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Intercultural Communication

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"What we have here is a failure to communicate." Cool Hand Luke, in the movie, was describing his confrontation with the police; but he could just as well have been describing the roots of even bloodier confrontations between ethnic communities. Paradoxically, as the means of communication become more and more sophisticated the "failure to communicate" among ethnic groups has become a more and more critical problem. As the technical possibility of communicating has grown, **effective** communication among cultures seems increasingly problematic. In the past decade ethnic identity and cultural differences have replaced ideology as the major cause of wars and civil unrest, around the world.

Interest in the process of intercultural communication and in ways to improve it has grown accordingly. Academic departments of communication have added intercultural communication courses to their programs, publications have multiplied, and a wide range of training sessions and workshops are being offered to businesses which want to send employees to other countries.

But intercultural dialogue is, in the final analysis, both personal and complex. There is no mechanical "system" which can prepare the individual to participate effectively in that dialogue. Effective participation requires both inborn aptitudes and openness to others and their different ways of doing things. The mix of relevant factors is apt to be continually changing, altering in turn the behavior of each participant.

Many researchers are studying how to control the damage and let the dialogue continue. This issue of *Trends* cannot survey their many contributions as thoroughly as they deserve, but it can give some idea of the lines in which representative research is moving and how some of the problems of intercultural dialogue might be met.

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Intercultural Communication

I. Background

Fred E. Jandt. *Intercultural Communication: An Introduction.* Thousand Oaks, CA/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1995.

Introduction

Communication Research Trends last devoted an issue to intercultural communication research almost ten years ago (Vol. 7, No. 3 - 1986). Since that time, the field has developed significantly, with a substantial volume of publication appearing each year.

Despite all the work that has gone into research on intercultural communication its processes remain difficult to analyze. Theory development has proceeded with vigor, but the many factors which affect any intercultural encounter make it especially difficult for any theory to encompass. In a recent review article, Guo-Ming Chen and William J. Starosta (1996: 370) noted the fragmentation which has characterized the development of theoretical models in the field and thereby hampered our global understanding of it.

Dialogue among differing peoples nevertheless remains an exciting topic for study, touched by the exotic color and variety of anthropology while sharing in the urgency of contemporary communications advances with all their attendant problems and possibilities.

History

Beginnings

Many of the early contributors to the development of intercultural communication studies were, understandably, anthropologists. Others -- missionaries, explorers, soldiers, traders, captives and adventurers -- had probed cultural interfaces before them, and often left valuable descriptions of diverse peoples and accounts of efforts to communicate with them, but the anthropologists were the first to go to other societies specifically to record their customs, starting in earnest by the mid-nineteenth century.

The early anthropologists sought mainly to describe cultures. Their approach to intercultural communication included recording unwritten languages and learning enough of a particular language to be able to appreciate, to some degree, the meanings people of that culture assigned to their own artifacts and behavior.

Rising Urgency

That tendency continued into the twentieth century, but the Second World War and its aftermath brought a heightened realization of the need for intercultural understanding by people outside academia: soldiers, businessmen, diplomats, development workers, and many others. Anthropologists began to write for these groups and to participate in training programs to give them practical skills for successful work with people of different cultures. An outstanding figure in these early efforts, described in the 1986 issue of *Trends*, was Edward T. Hall, whose many publications have revealed to those audiences hidden dimensions of intercultural dialogue (Hall 1959, 1966, 1976, 1983, etc.).

A Distinct Field

By the early 1980s, intercultural communication was coalescing into a field with a distinctive identity. It necessarily continued to draw heavily from social and cultural anthropology, and it interacted with the related fields of international and development communication -- from time to time sharing divisions with both in the professional associations. But those who studied intercultural understanding not only were able to define their area of interest rather clearly but also met a rising demand for their services, especially from businesses which were willing to pay for help to avoid cultural pitfalls which might hinder their overseas operations.

This demand was worldwide. Japanese business people were just as puzzled about the strange ways of Americans and Germans as the Westerners were about the ways of the Orient. And, their interests were no longer academic, but had price tags in the billions of yen, dollars and Deutschmarks.

