoted the development of popular education programs utilizing radio, in particular.

UNESCO Activity

The 1970s marked a period of intensive activity promoted by UNESCO to influence the world communication structure in favor of Third World countries. This movement for a "New World Information and Communication Order" (NWICO) eventually resulted in the "MacBride Report" (MacBride 1980). A UNESCO-sponsored meeting in Costa Rica, in 1976, discussed the establishment of national and regional policies which would lead to top-down changes in communication control. UNESCO also funded media education programs and, in 1977, carried out an international study of media education, clearly differentiating it from the use of media technologies as teaching aids in other disciplines. In 1979, UNESCO spelled out its definition of media education for reception as follows: It is "the study of the place which the media occupy in society, their social impact, the implications of mediated communication, participation and the modification of the mode of reception which it engenders, the role of creative work and access to the media" (Belloni 1991).

Liberation Theology

Meanwhile, the Christian churches were developing their own paradigms for analysis of communication. Mercedes Charles and Guillermo Orozco (1990) assign major credit to religious institutions: "The debate in Latin America, except perhaps in Mexico, has been influenced by the Church, especially by the creation of the theology of liberation." Grassroots involvement by

many Church-connected people influenced the Catholic bishops, meeting in Medellin, Colombia in 1968, to describe themselves as "the voice of the voiceless" and to encourage liberating education and communication. Seminars on related themes were organized by the communications office of the Federation of Latin American Bishops' Conferences (DECOS-CELAM), under the direction of Bishop Luciano Metzinger.

The church-connected communication efforts, often called "communication of the base", in reference to the "basic ecclesial communities" then arising throughout Latin America, contrasted the grassroots "base" to the dominant "elite." Workshops were given within these communities to analyze the ideology of the media, as well as other social institutions. More formal Catholic organizations for the media organized a meeting at São Paulo, in 1982, on "The Church and the New World Information and Communication Order," which had considerable effect on continent-wide thinking about changes in communication policies. UNESCO recognized the resulting document as one of the most serious texts produced on the theme (Soares 1993: 78). Another tendency in the Church, however, stressed a more negative, moralistic approach to the media.

At the bishops' meeting in Puebla, Mexico, in 1979, they advocated policies "to educate the public receivers so they have a critical attitude before the impact of the ideological, cultural and advertising messages which continually bombard us, with the aim of opposing the negative effects of manipulation and massification" (numbers 1088-1090, in their final statement). The bishops thus appeared to adopt a policy close to those of the structuralists and critical theorists. Concha and Gaona (1990) feels that this policy subsequently became even stronger. José Marques de Melo (1985), Valerio Fuenzalida (1991), Soares (1991), and others have documented some of the very extensive developments in media education promoted by the Church. More recently, the Vatican document, *Aetatis Novae* (1992: part 3, pg. 4), clarified and emphasized church communication policy worldwide. Even more recent bishops' meetings have recognized the need for changes in the Church's internal communication patterns, suggesting that, in Latin America, the Church "can only survive if it adopts a more democratic, participative, and involving form of communication" (Soares 1993: 79).

Pedagogy of Total Language

The pedagogy of total language was developed in France, by A. Vallet, and based on the thought of Marshall McLuhan. It has spread rapidly in Venezuela and other Latin American countries since about 1974,

and has been promoted by the Latin American Institute for the Pedagogy of Communication (ILPEC), based in Costa Rica. It has been influential in raising consciousness among educators of the need for an education which squarely confronts media influence (Miranda 1992).

Users' Associations

In Latin America, as in many other parts of the world, parents, professional educators, and others have spontaneously formed organizations to confront media influences. In general, such groups have tended to be small, isolated, and to have little influence.

Second Stage: Reception Theory (from 1980)

Important changes occurred in Latin America during the 1980s. Although democratic forms of government were restored in various countries, the neoliberal "dictatorship of the market" gained an increasingly firm grip on economies, governments and societies. Media industries were privatized, and often monopolized, and public service television died.

UNESCO withered, as the United States withdrew its support, and various media experiments the Organization had supported also suffered. People's communication continued to thrive at the micro-level, but was marginal to most national communication systems. In the 1990s, however, it appeared to revive, aided by improving international non-governmental organization support.

On the research side, the biggest development was the growth of audience reception analysis, or interpretation analysis. This has led to steadily increasing interest in media education. Various organizations have collaborated to carry on a series of related seminars on the subject, in Chile (1985 and 1991), Brazil (1986), Argentina (1988). Other, separately organized conferences have become increasingly frequent.

Impulse toward Active Integral Reception

Media education in Chile has carried through its stress on the semiotic-structural paradigm and dependency theory orientation since the 1970s. This has evolved into "active, integral reception" theory, emphasizing cultural production. It is centered on television, which is the culturally most important medium, there as almost everywhere. This theoretical strength may be unique in Latin America, where theoretical uncertainties regarding the foundations and directions of media education are more typical.

The Second Latin American Seminar of Education

for TV, held in Curitiba, Brazil, in 1986, revealed some of the discontinuities and contradictions besetting attempts to integrate various approaches. The Seminar concluded with a formula it hoped would improve the situation: "Reinforce the group consciousness in critical reception to reach a compromise in exchange, to promote, moreover, the creation of alternative media at the level of school, community, labor unions, etc." (Soares 1992: 289).

The Third Seminar, in Buenos Aires in 1988, dealt with promoting research on the reception process. Active-participatory approaches tended to be preferred, with stress on reinforcing the viewers' capacity to negotiate meanings which serve the interests of themselves and their local communities, not those of the media industry (Morán 1991: 10-13).

Neoliberal Resistance

More conservative corners of the Latin American academic world continued to adhere to a functionalist approach, in practice, if not in theory. Martín-Barbero (1990) has critiqued functionalism as a political escapism, which hides in speculation. Although functionalists have criticized the Frankfurt School, and other critical approaches, as "empty denunciation" (O. R. Martinez 1991), others see functionalism, itself, as a tool of the neoliberal market-oriented ideology, capable only of justifying the status quo.

Neoliberals have attacked alternative communication as irrelevant, and although they cannot attack media education directly, they de-authorize it by implying that it is not needed, since, in the new, technologized world, every viewer is free to use the media as he or she wishes. The ideologizing content of the media is denied (Soares 1992: 280-281).

"For a New Communication"

The World Association for Christian Communication, in association with The Institute for Latin America (IPAL), convened a meeting in Lima in 1990, to discuss the positive balance which ought to be obtained in the New World Information and Communication Order in the area of popular and base communication. The participants called for a mobilization of forces to educate people to use the media with vigilance and to struggle to reform it.

Postmodernism

All this occurs in the rising age of "postmodernism", in which the common man is supposed to experience increasing autonomy, enabling him/her to be liberated from the impositions of past rationalisms.

L. González Carvajal (1991: 153) has outlined four

frequent accents in postmodern manifestations: absolutization of living the present moment, absence of norms, repudiation of reason and its social manifestations, and the exaltation of sentiment in contrast to reason.

Since postmodernism allows for no absolutes, it is a view which would encourage the growth of reception analysis concerned with the meaning each individual and local group gives the media message, since nothing else would seem to have meaning (cf., Soares 1992). Less radically, a simple recognition of an existing socio-cultural condition of postmodernity might be valuable or even necessary to understand contemporary mass media audiences (Fuenzalida 1991; Kaplun 1991).

Current Focuses of Media Education in Latin America

Media education is necessarily an ever evolving process, constantly influenced by changes in time, place, culture, individual differences of both teachers and students, and a host of other factors. Media education is called many things in different places, but "media education" (Spanish: *educación para los medios*) seems both the most popular term and the one most easily understood.

Much research has confused this education for media use with educational media, media technologies used for instruction in a wide range of school subjects. There is, indeed, considerable overlap between the two, so delineating them from each other is difficult. In addition, media education often must be squeezed into crowded curricula under different guises. These factors complicate the task of categorizing the various research focuses, but the following general types can be discerned.