Training Emphasis

Training institutes and workshops have multiplied, as have how-to-do-it books for dealing with people of this or that nation. But the more academic sphere also has been active. Empirical case studies have filled the intercultural sessions of conventions, and increasing numbers of scholars have begun to grapple with the theoretical challenges of intercultural communication. The Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research (SIETAR), organized in the 1970s, brings

together both the training emphasis and applied research in its *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, published quarterly since 1977. The "International and Intercultural Communication Annual" is a more theoretically-oriented regular series, sponsored by the (U.S.) Speech Communication Association under various titles since 1974. The Annual is published by Sage Publications, Inc., which prints a number of other books on the topic every year. At least one American publisher, Intercultural Press, devotes itself entirely to publishing about intercultural relations; and in Britain, Multilingual Matters includes a substantial number of intercultural books among its more specifically linguistic publications.

Terminology

Three terms, "intercultural communication," "cross-cultural communication," and "international communication," seem, at first glance to be synonymous, but each has come to have a distinctive meaning and to define an autonomous line of development.

"Cross-cultural"

Anthropologists have been most concerned with cross-cultural communication studies. These typically are comparative studies of communication processes in different cultures. They describe what goes on within a culture, its communication practices, symbolism, technology, language, etc. Although this information serves as a valuable even a necessary base for studying communication between cultures it does not directly address that process.

"International"

International communication does deal with the interface between cultures, but its interests are characteristically institutional. Typically, the specialist in international communication is concerned with international aspects of the mass media, with communications between governments, with telecommunication technology and its international regulation, with the interplay between the communications policies of different nation-states, with the international role of media conglomerates, etc. Some would separate "global" communication from international communication as a distinctive field (Jandt 1995: 30). Global communication would then deal with transborder communication flows, with their implications for national and cultural autonomy, and with attendant clashes of ideologies and economic interests.

"Intercultural"

Intercultural communication also addresses the interface at which one culture meets another, but it does so at the interpersonal or small group level, rather than the level of large institutions. It would use much the same kind of data as cross-cultural communication, but would apply it directly to understanding the process of communication, whereas cross-cultural communication would stop after describing and comparing the cultural contexts on both sides of the process.

According to Fred E. Jandt, "intercultural communication generally refers to face-to-face interactions among people of diverse cultures" (Jandt 1995: 30). Usually these are individuals or small groups, but may extend to organizations whose policies influence the behavior of their agents at the cultural interface -- such as businesses, missionary bodies, educational institutions, or even governments.

Although the focuses of these three fields are fairly clear, there obviously is much overlap between them; so the study of one necessarily involves some reference to the others.

II. The Interpersonal Dimension

Stella Ting-Toomey and Felipe Korzenny (eds.). *Cross-Cultural Interpersonal Communication* (International and Intercultural Communication Annual, Volume XV, 1991). Newbury Park, CA/London/ New Delhi: Sage, 1991.

Cross-Cultural Description as a Foundation

Research on intercultural communication at the interpersonal level is perhaps the most typical concern of intercultural communication scholars. To anchor their research, however, they have to pay preliminary attention to the character of interpersonal communication patterns in each of the cultures involved before examining how those cultures interact. This comparative study reveals cross-cultural differences in communication patterns, but it also reveals cross-cultural similarities upon which an effective process of intercultural communication might be established.

Other factors operating within each culture also affect what each participant brings to the intercultural forum. For example, the upper socio-economic classes of two societies may have more in common with each other than each does with the underprivileged members of its

own society. Particular factors enter into each intercultural situation and may offset or exaggerate the influence of cultural differences. For example, the mythological use of ethnic history for political purposes in former Yugoslavia and several comparable recent conflicts exaggerated perceptions of cultural differences to such a degree that peaceful neighbors were converted into bloodthirsty enemies. On the other hand, personal friendship and love have bridged many cultural gaps, and the stage of a relationship -- of recent origin or after longer duration -- will affect the influence of cultural differences on it (Ting-Toomey, in Ting-Toomey and Korzenny 1991:1-2).

Romance

Ge Gao (in Ting-Toomey and Korzenny 1991: 99-115) studied factors which account for stability in romantic relationships in China and the United States. Some earlier theories of relationship development (e.g., Altman and Taylor 1973) implied a linear model of the development of verbal disclosure between partners. Later theorists (e.g., Parks 1981) have questioned this, saying that verbal exchanges actually take different forms, depending on the situation, rather than showing a progressive movement towards greater breadth and depth of disclosure. Gao wished "to isolate factors that explain stability in relationships by exploring some of the interactive mechanisms operating in serious romantic relationships in China and the United States" (Ting-Toomey and Korzenny 1991: 99).