Dialectical-inductive-popular Focus

This stream began to develop among those who feared and condemned the media, seeing in it nothing but "wickedness"--moral or ideological. Gradually, it has evolved towards the more sophisticated approaches, blending with the advocacy of "critical reading," dependency theory, and structuralism. Even its developed forms nevertheless still concentrate on the sender and the message, not on the receptor or the process of reception.

Much of the impetus for the growth of this tendency has been the ideas of Paulo Freire and his followers. Freire's "conscientization" emphasizes both induction, drawing examples from immediate experience, and dialogue, working through a dialectical process to find solutions (Soares 1993:78-79).

Church groups, in particular, have adopted this approach, with the courses offered by the Brazilian Christian Communication Union (UCBC) since 1980, being one among many notable examples, both Protestant, Catholic and ecumenical. UCBC, and most notably, Mario Kaplun, in Uruguay, have broadened the approach by adding elements of reception theory (Gomes 1986). Some of the same, critical reading emphasis entered into the May 1993 "Law of Directives for National Education" of Brazil (Art. 36).

Communication Education

This emphasis shares much of the foregoing, but it adds a strong desire to prepare ordinary people to use the mass media for education and for social and cultural improvement. In short, it aims to form citizens as communicators in a democratic society. A main target is the formation of "managers of communication processes," capable of running periodicals, radio and television stations, news agencies, etc. In addition to this education for communication, followers of this stream try to evaluate the media institutions in terms of their value for the marginal population of Latin America, and to change the media to better meet the needs of the poor (Soares 1993:72).

Some of this educational process can take place in schools and universities, but often the established educational institutions are not favorable to the same goals, so special training programs have to be established. International organizations, often church-related, have helped sponsor such programs.

Media Literacy

Elsewhere, "media literacy" often is used interchangeably with "media education," but here the category is one placing special emphasis on seeking the mastery of the technical elements of the languages of the media, both to make possible more critical analysis of existing media and to bring more people, especially at the grassroots level, to develop their own media and to use them with greatest effect. The approach borrows from Marshall McLuhan's view that the media are new ways of communicating which have to be understood differently from traditional oral and written modes of communication. Much is also taken from semiotic analysis in both the school and the family. One of the major advocates of media literacy in Latin America has been the Latin American office of the International Catholic Cinema Organization (OCIC), whose "DENI Plan" tries to "alphabetize" children to understand cinematographic language. ILPEC, a Costa Rican organization, places even greater emphasis on the family as the context for media literacy education.

This tendency is reminiscent of the social science work done by Halloran and Jones (1984), in Britain, which places the mass media squarely within their social, economic, and political context. Len Masterman's drive to give children "TV literacy", to cope with the most powerful cultural and mind-molding influence of the contemporary world, also is reflected in this Latin American approach.

"Mediated Reality"

The "mediated reality" emphasis also tries to teach the languages of the media and to give children an awareness of the complexity of the technologies and organization which undergird them. The distinguishing feature of this stream is its emphasis on the unreality or constructed character of all media contents: "nothing is as it seems." The oversimplification intrinsic even to news broadcasts, the false polarization of people and events into "good" and "bad" by the media, is a special target of this deconstruction process. The roles of similes, metaphors and a wide range of cultural factors also are considered. This reliance on a "sociology of culture" is especially influential in Britain, and in Germany, Wolfgang Wunden has outlined a similar pedagogical approach (1980).

The Moral Focus

The recognition of moral or ethical deficiencies in the mass media and action to remedy them is probably the oldest and most natural tendency in media education. It often spreads out from condemning strictly moral evil to criticizing coarseness and bad taste as well, and it tends to encourage extreme responses, such as censorship. This position is more natural to a culturally homogeneous society than to the pluralistic societies of the present day, and it is consequently more often criticized than supported in academic circles, despite its wide support in more conservative sectors of society. Soares (1993:77) also notes that too moralistic an attitude towards the media can mask the many constructive things which the media accomplish.

Functional-Culturalist Focus

This approach takes the media as a given, without too critical an initial stance towards them, then tries to reveal the inner workings of media language, including their manipulative dimensions. It does not try to probe the power structures or ideological interests behind the media, but takes the position that the fullest awareness of media mechanisms and of their own motivations in viewing will help people to avoid adverse media effects. In Britain, this view can be seen in much of

the work of the British Film Institute, founded in 1933. It also is widespread in the United States, France, Canada, Switzerland and Australia, as well as in Latin America.

The Strictly Cultural Focus

This North American influence, best characterized by the work of Howard Newcomb (1981, etc.), is strong in many sections of Latin America. It starts from the view that culture is a system of significations and values expressed through symbols. It holds that TV is the central symbolic field of society, a kind of forum, where diverse cultural symbols find expression. This forum is complex, confused, and contradictory, and requires an audience with a highly developed critical awareness to deal adequately with it. George Gerbner's work also shares this conceptualization, requiring that the individual learn to break free from an uncritical dependence on this cultural environment through the development of analytical and critical viewing habits.

Developmental Psychology

Marcela Czarmy (1992) detects considerable influence of developmental psychologists, such as Freinet and Piaget, in Latin American thinking about media education. Piaget's views, according to Hertha Sturm and Sabine Jorg (1981), recognize that television produces strong emotions in children. Learning to control these requires close guidance from confidence-inspiring adults, who can explain disturbing aspects and maintain tranquility and security. A corollary of this outlook appears to be advocacy of co-viewing by parents and children as an effective means of media education.

Mediations of Audience Reception

Jesús Martín-Barbero (1990) represents an increasing tendency to focus on mediations in reception and interpretation. This tendency participates in many of the elements in the above approaches, but strives to avoid single-factor interpretations or interpretations which would see the audience "at the mercy of the media." Instead, it centers on how the audience interprets the messages, using many variable factors in the process. The audience thus becomes much more the protagonist of its own interpretation (Martínez de Toda y Terrero 1994b).

Applied to media education this perspective also would stress the importance of co-viewing by adults and children and of dialogue between adults and children about the media and possible effects of television viewing (Mercedes Charles Creel and

Guillermo Orozco Gómez 1990: 26).

Challenges Towards the New Millennium: Institutionalizing Communication Education

Developments such as technological advances, the neoliberal invasion, and postmodernist tendencies reinforce the need to maintain and develop media education programs. The new developments also demand additional research to understand their implications.

Latin America lacks national media education organisations and associations, such as exist in England, Scotland, the United States, and several other countries, but it does have centers in most or all countries which teach media education explicitly (see a list in Miranda 1992). Its influence is not limited to such centers, however, since the idea is being spread in many ways, by many channels. Non-governmental organizations have been especially active in promoting media education programs. Many nevertheless exist at the margins of the system of formal education, and their survival is precarious. Even where they are most active—in Latin America and India, for example—they often are characterized by organizational fragility and a paucity of resources. Moves to strengthen them characteristically involve bringing together in a common effort five sectors of society which constitute the reference points of the media educator: school, family, local peer and community groups, researchers, and media professionals.

Schools often are regarded as most important. Efforts have been made in many countries to put media education in the curricula of primary and secondary schools, with varied success. Although some schools include it in distinct courses, others incorporate it into existing courses, such as literature, art or social studies.

Any effort requires trained teachers. In Latin America, a pioneer in the preparation of teachers has been the Center for Investigation of Media for Education (CIME) of the Faculty of Sciences of Education of the University of Playa Ancha, in Valparaíso, Chile. It has been in operation since 1982. Other centers include the University of Lima, Peru; the University of Córdoba and the National University of San Luis, in Argentina; the School of Journalism of the University of Diego Portales, Chile; the University of the Republic, Montevideo, Uruguay; Santander and Javeriana Universities, in Colombia; Iberoamericana University, in Mexico City; and the University of São Paulo, Brazil, among many others.

Family mediation is considered to be fundamental by many (Barrios 1989). It requires effective interaction

between educators and parents, which often is difficult to implement.

Local peer and community groups could include labor unions, which have effectively developed media education programs for their members in Britain. In Latin America, base communities of churches are an obvious locus for programs, as are youth clubs, and a wide array of other organizations.

Researchers and teachers need to interact more closely to bring about the most effective structures for media education. This has been regarded as a serious deficiency in British efforts, but in Latin America there has been a relatively good relationship between the two. Researchers may differ among themselves, but educators seem to have utilized diverse approaches without major difficulties.

Media professionals should ensure that their encounters with educators do not deteriorate into mere occasions for public relations and personal or institutional promotion, in response to inevitable criticism. Mutual respect and dialogue in such encounters can yield mutual benefits, if allowed to develop.

Conclusion

Few universal statements can be made about media education in Latin America. It does appear that people raised with television tend to be less amenable to efforts to educate them for better viewing habits than are those for whom viewing is a new experience. Familiarity breeds not only contempt--little hope is held out for "good" programming--but also it diminishes fear of the "dire effects" of the medium.

The impact of television on new viewers is illustrated by the case of Bolivian villages near Santa Cruz at the end of 1993, when rural electrification became a reality. The first appliance many families bought was a television set. Teachers of the area immediately began to report profound changes in their pupils: diminished attention in class, laziness, insubordination, relaxation of school discipline, and general distraction. A good media education program might help compensate for such effects.

On the other hand, the positive values of the media should not be underestimated. A good media education program can help exploit them to the fullest extent possible.

It should not be thought that media education is a guileless and innocent activity. It can take a thousand forms and be subject to diverse manipulations, depending on the teacher's frame of reference and intentions. Authenticity and integrity of a program can be maintained by ensuring that the pupils are given a

chance to express themselves and enter into serious dialogue about their experience of the media. Participation by the peer group can be the most credible and effective method for media education.

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VI. Education for the Media: Press, Radio, TV

By Soledad Martínez Chillón and Donaciano Bartolomé Crespo
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Research on communication media in teaching is just beginning in Spain. Although there are some general studies on over-all effects, there are few analytical studies, using concrete strategies to isolate particular factors. This paper therefore adopts a panoramic view, stressing research which may suggest future lines of investigation.

Pioneers

At the risk of omitting others, of equal or greater

importance, the following institutions and individuals seem, at this time, to be producing important work in this area:

The National University of Distance Education. At this center, one of the pillars of educational media research in the country, Doctora María Luisa Sevillano García focusses her attention on isolating the results of various educational strategies using television, radio and especially the press. She has used qualitative methodology, particularly a two-year study of 13 and

14 year-old students. The University's publication, *Prensa en las Aulas* (Press in the Classrooms), has published collections of relevant papers for the past ten years.

The Press-Education Group of Huelva. Under the direction of José Ignacio Aguaded, this organization sponsors annual conferences, whose proceedings have been published regularly for five years. It also has published the trimestral review, *Comunicar*, since 1993, as a forum in which to stimulate discussions of innovations in the field. The Huelva Group covers teachers at all levels, and in all disciplines.

In Barcelona, José Domingo Aliaga has been publishing *Comunicación y Pedagogía* (Communication and Pedagogy) for 17 years. It is an especially valuable source of information about small studies concerning communication media. The journal also sponsors biannual conferences of some significance.

The universities of Seville, Murcia and Salamanca also have been developing studies of effects on students of systematic use of the media in education.

Doctoral Theses

For about 15 years, the Spanish universities have been encouraging doctoral students to study this field. A chronological listing of some of their resulting dissertations suggests how graduate study interests in the field have been evolving:

1977 "La Televisión Educativa en España" (Educational Television in Spain), by Ramón Puig de la Bellacasa;

1980 "La pedagogía de la Imagen: Teoría y Método" (The pedagogy of the Image: Theory and Method)", by Máximo Lucas del Ser;

1981 "Análisis de la Prensa de intencionalidad pedagógica" (Analysis of the Press for educational purposes), by Donaciano Bartolomé Crespo;

1982 "Televisión Educativa en España" (Educational Television in Spain), by Justo Merino Belmonte;

1984 "Criterios para el desarrollo de la radiodifusión educativa" (Criteria for the development of educational radio broadcasting), by Isabel Cristina Tamayo Escalona;

1985 "Imagen y Educación" (Image and Education), by Gladys Daza Hernández;

1986 "Elementos pedagógicos en la estructura de la prensa infantil y juvenil" (Pedagogical elements in the structure of the children's and youth press), by Margarita Antón Crespo.

1986 "Información y Comunicación: funciones en la moderna enseñanza" (Information and Communication: functions in modern teaching), by Teófilo Gutiérrez Gallego;

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New Work on Media Education in English

—CRT Editor

Silverblatt, Art. *Media Literacy: Keys to Interpreting Media Messages*. Westport, CT/London: Praeger, 1995. Pp. xi, 340. ISBN 0 275 94830 7 (hb.) \$65.00; ISBN 0 275 94831 5 (pb.) \$19.95.

This is a university undergraduate-level textbook in "media literacy" or "media education"—preparing people to use the media intelligently. It first sketches relevant theoretical considerations, grouped under the headings of process, context, framework, and production values. Next, it applies these theories to three especially prominent formats: print journalism, advertising, and American political communications. Finally, it focuses on certain recurrent issues in considerations of the media: violence, children, social change and global communications. Finally, a chapter on "outcomes" outlines what the student should have gotten out of the course: critical awareness, a framework for discussing media programming with others, a sense of critical choice and preparation for social actions relevant to the media.

The author is Chair of the Department of Media

Communications at Webster University, Saint Louis. The target audience is American undergraduates. Silverblatt's approach, while adapted to American needs, necessarily covers much the same territory as texts published in Britain and elsewhere, such as Manuel Alvarado and Oliver Boyd-Barrett's *Media Education: An Introduction* (London: British Film Institute/Open University, 1992), Andrew Hart's *Understanding the Media: A Practical Guide* (London: Routledge, 1991), or Len Masterman's trailblazing, *Teaching the Media* (London: Comedia, 1985), and others.

Despite the availability of good textbooks, however, media literacy education at all levels remains sluggish in the United States, where it is possibly most badly needed, and it even has shown declines in some countries where enthusiasm for it once was much higher.

AFTERWORD

W. E. Biernatzki, S.J.

Due to the nature of the collaboration between *Communication Research Trends* and *Revista de ciencias de la información*, this issue of *Trends* has had to depart from its usual format. That departure has been worthwhile because of the insights it has made available into the Spanish and Latin American communication research worlds, as well as the opportunity to update important topics last covered three or more years ago. We shall return to our usual, monographic approach in our next issue.

The abridgments which appear in this issue of *Trends* do not uniformly reflect the prominence given each of the original articles in *Revista*. For example, the article on "Women and Men in the Latin American Media," by Mercedes Charles Creel, was so densely packed with information that what appears here is practically a translation, rather than an abridgement which would have sacrificed many important facts of interest to many of our readers. On the other hand, the articles by Manuel Nuñez Encabo, on ethics and law in

Spain and Latin America, and by Carlos Lozano, on the social construction of the environment, while valuable in themselves, departed from the descriptions of the current state of research which *Trends'* readers expect, and consequently they have been abridged in briefer form, to help us stay within our space limitations.

Gender

The feminist movement has resulted in a huge volume of writing in English, and the two survey articles included here indicate that Spanish and Latin American work on the subject also is beginning to escalate. Some of the resulting work in both languages is undoubtedly of high scientific quality. However, much that has been done in English, at least, appeals more to the criteria of political correctness than it does to any accepted standards of scientific rigor. Progress is being made, but emerging studies in this field, in particular, cannot be accepted uncritically, especially in view of the large volume of publishing involved.

One might also hope that, rather than narrow questions of individual rights alone, the broader issues of social context and the impact of role changes on the whole of society be given more research attention. The trend towards more reception analysis and audience interpretation studies is a move in the right direction, because such studies require consideration of the social placement of the receiver and the social needs the individual tries to satisfy by using the media.

Law and Ethics

The abridged article and the additional material cited indicate how easily discussions of ethics and law overflow into each other. While "morality cannot be legislated," the laws of any society should, ideally, reflect the broad outlines of that society's ethical and moral system and should make it easier for its people to live their lives without undue challenges to their most deeply-held moral principles and values. Policy, often eventually assuming the form of laws, is related and can enter into a full discussion of communication ethics and law. Ideology, the wellspring of a society's political action, is not separable from the ethical dimension of its socio-cultural environment.