Gao conducted open-ended interviews with nine Chinese couples, in the Chinese language in China, and eight North American couples, in the United States in English. Although Chinese informants were significantly less open in their responses to the interviewer than were the North Americans, "four factors...appeared to be salient and consistent within each individual dyad as well as across dyads in both the Chinese sample and the U.S. sample" (pg. 105). (1) Mutual openness, (2) "involvement" or a sense of "togetherness" and the willingness to invest extensive amounts of time in the relationship, (3) shared nonverbal meanings, and (4) common relationship assessment, in which both partners view the relationship in the same way, all played important roles in maintaining the stability of the romantic relationships in both the Chinese and North American samples, according to Gao.

The author notes that these findings highlight the point made earlier by Gudykunst and Kim (1984) that while cultural influences are important in the early stages of relationship development they are less significant in the "affective exchange stage," after initial stereotypes have been broken down (Ting-Toomey and Korzenny 1991: 112).

An Intercultural Love Story

A brief love story can illustrate what happens: When Michiko first meets Joe her first impression is a collection of positive stereotypes -- a tall, handsome, well-mannered, American, kind, moderately well-to-do, etc. Joe's first impression of Michiko is also stereotypical -- cute, doll-like, modest, mysterious, Japanese, soft-spoken, helpful, etc. But as the romance progresses, and they come to know each other better, the stereotypes fall away. Now, for Michiko there is no one else in the world like Joe, and for Joe there is no one else like Michiko. Whether they will live happily ever after depends on many unforeseeable factors. Cultural differences remain, but they are less important now than the couple's history of shared experiences and mutually affirmative behaviors such as Gao described.

Self-Disclosure

Altman's work (Altman 1973) also provided the take-off point for a study by M. J. Won-Doornink comparing stages in the relationships of male dyads (male to male) in Korea and the United States in terms of self-disclosure and reciprocity. An earlier study by Won-Doornink (1985) had compared cross-sex (female -male) dyads and found that strong cultural limitations on social mixing of the sexes in Korea and its encouragement in the United States resulted in major differences in male-female self-disclosure between the two cultures. The later study, however, showed no significant differences between the Korean and American groups in male-male self-disclosure (Ting-Toomey and Korzenny 1991: 123).

Intercultural Applications

Obviously, the findings of cross-cultural studies such as those of Gao and Won-Doornink can only hint at their implications for intercultural situations without more research specifically tailored to those situations. However, they do call into question any tendency to absolutize or oversimplify the role of culture in communication. Although it is important, other factors also come into play; and studies like these indicate that there is enough common ground in human behavior cross-culturally to make it possible for individuals to circumvent many cultural barriers to communication.

III. Mass Media Across Cultures

Felipe Korzenny and Stella Ting-Toomey (eds.). *Mass Media Effects Across Cultures* (International and Intercultural Communication Annual, Volume XVI, 1992). Newbury Park, CA/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1992.

Paul Martin Lester (ed.). *Images that Injure: Pictorial Stereotypes in the Media.* Westport, CT/London: Praeger, 1996.

Most studies of mass media effects across cultural boundaries might best be categorized as "international communication," but to do so rigidly would risk neglecting important areas of human interaction. Not least among those is interethnic interaction within the multicultural state. Consequently the overlap between international and intercultural studies remains large and important, just as does that between cross-cultural and intercultural studies. A future issue of *Trends*, planned for 1997, will deal more directly with questions of media and ethnicity. This section consequently will touch only briefly on this topic, even though it highlights what, in the wake of Rwanda, Bosnia, Chechnya, etc., is one of humanity's greatest current problems.

Editorial Conventions

The mutual unintelligibility of different languages is an obvious problem in intercultural communication, but what about comprehension of Western editorial conventions in the electronic mass media by people unacquainted with those media? Renée Hobbs and Richard Frost (Korzenny and Ting-Toomey 1992: 110-129) studied the responses of people of the Pokot tribe in Western Kenya to four variations in live storyteller and video format presenting "forward chronology" and flashback ("reverse") narratives.

Although not previously exposed either to film (except 35% of the sample who had once seen a government development film in a nearby village) or to television, or even to formal education, the Pokot very quickly understood the flashback technique and adapted to it. The authors concluded that a significant difference exists between reading print and "reading" the electronic media: "Unlike print, viewers do not need to learn how to decode the messages. No experience with the [electronic, audio-visual] medium is required" (pg. 126).