All these come even more into play when the discussion moves to the international level, where conflicting national interests may add to the compromises of principle which already often appear to be necessary for peace within individual pluralistic societies. International flows of entertainment, news and data raise legal and ethical questions as well as economic ones. Regulation is made difficult, or

impossible, by the absence of international authorities with punitive powers. Privatization is not necessarily bad, but it can be, and in any event it raises fears among populations where public service (or at least government service) media have been the rule.

An upsurge is evident in research on these vexing questions, as well as increasing respect for their complexity among researchers. Simplistic answers, drawn from ideology rather than hard evidence, will no longer work.

Environment

Our deteriorating environment poses a worldwide problem to which the mass media have paid some, but not enough, attention. Sometimes they have been silent about the damage. At other times they have been outspoken, even hostile towards governments and businesses which, according to their interpretation, have been serious offenders. The rhetoric often is extreme, stimulating backlash, but hope for a solution can be seen in a pro-environmental rhetoric which is both better modulated and more convincing.

Media Education

Media education has been spreading gradually in the Latin countries, as it has in English-speaking countries, but its progress is frustratingly slow. Hindrances are apparent at all levels. Authoritarian governments may resist it because a media-critical population would not be susceptible to their internal propaganda. Businesses might oppose it because it enables people to see through their advertising ploys. Parents are either indifferent or despair of influencing their offsprings' viewing habits. Educators, themselves, often see it as another competitor for space in already crowded curricula or as a challenge to their traditional disciplines. Such factors come into play to block the adequate teaching of a subject which, arguably, should form the core of the whole curriculum in this media-saturated age.

* * *

Notice: The Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences Office of Social Communication (FABC-OSC) has announced the opening of competition for its first annual **Communication Research Award**. The first prize will be US\$2,000, the second \$1,500, and the third \$1,000. The general heading "**Church and Communication in Asia**" is designed to encourage research dealing with Christian churches' communication activities in Asia. Although FABC-OSC is a Catholic organization, the competition is

open to all scholars, regardless of religion, and topics can include interests relating to other churches in Asia, as well. Entries can be academic theses and previously published material, but must have a *minimum* main text of 50 double-spaced pages and must have been written or published within 12 months prior to submission. Entries must be received by October 15th of each year,

Book Reviews

Book Reviewers:

W. E. Biernatzki, S.J. (WEB)

Paul J. Duffy, S.J. (PJD)

Abramson, Albert. *Zworykin: Pioneer of Television*. Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995. Pp. xviii, 319. ISBN 0 252 02104 5 (hb.) \$36.95.

Who invented television? Like many other technological breakthroughs, it resulted from a number of independent inventors, working separately, in competition, or in collaboration, simultaneously and on a broad front. Early efforts can be traced to the mechanical scanning of images, in the 1880s, but the invention of the cathode-ray tube in 1897 inspired many to begin the quest in earnest, as Erik Barnouw points out in his Foreword (pg. ix).

Vladimir Kosma Zworykin was born in Russia, in 1889, and, in 1911, began his research with vacuum tubes at St. Petersburg Institute of Technology, where his teacher, Boris L'Vovich Rozing already had applied for a television patent in 1907 (pp. 12-13). During the Russian Revolution, Zworykin moved to the United States and worked as an engineer for Westinghouse. David Sarnoff, of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) was impressed by Zworykin's record of inventions and put him in charge of all RCA television research in 1930. At that time, although research was continuing in France, England, Germany and Japan, "the most significant research was being done in the United States: by Zworykin in Camden [NJ] and [Philo] Farnsworth in San Francisco" (pg. 246, note 68). Zworykin also contributed to the development of facsimile transmission and motion picture sound technology (pp. 62-64).

The book recounts Zworykin's role in the struggle to develop technology which would make possible clearer TV pictures, and eventually color pictures, at a cost within reach of both broadcasters and audiences. It also sketches the interplay of forces—corporate and political—which influenced that development.

An historical controversy has arisen over the relative importance of the roles of Farnsworth and Zworykin (cum RCA) in the development of television. Abramson denies that "RCA had stolen most of Farnsworth's ideas," as other authors have claimed.

As I indicate in this biography, Farnsworth was indeed ahead of Zworykin with an all-electronic system and great credit is given him... However, Farnsworth was not "first." Zworykin had already built and operated an electronic camera tube in 1924-25, when Farnsworth had not even begun his experiments into television. ...there are plenty of 'firsts' to satisfy everyone. There is no question that our modern system of television owes much more to Zworykin than it does to Farnsworth" (pp. 210-211, note 1).

The book contains copious notes, but no separate bibliography. —WEB

Berger, Arthur Asa. *Essentials of Mass Communication Theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1995. Pp. xi, 208. ISBN 0 8039 7356 X [n.p.]; ISBN 0 8039 7357 8 (pb.) \$15.95.

for awards to be announced on World Communication Day, in May of the following year. For further information, contact: Franz-Josef Eilers, SVD, PhD, Executive Secretary, FABC-OSC, P.O. Box 2036, 1099 Manila, Philippines; Tel: +63 2 732 7170; Fax: +63 2 732 7171.

In this popular presentation of major theories of mass communication and of factors affecting such theories Berger suggests

...that there are five focal points—basic areas of concern—that we might consider in dealing with the mass media: artworks or texts (which are the content of the media), artists (who create works carried by the media), audiences (who read, listen to, and see mass-mediated works), America or society (where the audiences are found), and a medium (which not only carries texts but affects them). (pg. 1)

After introducing some of the major theories and controversies about them, the author devotes separate chapters to each of the five "focal points." Theorists dealt with are broadly drawn from anthropology, sociology, psychology and semiotics/semiology, as well as from communication studies.

Akira Kurosawa's film classic, *Rashomon*, is analyzed as an example of "the artwork (or text)", not only "because it is a masterpiece, but also because it serves as a metaphor for this book" (pg. 27). Theoretical points of view are illustrated according to the different ways they might approach the film, much as the film itself shows differing participants' widely varying descriptions of the incident in which the samurai, Takehiro, met his death.

Appendices contain discussion questions, a glossary, and an extensive reading list. The book is enlivened throughout by the author's own cartoons and line-drawings.

—WEB

Berry, Gordon L., and Joy Keiko Asamen (eds.). *Children and Television: Images in a Changing Sociocultural World*. Newbury Park, CA/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1993. Pp. x, 332. ISBN 0 8039 4699 6 (hb) £39.95; ISBN 0 8039 4700 3 (pb.) £15.95.

This reader's 22 papers by 37 authors, all based in the United States, cover a wide range of questions relating to children and "the box." Berry's "Introduction" sets the stage, describing television as a "worldwide cultural tapestry", which at the same time constitutes much of the environment in which today's children must live, learn and mature.

The volume's four parts deal, respectively, with general questions about the child's development in the new multimedia world, with the more specific question of how children's developing worldviews are affected by television, with the impact of TV on the child's perception of ethnic, gender and social diversity, and with future prospects for children's programming.

Joy Keiko Asamen's "Epilogue" presents an overview of how and what children learn from television. She notes that the "television tapestry" affords children "a unique opportunity to see the world as perceived by others," and consequently an opportunity to learn about themselves, as well. "Of course, the caveat here is whether what children learn about themselves from television is best left unlearned" (pg. 309). Both parents and educators have a clear obligation to ensure that children learn to use the medium to best advantage.

That children learn from TV is one thing, *how* they learn is more complicated. As Asamen points out, "there is no consistent way in which the learning process is theoretically conceptualized" (*ibid.*). Much remains to be learned about the "interdependence that has emerged between viewer

and this medium," to enable all who deal with television to fulfill their responsibilities to the children caught up in this new environment. --WEB

Biocca, Frank, and Mark R. Levy (eds.). *Communication in the Age of Virtual Reality*. Hillsdale, NJ/Hove, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995. Pp. viii, 401. ISBN 0 8058 1549 X (hb.) \$79.95; ISBN 0 8058 1550 3 (pb.) \$29.95.

Not everyone who has contributed to the development of virtual reality technology is happy with the seemingly oxymoronic term, "virtual reality" (VR), but it has stuck, rather than more sober alternatives, such as "simulation" or "virtual environments" (pg. 4). "Part computer simulation, part 'consensual hallucination'" (pg. vii), VR retains such a pervasive image of "play" and "science fiction" that it has been difficult for many serious communication scholars to systematically explore its implications as a communication medium (pg. viii).

In chapter one, Biocca, Taeyong Kim and Mark R. Levy portray VR as a step in the 2000-year search for the "ultimate display," and therefore for "the ultimate communication medium" (pg. 7). This search has encompassed the whole history of representational art, photography, film and television, gradually appealing to greater and greater involvement of all five senses.

In chapter two, Biocca and Levy come to grips with VR precisely as a complex communication system, rather than a "piece of technology." Media always have been "environments", but VR differs from other media in aiming at "full immersion of the human sensorimotor channels into a vivid computer-generated experience" (pg. 17 - authors' italics). VR, therefore, is fully on the course charted by earlier communication developments. The authors nevertheless admit that, when we ask the question "How can we communicate most effectively using VR interfaces? The best answer is: We're not sure, but we'll soon find out" (pg. 19).

Entertainment applications of VR are relatively obvious, and many already are on the market, as Carrie Heeter describes in chapter seven (pp. 191-218). Unfortunately, many entertainment applications already have joined the downward curve of other entertainment media towards ever greater exploitation of sex and violence.

The book's three sections contain papers on, 1) virtual reality as communication medium, 2) designing virtual environments, and 3) the social reality of virtual reality. Various potential communication applications are described by Biocca and Levy in chapter five (pp. 127-157).

Lisa St. Clair Harvey closes the final chapter, on "communication issues and policy implications," asking whether a world whose communication is dominated by VR will be "a richer place, or just a more complicated one?" (pg. 384). --WEB

Cox, Geoffrey. *Pioneering Television News*, London/Paris/Rome: John Libbey, 1995. Pp.x, 248. ISBN 0 86196 484 5 (pb) £18.

Geoffrey Cox, editor of Britain's Independent Television News (ITN) from 1956 to 1968, pioneered the development of television news and founded that country's first half-hour prime time news program, *News at Ten*. Sir Robin Day, a colleague, describes Cox as "the greatest television journalist we have known in Britain".

Cox's book is a history of news broadcasting, in Britain from 1922 and in the U.S. from 1920. Much of the story is told from the inside, for his career covered a good part of the period, first as a press foreign correspondent and then as a leader in broadcast news. His historical sketch begins with the earliest days of radio, when the press proprietors in both countries succeeded in forcing radio to use the news sources of the press and in restricting the times when news could be broadcast.

The Second World War gave radio its chance to break away from restrictions imposed by press proprietors, and the initiatives of broadcasters like Ed Murrow and William L. Shirer made radio a leading force in news broadcasting. People like Cox recognized the potential of television for presenting the news, and used imagination in bringing together the production results and techniques of newsreels and cinema documentaries and the new medium of television. An important milestone in the history of

televised news reporting was the shift in the U.S. towards televising the 1948 Republican and Democrat conventions. The Korean War of the early 1950's provided an added stimulus, and offered news reporters opportunities to prove the worth of this new kind of news reporting.

In Britain a major development came with the establishment of the Independent Television Authority - the commercial competition to challenge the BBC's monopoly of television content and techniques. Cox traces the history of the rapid developments which followed: the covering of elections, the first outside broadcasts, the 'personalization' of the news (news programs centered on the personality of the news reader), new techniques of news gathering and reporting in war zones, the political interview, the effect of televised reporting on the conduct of politics and politicians' style in an age of image politics.

In narrating the history of this period of broadcasting Cox also offers serious reflections on matters such as: news values; ethical dilemmas in choosing news items and in the manner of presenting them; the hard judgements to be made in covering socially sensitive matters like race riots, when television's images might exacerbate a dangerous situation; and the powerful temptation of television news reporters and producers to become players in political and international affairs. He describes the adventure of developing television news and, at the same time, makes a critical appraisal of this part of broadcasting. He lists its achievements and the benefits it brings to the public and to social and political life. At the same time he is candid in identifying and discussing its failings and occasional excesses.

This book is a valuable history of the development of television news, told with an insider's understanding not only of the period of his leadership, but also of the evolution of radio news and of the role of cinema newsreels and cinema documentaries in preparing the way for televised news. Cox begins and ends his book with an account of the role which live television coverage played in the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and in saving President Yeltsin during the attempted coup to overthrow him in 1991. He sees the television news camera as not only recording history but helping to shape it, and believes that the role of television in those recent events illustrates how far television news has come "since it took its first tentative steps barely four decades ago" (pg 228).

--PJD

Downing, John, Ali Mohammadi, and Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi (eds.). *Questioning the Media: A Critical Introduction*, Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1995. Pp. xxix, 511. ISBN 0 8039 7196 6 (hb.); ISBN 0 8039 7197 4 (pb.). \$27.95.

This new edition of the popular critical studies reader omits six chapters from the first edition and adds eight new chapters. In addition, several of the retained chapters have been rewritten, in some cases with new co-authors. The authors are currently active in Australia (2), Canada (1), England (4), the Netherlands (3), Scotland (1), the U.S.A. (15 [including Texas (8)]), and Wales (1).

The book is divided into five parts, dealing respectively with, 1) culture, history and technology; 2) media, power and control; 3) audiences and users; 4) information technologies; and 5) mass media and popular culture. The editors open with a selective chronology of the development of communications media, from the Cro-Magnon through 1994, with a somewhat Anglo-American perspective.

The preface, in the form of "a letter to the beginning student," argues the need for a critical approach to the study of communication, to avoid taking too much for granted.

One introductory chapter deals with the interaction between communication and culture and with the definition of terms generally linked to culture, as it is approached by the critical studies scholars: *hegemony*, *ideology*, etc., and especially *power*. Brian Winston, in his contribution, explores how technological change occurs in mass communication and the effects technology may or may not have on the content of mass communication, according to differing theoretical perspectives. Stress on the technological tends to characterize the audience as impotent, while attention to the cultural and social context is regarded as empowering.

Edward Herman questions the degree of freedom which is present in the U.S. media, filtered as it is through economically determined gatekeeping mechanisms.

Denis McQuail discusses the "mixed model" of broadcasting in Western Europe and whether the public service component of the mix can survive in the competitive atmosphere created by the newer, privately owned commercial networks.

Ien Ang continues her exploration of the active audience, denying that audiences can be considered as "masses"--"anonymous and passive aggregates of people without identity." Instead, evidence is mounting of the very different ways in which different people respond to the media and use it for their own purposes.

Cees Hamelink, in his chapter on "Information Imbalance Across the Globe," stresses that imbalances still dominate world communication, and that a need still exists for a new world information and communication order which will begin to correct them.

Mary Desjardins looks at cinema as a form of communication, rather than as a form of art, as it is often treated. She raises questions about problematic elements in the future of cinema in the new world of on-line interactive electronic communication.

Sari Thomas attacks some myths about television current in the United States. One of these is that it is "simply entertainment", and therefore of no particular importance in shaping the views and orientations of its audience. Another is that consumer culture and the promotion of consumerism are features of the advertising, but not of the drama and entertainment portions of television programming. She feels that all aspects of commercial television are designed to promote a consumption mentality, hidden behind the myth of the "American dream", which is a powerful instrument for maintaining political and social stability. --WEB

Genosko, Gary. *Baudrillard and Signs: Signification Ablaze.* London/New York: Routledge, 1994. Pp. xxii, 197. ISBN 0 415 11256 7; ISBN 0 415 11257 5 (pb.) \$17.95.

In early works (*Le Système des objets* [1968] and *Le Société de consommation* [1970]) Jean Baudrillard set out to define consumption as it occurred in everyday life. By 1973, he had rejected Marxism, as a "repressive simulation" of capitalism. Basing his orientation on ethnology, he moved to a definition of symbolic exchange as "an incessant cycle of giving and receiving," almost as an end in itself. Denying Saussure's, as well as Marx's laws of value, he developed a model of "simulacra," first of three orders, then of four (pp. xiii-xv).