Ethics

Thomas W. Cooper, in a comparative study of national media codes of ethics (Korzenny and Ting-Toomey 1992: 229-243), found indications of common values in the several codes, which suggest common grounds for an ethics of mass media applicable to many or most cultures. The most dominant among these was the quest for truthfulness. Responsibility, particularly social responsibility -- with its subthemes of professionalism, loyalty, and accountability -- was the second most dominant theme. "Freedom of expression" was a poor third among ethical themes found in the codes, although its presence in constitutions of all nations gave testimony to its generality as a value. Other values and variable interpretations of the themes might show divergencies, but the research findings point to a certain common level of agreement about some basic ethical themes across cultures (pg. 242).

Icons and Stereotypes

Iconic representations present special ethical problems, as the writers in Lester's book (1996) make clear. Ethnic stereotyping, among many other kinds of stereotyping of which the media are sometimes guilty, is easy to fall into but can easily hurt feelings in the cultural groups which are stereotyped and at the same time raise barriers to intercultural communication.

Everyone is constantly categorizing people according to various criteria. Such generalization is necessary in order to have efficient thought and communication. Often it is based on limited knowledge about the people being classified in that way, and stereotypes arise when those classifications become hardened and closed to further refinement which would require an effort to gather additional and more precise information about the people thus categorized. "Because of laziness, upbringing, or coincidental experiences, the stereotyping of individuals results in harmful generalizations that deny an individual's unique contribution to humanity," according to Lester (pg. xi).

Causes of Stereotyping

Travis Linn, in his chapter on "Media Methods that Lead to Stereotypes," explores some of the reasons communicators resort to stereotypes. Entertainment media use stereotypes as humor or to gain credibility, both of which appeal to preexisting stereotypes held by the audience, and their use in the media serves to reinforce them in the audience and to multiply their harmful effects. News stories are enlivened by examples, but every choice of a "typical" example or real-life case tends to distort, at least by neglecting the many cases which do not fit that journalist's idea of what is "typical."

The inevitable conclusion is that stereotypical thinking and writing are linked with lazy journalism. A reporter who fails to do enough background research and fails to ask all the questions falls into the trap of using generalities to fill the gaps... The photographer who relies on visual clichés perpetuates harmful stereotyping. Simply put, an energetic, thorough journalist has no room in a story or photograph for vague generalities and convenient stereotypes. (Lester 1996: 18)

Constructing a "Third Culture"

Despite some cross-cultural commonalities, cultural differences not only remain, but remain extremely important as barriers to easy understanding among people of different ethnic backgrounds. Fred Casmir, in his epilogue (Korzenny and Ting-Toomey 1992: 247-262), felt it necessary to stress this point, lest the ideal of a "global village" be too easily accepted by readers impressed by the cultural similarities highlighted by some of the book's other contributors.

Casmir emphasizes that "in many instances specific types of media consumption or use result, regardless of the intentions of those who present material to their viewers, readers, or listeners" (pg. 250). He feels that the focus of intercultural media use studies should be on the interaction between viewers and the media. In this process, "third cultures" are constructed which use materials from both the interacting cultures to fill locally and temporally defined functions outside both cultures but are intelligible to the participants from both who are involved in that particular interaction.

This view has been elaborated by Vernon E. Cronen and his colleagues in their application of their "Coordinated Management of Meaning" theory to intercultural communication (Cronen, Pearce and Harris 1982; Cronen, Chen and Pearce 1988; *CRT* 1986:4-5). Similar reasoning has played a prominent role in the evolution of the "audience interpretation" or "reception analysis" theory, which has an important role in current cultural studies approaches to communication (see *CRT* 1994). Many empirical studies of intercultural media reception lend strong support to this tendency (e.g., Ang 1985; Liebes and Katz 1990; Lull 1991; Morley 1992; Brown 1994).

IV. Peace, Ethnicity and Intercultural Communication

Christopher P. Campbell. *Race, Myth and the News*. Thousand Oaks, CA/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1995.

Felipe Korzenny and Stella Ting-Toomey (eds.). *Communicating for Peace: Diplomacy and Negotiation* (International and Intercultural Communication Annual, Volume XIV, 1990). Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1990.

Cint C. Wilson II and Félix Gutiérrez. *Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media: From Mass to Class Communication*, Second Edition (Published in the first edition (1985) as, *Minorities and the Media*). Thousand Oaks, CA/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1995.