These and other aspects of Baudrillard's thought have helped place him among the leading theorists of postmodernism, even though much of his work is an "explicit struggle against postmodernism. . . Baudrillard is not an advocate of the 'dead sign' and 'semiological implosion'" (pg. xvii). "Baudrillard still clings to hope" (pg. 163).

Chapter one in Genosko's book deals with Baudrillard's playing of "bar games"--designed to avoid being "neutralized.in the prison of structural simulation" (pg. 163). Other chapters are on "simulation and semiosis" (chapter two), "varieties of symbolic exchange," and "empty signs and extravagant objects," offering a brief, critical survey of main features of Baudrillard's thought.

An extensive bibliography (pp. 172-188) includes relevant works into 1992. --WEB

Heath, Robert L. *Management of Corporate Communication: From Interpersonal Contacts to External Affairs.* Hillsdale, NJ/Hove, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994. Pp. ix, 306. ISBN 0 8058 1551-1 (hb.) \$59.95; ISBN 0 8058 1552 X (pb.) \$24.50.

The author presents an "enactment" approach to corporate communication, which "assumes that managers cannot control, but can guide employees," and that "companies result from joint..efforts, between persons inside the organization, and between the organization and people outside of it." Successful organizations result from joint enactment.

"Managers are best when they enact a drama with employees rather than attempt to direct the actions of employees" (pg. vii).

The book's explanation of enactment theory elaborates the elements involved in successful organizational enactment. The meanings the company has for each individual either empowers or disempowers the employees and affect the success of the company as a whole. Information, rhetoric and dialectic must be brought together in the company's communication to clarify meanings and thereby to encourage successful enactment.

Chapters deal with the varying expectations which affect performance, the way narrative--"the large picture of their society"--influences interpretations of company and work, the role of information in promoting job satisfaction, management as symbolic action influencing identification of employees with the company, the negotiation of meaning through joint construction of narrative, the importance of interpersonal contact between managers and employees, overcoming barriers of jargon and perspective which characterize subunits within the organization, meanings as factors in marketing, and the challenges posed to the organization's public relations by conflicting external zones of meaning. The latter challenges are to be met by creating harmonious narratives as contexts for the negotiation of mutually beneficial meanings with persons outside the organizations. --WEB

Hewes, Dean E. (ed.) *The Cognitive Bases of Interpersonal Communication.* Hillsdale, NJ/Hove, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995. Pp. viii, 260. ISBN 0 8058 0469 2 (hb.) \$49.95.

Hewes and his contributors grapple directly with questions at the interface between the sociological study of human behavior, on the one hand, and its psychological study, on the other. The search for answers to these questions always has been a minefield in a no-man's-land between the group orientation of the sociologist and the focus on the individual which characterizes psychology.

Interpersonal communication lies squarely on this interface, right in the middle of the minefield, but it offers the elusive key not only to the fullest understanding of communication but also to the understanding of all social behavior. The communications scholar must deal with both orientations, since a meaningful analysis of the act of communicating must give full attention both to the individual and to the distinctive character of social behavior. Sharing with sociologists a primary focus on the social side of interaction research, interpersonal communication scholars are able to provide a corrective influence to psychological social psychology. Left to itself, the latter runs the danger of searching for a detailed understanding of the human mind, which is essential, but of neglecting the social factor, also essential to the communication process.

In their introductory chapter, Robert S. Wyer, Jr., and Deborah H. Gruenfeld address the need for a balanced approach and go on to explore the "cognitive foundations of interpersonal construction" from a social psychological perspective. Three chapters, by different authors, then look at the same phenomena "from a cognitive psychological standpoint." Two more chapters then consider it from an artificial intelligence outlook; and a final chapter, by Robert D. McPhee, critiques the "cognitive enterprise" from the point of view of philosophy.

Hewes classifies the theories and research described in each of the chapters as "serial processing" studies, which heretofore have constituted the greater part of the cognitive approach to interpersonal communication. Another exploratory stream, that of "parallel distributed processing models", is not treated here, and as yet has had little impact on the field. Nevertheless, Hewes feels it should soon begin to do so, supplementing the work whose fruit is sampled in this book (pg. 3, fn. 4). --WEB

IDEA 95/96: International Directory of Electronic Arts/Guide Internationale des Artes Electroniques. Paris/London: CHAOS Editions/John Libbey, 1995. Pp. 576. ISBN (John Libbey) 0 86196 468 3; ISBN (CHAOS) 2 909754 01 4; ISSN 1244 2143 (all pb.). 195 FF/US \$38/£24.

In his Foreword Roy Ascott resoundingly proclaims the rationale of this international--forty countries are represented--bilingual directory:

The electronic arts are the defining arts of our time, and the emergent culture, which is sweeping us into the 21st century, is the product of the fertile interactions of the thousands of creative individuals, identified by name or by institution, who have their place in this comprehensive directory (pg. 9).

Electronic arts are distinguished from more traditional Western art forms--painting, sculpture, etc.--which the compilers clearly regard as passé, except when combined with the truly contemporary art of the various electronic media.

Listings are under four categories: 1) organizations, by country, 2) artists, 3) people (researchers, theoreticians, critics and exhibition curators), and 4) periodicals, television and radio channels. Several indexes further facilitate access to the contents, and a brief bibliography suggests further printed sources.

--WEB

Lang, Annie (ed.). *Measuring Psychological Responses to Media.* Hillsdale, NJ/Hove, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994. Pp. x, 244. ISBN 0 8058 0717 9 (hb.) \$49.95.

Communication studies began in many, more traditional disciplines. Much of this diversity and interdisciplinary character remains today, even after communication departments and associations of communication scholars have become accepted enough on the academic scene to establish communication as a distinct academic discipline. One of the major contributors to the study of communication has been psychology, with its focus on the individual and small group--both of which are necessary components of any communicative situation.

The authors of the twelve chapters in Lang's book explore how psychological methods might be applied to studying the process of communication. They recognize that different problems and contexts require different tools and different methods. Some call for qualitative methods, but, as the use of the word "measuring" in the title suggests, this book is chiefly devoted to quantitative approaches, in the tradition of behavioral psychology.

Measurable physiological reactions can often be used as indexes to psychological processes. For example, chapter three, by Ester Thorson, concerns "using eyes on screen as a measure of attention to television", and Annie Lang, in chapter five, asks, "What can the heart tell us about thinking?"; while Robert Hopkins and James E. Fletcher, in chapter six, discuss the effectiveness of electrodermal measurement in forecasting message influence on sales appeal.

In chapter eleven, Elizabeth Puggles Lorch discusses ways to measure children's cognitive processing of television.

Broader methodological questions are addressed by Byron Reeves, on experimental design to measure responses to media messages, and by Annie Lang, who comments on setting up a laboratory for communication research using experimental psychological methods.

--WEB

Linz, Daniel, and Neil Malamuth. *Pornography* (Communication Concepts 5). Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1993. Pp. viii, 76. ISBN 0 8039 4480 2 (hb) \$24.00; ISBN 0 8039 4481 0 (pb.) \$10.95.

Pornography is one of the most perennial, but at the same time most elusive concepts in discussions of communication. Unlike Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart, who said "that he could not define pornography, but he knew it when he saw it (*Jacobellis v. Ohio*, 1964)" (pg. 1), the authors contend that there are at least several commonly shared points of view as to what constitutes it. They distinguish "pornography", literally, "depiction of acts of prostitutes", from "obscenity", depiction of the filthy or shameful, and the "erotic", having sexual themes or qualities which could be present in art or literature.

Although there might be some agreement about recognizing pornography, at least within one cultural milieu, there is a wide range of disagreement about its moral implications and social-psychological meaning. These interpretations, in turn, are based upon differing "assumptions about human nature, society, and truth" (pg. 6). The authors classify these into three theories: 1) authoritarian/conservative-moral theory, 2) libertarian/liberal theory, and 3) social responsibility/feminist theory. These three theories provide assumptions which can be used to frame empirically testable hypotheses. The authors discuss examples of research representing each category. They conclude that each approach has made unique contributions to understanding various aspects of the topic.

An extensive list of references is appended.

--WEB

Maarek, Philippe J. *Political Marketing and Communication* (Acamedia Research Monographs). London/Paris/Rome: John Libbey, 1995. Pp. x, 246. ISBN 0 86196 3776; ISSN 0956 9057 (pb.) £20.00

This book is an English-language adaptation of the author's *Communication et marketing de l'homme politique* (Paris: LITEC, 1992).

The book's four parts deal, respectively, with the history, foundations, and tools of modern political marketing and the distinctive features of election campaigns. Although political communication literature has been dominated by United States researchers and perspectives, scholars from other countries are beginning to make major contributions to the field. David L. Paletz, of Duke University, in his Preface to the present book, has high praise for this contribution by Maarek, "the leading French researcher in this area."

Professor Maarek has produced a manual of everything we ever wanted (and needed) to know about political marketing: its history, foundation, stages, tools and their application, methods and distinctive features as contained in public relations efforts and election campaigns. (pg. ix)

Political marketing began in the United States, due to its electoral system, "its tradition of elections for all public offices, and the rapid expansion of modern mass media" (pg. 8). Each of these factors was present, in some form, from the nation's beginning, but the author dates political marketing's major period of evolution from 1952, when "the two main parties earmarked a special budget for political communication" (pg. 11).

Political marketing has its own methods which distinguish it from commercial marketing, and it also has certain guidelines which must be observed, regardless of what medium is used. For example, campaign decisions must be carefully correlated to ensure coherence and consistency, repetition even of successful earlier campaigns must be avoided, at least a minimal differentiation from the opponent must be established, and maximum security must be maintained to keep the candidate from such dangerous practices as undue speculation on the direction the rival's campaign might take.

Accurate market analysis, to obtain correct information about voter attitudes, is essential to a successful campaign, and mastery of a limited, but indispensable range of analytical tools must be assured to carry it out.

In his conclusion, the author insists that, suspect though it may be in some circles, the use of political marketing is an inevitable part of the evolution of modern democratic societies, due in large part to the spread of mass media (pp. 225-229).

--WEB

McMahan, Eva M., and Kim Lacy Rogers (eds.). *Interactive Oral History Interviewing.* Hillsdale, NJ/Hove, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994. Pp. ix, 172. ISBN 0 8058 0576 1 (hb.) \$39.95.

The eight papers in this volume all start from the assumption that oral history interviews are "subjective, socially constructed and emergent events; that is, understanding, interpretation, and meaning of lived experience are interactively constructed" (pg. vii). They tell us more about the meaning of events than about the events themselves. The purpose of the book is to "address the possibilities and constraints inherent in oral history

interviewing" (ibid.).

The authors address how political ideology influences the views of both interviewer and interviewee, how narrators construct desirable self-images in the interviews, how civil rights activists fit their own experiences of victimization into the larger context of personal development and the movement itself, how social-psychological factors influence interviews, how interviewers' assumptions can compromise narrators' responses, how interviewers and narrators negotiate the construction of "interactional texts", racial and ethnic variables in interviewing, and how photographs can be used to stimulate alternative memories in interviewees.

The editors caution that they are not covering the whole range of factors that influence the interviews, but only a few factors of special significance.

Some of the cases used to illustrate the papers' theoretical and methodological presentations include interviews with women school superintendents, prisoners, and Japanese-Americans who had been interned during the Second World War.

--WEB

Miller, Nod, and Rod Allen (eds.). *Broadcasting Enters the Marketplace* (Current Debates in Broadcasting 3). London/Paris/Rome: John Libbey, 1994. Pp. vi, 154. ISBN 0 86196 434 9; ISSN 0963 6544 (pb.) £16.00.

The Broadcasting Act of 1990 turned Independent Television in Britain on its head, with the greatest impact coming on January 1, 1993, when "the new ITV licences, which had been bid for in the blind auction introduced by the Act, had come into force" (pg. 1). The 24th University of Manchester Broadcasting Symposium, whose proceedings are embodied in this volume, addressed the effects of the newly-operative Act.

The most immediate effect of the Act on London viewers was the unexpected demise of Thames Television, as the ITV franchise holder for the London region, and its replacement by Carlton, the successful bidder in the auction. The huge sum--around £44 million--paid by Carlton for the London franchise raised questions as to whether the company would have enough financial resources left to develop and maintain quality programming. On the other hand, franchise companies whose regional claims were unchallenged got by with small payments--Central, for example, spent only £2,000. Even Timothy Renton, MP, one of the drafters of the Parliamentary White Paper which led to the 1990 Act, expressed fears that the wide disparity in resources among the regional companies caused or aggravated by the auction would inevitably lead "to strains in the federal ITV system" (pg. 5).

The concessions to market forces represented in the 1990 Act raised fears especially among those most dedicated to the public service ideal in broadcasting. Multiplication of channels was cited as a danger to domestic programming because of lack of productive capacity to fill the extra air time. "The French went to seven channels and the result was that France became very quickly the largest net importer of American programmes in Europe" (pg. 13). Not even the BBC is immune to these pressures, because of its need to attract a large enough audience, in competition with the commercial channels, to justify its obligatory license fees charged every owner of a television set in the U.K.

These and many other related questions are taken up by the Symposium participants, who represent a wide range of broadcasters, academics and others interested in the future of television in Britain.

--WEB

Nevitt, Barrington, and Maurice McLuhan. *Who was Marshall McLuhan?*, Toronto, Ontario: Comprehensivist Publications, 1994, Pp. 324, ISBN 1-896194-00-4 (pb), \$24.95.

For more than 25 years Maurice McLuhan and Barrington Nevitt worked closely with Marshall McLuhan at his Centre for Culture and Technology at the University of Toronto, collaborating with him in his research, writings and seminars. Maurice, the younger brother, and Nevitt asked more than eighty people who had worked with McLuhan or had been his students to say what they had learnt from him. The result is this book of recollections, anecdotes and considered judgements about the man who

changed many of our ways of thinking about technology and communication.

Many of the contributors were at one time or another participants in McLuhan's Monday night seminars, an informal gathering of university colleagues, students and others, which became something of an institution noted for its discussion of a wide range of subjects, with McLuhan the generator of 'literary and cultural thought in operation', as one participant recalled. Among those attracted to these seminars were architects, anthropologists, business people, film makers, teachers, media executives, advertising people, history and English professors, city planners and environmentalists, and celebrities like Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, journalist Malcolm Muggeridge, Russian poet Yevtuschenko, and management guru Peter Drucker.

In his studies McLuhan ranged over a great variety of subjects and vast areas of learning, all done to advance his research in what became his main concern: the impact of technology on culture. His research led him into the field of communications and the revolution which communications technology was generating. In the 1960's he became world famous for some of his sayings, such as 'the medium is the message' and the 'global village'. This book illustrates the very considerable influence McLuhan had on a vast circle of friends, colleagues, students, and media professionals, and on the development of media studies. Maurice McLuhan and Barrington Nevitt add valuable explanatory commentaries to these contributions, which describe so well McLuhan's achievements as scholar, teacher, and innovative thinker about technology, media and culture.

--PJD

Poirier, Suzanne. *Chicago's War on Syphilis: The Times, the Trib, and the Clap Doctor*. Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995. Pp. x, 271. ISBN 0 252 02147 9 (hb.) \$42.50.

Chicago thought it had beaten syphilis in the early 1920s, but the disease had only retreated to a dormant or recessive stage in a large portion of the infected population, and it burst out again in the mid-1930s. The *Chicago Tribune* had forthrightly reported the earlier struggles to wipe out the venereal disease, whose very name had been nearly taboo among most other mass media (pp. 58-59). On the grounds of aiding the public good, the newspaper quickly leapt to the support of the Chicago Syphilis Control Program as soon as it was launched in January 1937, despite the fact that the Chicago program was the "flagship" for a national program instigated and largely supported by the U.S. government, then in the control of Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal"--a perennial bête noire for the pro-Republican *Trib* (pg. 10). That was only one of many complications which beset this experimental public health program in the always-interesting world of Illinois politics.