Intercultural communication is an important factor in peace studies and in the practical maintenance of peace on both the international and domestic levels. Internationally, this is most apparent in diplomatic interchanges and negotiation. Domestically, it is found in the relations between ethnic subcultures, or between ethnic minorities and the dominant culture.

Diplomacy

The earliest, and still critically important form of intercultural communication is diplomacy, in its broad meaning of any effort to negotiate peaceful relationships between human groups. Although this might best be classified as international communication much overlap can be found with intercultural communication. Diplomatic contacts must be carried on by individuals -- usually of differing cultures -- in face-to-face interactions. If those contacts do not break down into open warfare they will result in increased dialogue and interaction between the two states. So intercultural communication skills must be nurtured among diplomats to give them the ability to gain the greatest advantage for their own governments while maintaining peace.

Most of the theories and methods of intercultural communication developed for other arenas can easily be applied to diplomatic encounters, as William B. Gudykunst illustrates (in Korzenny and Ting-Toomey 1990: 19-39). He shows how his work on uncertainty and anxiety reduction can help facilitate diplomatic communication, "a special case of intergroup communication" (pg. 19).

Many treatments of diplomatic communication have tended to be rather rationalistic, as if diplomats

dialogued within the framework of a mutually-understood diplomatic culture, with its own system of logical rules, signals and meanings, distinct from the cultures of the diplomats' own countries. Although that view may contain an element of truth, cultural diversity remains, and it can introduce uncertainty and anxiety into diplomatic negotiations just as into other intercultural encounters. Other uncertainties are due to ignorance of the true situation being negotiated. Such ignorance is inevitable, to some degree, whether at the foreign ministry level or on the part of the individual diplomat. Both the personality of the diplomat and the culture of his or her nation must be accounted for by any theory of diplomatic communication. Some studies have shown that inter-personal communication among diplomats sometimes is actually improved by increased uncertainty; so further development of this line of theory should address anxiety and uncertainty in general, not only their reduction (pg. 35).

Face-Negotiation

"Face" is often thought of as a special characteristic influencing East Asian interpersonal relations, but in reality it operates, under various forms, in all human social interactions. Stella Ting-Toomey has applied face-negotiation theory to diplomatic communication (in Korzenny and Ting-Toomey 1990: 77-95).

> *Face*, in the context of the face-negotiation perspective, is defined generally as the projected image of one's self (or one's national identity or image) in a public negotiation situation... the degree of threats or considerations one party offers to another party, and the degree of claim for a sense of self-respect (or demand for respect toward one's national image) put forth by the other party in a given situation (pp. 78-79).

In diplomatic negotiations one wants oneself and one's country to have a positive image. That image is affected by the other party's attitudes and statements, and a serious affront to the face of one side or the other can be cause for breaking off the negotiations, or -- in extreme cases -- possibly even war. Nevertheless, "face-threatening" and "face-honoring" behaviors can be used by the parties to gain tactical advantages in any negotiation. B. Brown, one of the first to articulate a theory of the role of face in negotiation (Brown 1977: 275) pointed out how loss of face can become a central issue, overshadowing the tangible issues at stake in the negotiations.

Uncertainty situations make the issue of face especially problematic. Cultural factors are significant. For example, different conflict styles, and in turn the parties' stances in regard to face-negotiation will be affected by the degree to which their respective cultures are individualistic or collectivistic. Skillful tacticians may, under differing circumstances, want to cause their opponents to lose face (though never irretrievably), to feel their face is threatened, to have their face restored to one degree or another, or they may have to work to maintain the opponent's face -- and thereby the opportunity to continue the negotiations -- while struggling against the opponent's efforts to cause them to lose face.

Ting-Toomey describes the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union over the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, as an example of face-negotiation. In the course of the effort of the Soviet Union to establish missile bases in Cuba and American efforts to stop them, issues of possible loss of face by one side or the other created a serious danger of escalation of the crisis far beyond what either side wanted -- even to the point of nuclear holocaust. The Soviet Union was in serious danger of losing face if it withdrew its missile-carrying ships from Cuban waters under American threats. The American side was conscious of the need to maintain a sufficient degree of Soviet face and gave them room for a dignified withdrawal. In the words of Soviet Premier Nikita Khruschev, "The episode ended in a triumph of common sense" (Khruschev 1970: 500).

Peace and Ideology

In his chapter of *Communicating for Peace* (Korzenny and Ting-Toomey 1990: 157-175) Majid Tehranian notes that theories of peace and development since the Second World War have polarized between the "modernization" emphasis of the Western (typically capitalist) theorists and the "dependency" stress of many in the developing and socialist countries. These and other ideological conditions of dialogue can be regarded as cultural factors with influence paralleling that of less intellectualized or self-conscious cultural patterns. Both the modernization and dependency paradigms are based on the Enlightenment's "idea of progress," which assumes that the production and accumulation of material wealth is the sole indicator of "development."

Tehranian proposes a "communitarian" strategy of development "based on the proposition that there is a profound linkage between communication, peace, democracy, and authentic development" (pg. 167). Stress on accumulation and mobilization, with attendant repression, would be replaced by an emphasis on high integration, promoted by growth in

participatory democracy and horizontal communication. The author warns, however, that even if a communitarian system should achieve political power it would have to be continuingly self-critical in order to avoid the pitfalls of power so evident in both the capitalist and socialist systems. "The recipe for freedom from the ideological pretensions of power is ideological deconstruction" (pg. 173).

The Challenge of Multiculturalism

Internally, countries are becoming increasingly pluralistic, with the growth of many attendant problems. Xenophobia is near the top of many political agendas, either explicitly or implicitly, and even regions with longstanding histories of ethnic diversity are witnessing rising tensions and frequent violent explosions of hatred.

Wilson and Gutiérrez (1995) have concentrated on four large ethnic groups in the United States -- Black, Latino, Asian, and "Native American" ("Indian") -- and their historical interaction with the mass media. Their title was changed between the first and second editions, from *Minorities and Media* to *Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media..*, because the groups discussed are sometimes not minorities (Miami is 62.5% Hispanic; Washington, DC is 65.8% Black; in New York City no definable group is numerically dominant; the same is true for Los Angeles [Johnson 1995: 798, 809, 900, and 797]), and because they are as humanly important and valuable as a "majority" group in the life of the country.

The authors continued to limit themselves to dealing only with the four "racial" ethnic groups, although many other "minorities" -- people with disabilities, women in the work force, etc., have arisen or become more vocal in the period since the first edition appeared. They admit, however, that many of those groups have had relationships with the mainstream media paralleling the four major "racial" groups (pg. xiii). [Editor's Note: The word "racial" is sociological shorthand, valid when understood as a social construction, but with little basis in biology. United States "Hispanics," in particular, are a group based much more on language and culture than on biological ancestry.]

The mass media in the United States are, for the most part, "for-profit" institutions; so their appeal has generally been to the most affluent segments of the population. Consequently, they have neglected the needs of groups with less money to spend on the goods the media advertise. As whites fled the cities for the "safety" and other advantages of suburbia, in the 1970s and 1980s, the news and circulation focus of many, allegedly "liberal," big-city newspapers shifted to the suburbs. Some even "looked for ways to avoid the potential readers in their neighborhood, but chase those who were living in suburban cities and counties" (Wilson and Gutiérrez 1995: 22).

One editor in Detroit ordered his staff to aim at the 28 to 40 age group and at those earning more than $18,000 a year, so that the content of the newspaper's stories "should be obvious: they won't have a damn thing to do with Detroit and its internal problems" (Bagdikian 1978: 64). The result was a blackout of news in and about the central city.

A very slow turnaround began in the late 1970s, as federal laws and regulations forced "affirmative action" hiring of at least "token" minority employees in media organizations. Gradually, a combination of circumstances and pressures has forced a more equitable treatment of minority groups by many of the mainstream media. Rising minority incomes have been a major factor, making them worth "targeting" with specialized advertising or with ads with a multi-ethnic flavor.

Ethnic media began to provide competition for the mainstream media, minority employees exerted internal pressure, and some decisions may have been influenced by "even a growing social consciousness" (Wilson and Gutiérrez 1995: 29). Permanent ethnic diversity is increasingly a characteristic of the United States, which formerly was typified as a "melting pot" reducing immigrant groups to a common pattern within two or three generations. The authors stress that this new situation places even greater responsibility on the mass media to promote mutual understanding and a sense of fairness (pg. 30).

V. Current Theory

Richard L. Wiseman (ed.). *Intercultural Communication Theory.* (International and Intercultural Communication Annual, Vol. XIX). Thousand Oaks/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1995.