Puritanical attitudes in the United States had prevented the institution of the controls on prostitution which had limited the spread of venereal disease in Western European countries. Consequently, it lurked in unexpected corners of society, ready to strike even the innocent. Among the reforms the Program inaugurated were mandatory premarital blood testing, centralized reporting of cases, and other measures which raised questions about privacy, government intervention into intimate matters, sex education, racial discrimination, and similar issues with equal potential for controversy.

Although the *Tribune* remained supportive of the Program, its reporting as well as statements by health officials contained many errors and tactical blunders, sometimes even contributing to the rampant mythology about the disease. The author sees parallels between the case of the Syphilis Control Program of the 1930s and responses to the AIDS epidemic of the 1990s. Her epilog (pp. 213-226) draws lessons from the earlier experience which might help in understanding and controlling AIDS, even though she is careful to show the differences between the two diseases and their different historical contexts (pp. 213-214). A big difference is that syphilis was brought under at least some level of control by the advent of antibiotics, in the 1940s, while the cure for AIDS remains elusive. A major social difference is the heightened sense of individual rights in the 1990s, which prevents the use of some of the heavier-handed disease control methods used in the 1930s.

Poirier's main theme, however, is the interpretations and meanings attached to a "fearful" disease by the press, the public, and even the doctors;

and how those extra-medical factors could exert important positive and negative influences on the whole control program. --WEB

Reporters Sans Frontières. *Reporters Sans Frontières 1995 Report: Freedom of the press throughout the world.* London/Paris/Rome: John Libbey, 1995. Pp. v, 362. ISBN 0 86196 523 X (pb.), £15.00.

Reporters Sans Frontières' 1995 report covers violations of press freedom in 152 countries throughout the world during 1994. It was a bad year for journalists. At least 103 were murdered and over 130 jailed, with more arrested, assaulted, threatened, intimidated and harassed. Others have simply disappeared without a trace. In addition, new forms of pressure on reporters were developing to limit their ability to cover the news as fully as it should be covered. The worsening situation is exemplified by the numbers of deaths. The 1993 Report documented the deaths of 61 journalists in the line of duty during 1992, and the 1994 Report said that 63 had been killed in 1993, although 30 more had died in mysterious circumstances (see review in *CRT*, vol. 14, no. 4 (1994), pg. 45). Three-quarters of those killed in 1994 died in Africa, while most of the imprisoned were in Asia.

Nor were journalists, themselves, always innocent. The Introduction cites Rwanda, where "the presenters of *Radio Libre des Mille Collines*, who stirred up ethnic hatred and masterminded massacres, took refuge in the sacrosanct principle of press freedom to carry out their bloody mission" (pg. 3).

Reporters Sans Frontières is a human rights organization, based in Paris; and it invites both memberships and information about violations of press freedom (fax: +33 1 45 23 11 51). --WEB

Reynolds, John Frederick, Carolyn B. Matalene, Joyce Neff Magnotto, Donald C. Samson, Jr., and Lynn Veach Sadler. *Professional Writing in Context: Lessons From Teaching and Consulting in Worlds of Work.* Hillsdale, NJ/Hove, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995. Pp. viii, 186. ISBN 0 8058 1726 3 (hb.) \$39.95; ISBN 0 8058 1727 1 (pb.) \$18.00.

Anyone who has tried to make head or tail of a computer manual knows that not everyone who tries to write "adult work-world" text succeeds in communicating. Fred Reynolds and Carolyn Matalene, professional teachers of professional writing, assembled three other authors to develop this book about "how our work-world experiences had transformed our thinking about writing and the teaching of writing" (pg. vii). The expertise of the authors cover different contexts of such writing, including for-profit corporations, state and local government agencies, federal bureaucracies, and high-tech firms. Lynn Veach Sadler adds the broader point of view of a publisher who also has been a writing teacher and Milton scholar.

In his chapter, Reynolds first lists some of the major deficiencies noted in "adult work-world writing," then suggests corresponding solutions: Writers need to write reader-oriented, not writer-oriented, prose. They need to understand the rhetorical context ("the big picture") of a document before starting to write it. They should plan the structures of documents--using outlines, etc.--before they start drafting them. They "need to write more directly, deductively, and non-narratively," rather than hiding the main points in a maze of inductions and aimless narrative. "Writers need to unpack, deflate, decompress, and simplify sentences." They also need to avoid "common and personal 'little-picture' error patterns," such as "goofs" involving mechanics, semicolons, commas, and the confusion of similar words.

Writers must adapt to different circumstances, but there are some principles applicable to all writing. Furthermore, as Sadler notes, "writing undergirds every career." She adds that, in a time when people change jobs frequently, "we should teach writing, overall, as a highly adapting human art that meets and surpasses circumstances" (pg. 129). --WEB

Taylor, Mark C., and Esa Saarinen. *Imagologies: Media Philosophy.* London/New York: Routledge, 1994. Pages numbered

within each section, only. ISBN 0 415 10337 1; ISBN 0 415 10338 X (pb.) \$21.00.

The authors, who first met at a conference on Hegel's philosophy at the University of Helsinki, in 1984, conceived a plan for a trans-Atlantic seminar using interactive technology to simultaneously involve their students at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, and the University of Helsinki, respectively.

The subject of the seminar? We'll have to work it out in detail but here's the general idea. We could call the course "Imagologies"--something like mythologies but for images. .. Our goal would be to create an awareness of the significance of the technological revolution that is taking place" [Mark to Esa, Sept. 4, 1994; page "Communicative Practices 7"].

The book which developed out of the seminar is admitted to be "in a certain sense.. a non-book." It includes quotations from published sources, input from students and--as a kind of framework--the dialog (presumably on Internet) between the two authors (thankfully, in chronological order!). The text is mostly printed "sound bytes", in various shapes and sizes of type, except for the authors' dialog, which is in typewriter typeface. The print is scattered through pages dominated by black and white design images, parts of photographs, etc. The style will be familiar to readers of *Wired* magazine, which does much the same thing in color, and several other publications which project a "postmodern" image. This format takes some getting used to on the part of the "linear programmed" older generation before they are able to break through to sample the volume's philosophical insights.

No bibliography or systematic references.

--WEB

Warren, Michael. *Communications and Cultural Analysis: A Religious View.* Westport, CT/London: Bergin and Garvey (Greenwood Publishing Group), 1992. Pp. xvi, 161. ISBN 0 89789 288 7 (hb.) \$49.95.

Warren is concerned with the role of the media in contemporary culture and with how to analyze the impact both of the media and their cultural products upon us, our freedoms and our efforts at personal fulfillment. He depends heavily on the work of Raymond Williams, but rounds out Williams' approach by adding the religious dimension. His ultimate purpose in looking at our mediated culture of consumption is to foster what he calls

..cultural agency: the ability, first, to think about how meaning is created, in whose interests it is created, and what sort of rendition of reality it is; and the ability, second, to make judgments about the meaning presented to us, using aesthetic, ideological, and religious criteria. (pg. 127)

To Williams, Warren adds influences, direct and indirect, from Paulo Freire and liberation theology. The result is a framework, or social-philosophical-theological foundation which can lend support to media education or, more broadly, to the living of an effective, self-directed life in a world dominated by hegemonic, mass-mediated cultural influences. Warren sees religion as being of practical help in developing this integral autonomy by giving people a separately-derived set of values and principles to use in critically judging the culture of our day-to-day situations. Although the author uses Catholic examples, the tenets of any coherently-articulated religion which appeals to transcendental principles can serve the same function for its believers (pg. xv).

Warren regards true culture as a productive force, "bubbling..out of a people." "Popular culture," in the commercialized sense in which we often perceive it, is a perversion of true culture, imposed from without (pg. 15). He does not see a dichotomy or opposition between religious culture and secular culture. The latter, too, "always possesses life-enriching characteristics valuable to religious persons" (ibid.). --WEB