Of all the subfields of communication studies intercultural communication may currently be the one most prone to theory construction. At the same time, it is resistant to theorization because of the number and

imponderability of the factors involved in intercultural encounters.

Richard L. Wiseman and Tasha Van Horn say that theory construction should be a central concern in intercultural communication research because of the need for guidance through this especially complex and diverse field. Because of researchers' typical concentration on analyzing a few concepts across particular cultures and their use of varying conceptualizations and methodologies, few theories have emerged which can be compared with each other and integrated with the studies they guide (Wiseman 1995: 2).

The "International and Intercultural Communication Annual" has focused on theory in three of its volumes (Gudykunst 1983; Kim and Gudykunst 1988; and Wiseman 1995). The latest of these approximates a comprehensive coverage of its topic from the perspective of its current status in the United States and other Pacific Rim countries (Australia, Japan and Korea) and Israel. Although ten theoretical approaches are dealt with in the book, the editor admits having had to omit three additional orientations of some importance: "constructivism," "coordinated management of meaning," and "face negotiation."

(These three have been mentioned earlier in this *CRT* review article.)

Typologies of Theories

The various approaches covered in Wiseman's volume can be categorized in different ways according to what aspects of intercultural communication they propose to explain, what "metatheory" they employ, the more general social and behavioral science traditions from which they are derived, or other characteristics, as Wiseman and Van Horn describe them in their introductory chapter (1995:2-6).

A number of the theories try to explain intercultural adjustment and adaptation. Others focus on intercultural effectiveness. Still others look at cultural intolerance and the contexts within which intercultural communication takes place.

Metatheories employed include systems theory, causal process theory, ethnographic analysis, axiomatic theory, and taxonomy (pp. 3-4).

Three of the book's ten substantive chapters deal with context, while the other seven are concerned with intercultural competence and adaptation.

Common requisites

Essential to all theories worthy of the name are explanatory power, the ability to predict future developments in the phenomenon in question, the ability to control social behavior both in its occurrence and in the prior conditions for its development, and heuristic power which will generate scholarly research. Finally, they should excite and inspire the imagination and intellect to move further in the pursuit of knowledge, according to Wiseman (1995: 3-5).

Intercultural Communication Competence and Adaptation

Theories with the greatest heuristic power are given the most attention by scholars because they provide the widest scope for testing and further specification and development. By this criterion, Gudykunst's "Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory," the "Communication Accommodation Theory" of Gallois, et al., Judee K. Burgoon's application of "Expectancy Violations Theory" to cross-cultural and intercultural situations, and Young Yun Kim's integrative theory of "Cross-Cultural Adaptation" seem to offer the greatest promise for elaboration by other scholars, although the others in the book also have potential to generate further research, according to the editor (Wiseman 1995: 5).

Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory

William B. Gudykunst has been developing his theory for a decade, first extending it from the uncertainty reduction theory (URT) of interpersonal communication studies (Berger and Calabrese 1975), but later moving from that orientation to one more specifically fitted to intercultural communication, which he now labels "Anxiety/Uncertainty Management (AUM) Theory" (Gudykunst 1993; Wiseman 1995:8-58).

Gudykunst draws upon the concept of the "stranger" as elaborated by sociologist Georg Simmel early in the twentieth century (Simmel 1908). Strangers are both near, physically, and "far" in terms of their membership in a different group and their different, unknown, imponderable, and sometimes possibly "dangerous" values and motives. Gudykunst notes that interacting with strangers breeds uncertainty and anxiety, and that strangers from a radically different cultural background can be the "strangest" of all. Attempting to communicate with them therefore holds correspondingly greater potential for uncertainty and anxiety than most other new situations in which we might find ourselves.

This insecurity needs to be "managed" if communication is to succeed. Management is initiated through a dual reaction to the ambiguities of the situation which involves both a search for information to reduce uncertainty and an effort to relieve the anxiety generated by the accompanying insecurity. If

we are too worried, communication is impossible. The uncertainty about the stranger's possible behavior must be reduced to a level below our maximum threshold of tolerance. But there also is a minimum threshold. Below it real differences are not recognized and an equally undesirable condition of overconfidence or boredom sets in. Somehow a happy medium has to be achieved.

Basic Axioms

A fundamental principle of successful intercultural communication, according to Gudykunst, is "mindfulness." Communication within one's own culture often is automatic, taking many common understandings for granted. In an intercultural situation not much can be taken for granted, so the communicator must be alert to possible problems and to factors which exacerbate or ameliorate them.

The author sums up the core of the theory in 47 axioms, which can be grouped into seven categories: (1) self and self concept, (2) motivation, (3) reactions to strangers, (4) social categorization, (5) situational processes, (6) connections with strangers, and (7) "anxiety, uncertainty, mindfulness, and effective communication" (Wiseman 1995: 17-43).

Allowing for Cultural Variability

Although these axioms are assumed to apply cross-culturally, dimensions of cultural variability -- the special characteristics of the particular cultures involved in the interaction -- do have to be taken into account. Four dimensions of cultural variability are applied by Gudykunst, following Hofstede (1980). They characterize cultures according to how they deal with individualism-collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, power distance, and masculinity-femininity. The different ways these are expressed in each of two cultures will affect the ways the axioms function in communications between people from those cultures.

Gudykunst states these variables in an additional 47 axioms, paired with the axioms in the main theory and explaining how each particular variable affects the original axiom. For example, axiom 5, in the first set, reads:

> An increase in our self-esteem (pride) when we interact with strangers will produce an increase in our ability to manage our anxiety. (Wiseman 1995: 22)

The emphases different cultures place on self-esteem may vary widely, according to whether they put more value on the individual or on the group. Therefore, the corresponding axiom in the second set ("Axiom 52(5)") allows for this variability:

> An increase in individualism will be associated with an increase in the effect of our self-esteem (pride) on behavior when interacting with strangers. (pg. 47)

Gudykunst notes that his theory may seem unduly complex, but "because one of the goals of the theory is to apply the theory, the axioms cannot be highly abstract" (Wiseman 1995: 54). Greater abstraction in the expression of the theory might increase parsimony -- a usual mark of a good theory -- but he feels that it also would decrease applicability.

The Sojourner's View

The theory is basically phrased in terms of the host culture receiving strangers into its midst. It can be made applicable to the opposite point of view, of sojourners trying to adapt to a different culture, by making minor modifications in the wording of the axioms (pg. 54). Since the theory is still under development, Gudykunst recognizes a need for further refinements and elaborations (pg. 55).

Communication Accommodation Theory

Cynthia Gallois, Howard Giles, Elizabeth Jones, Aaron C. Cargile, and Hiroshi Ota (in Wiseman 1995: 115-147) focus "attention on the language, nonverbal behavior, and paralanguage used by interlocutors to realize moves of speech *convergence* and *divergence*, that is, linguistic moves to decrease and increase communicative distance" (pp. 115-116). Moves towards and away from the partner in communication constitute the "accommodation" which the authors are seeking to understand through Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT).

CAT also tries to cut more deeply, to discern the "reasons that speakers may behave as they do" (pg. 116). Linkages between language, situation and identity, all involved in the communicator's motivation, may help not only to explain a specific instance of communication but also to predict the direction of future communications which will develop out of the same situation.

SAT to CAT

CAT began to be developed when Howard Giles reacted against what he perceived to be an undue emphasis on the role of context, to the neglect of other variables, in approaches to sociolinguistics which were current in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Giles 1973;

Giles and Coupland 1991; Giles, Coupland and Coupland 1991). From this earlier work emerged Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT), which "proposed that the *motivation* of the speaker was the main determinant of the language and communication codes chosen by speakers" (pg. 117).

According to the SAT approach, speakers might select speech patterns and content more like that of their hearers to enhance identification and gain approval. Conversely, they might try to diverge from their hearers' speech forms to set themselves or their group off from the hearers. Manipulation of various mixes of convergence, divergence and maintenance of speech forms is practiced to achieve various purposes in the communication process.

CAT continued the same focus but added details which its developers felt could achieve greater analytical depth. These included social-psychological considerations and the addition of three "nonapproximation strategies" to the three "approximation strategies" of convergence, divergence and maintenance.

The first of the nonapproximation strategies is *interpretability* -- reflecting the speaker's interpretation of what forms of accommodation he/she needs to exercise to be understood by the hearer. The second is *discourse management* -- which focuses on the hearer's conversational needs, such as selection of content or adjustments in pace. The third is *interpersonal control* -- as signals indicating role relations are brought into play to indicate subordination, equality, superiority, impersonality, intimacy, etc. Feedback also was factored into the theory to account for how the hearer's reactions to the speaker influenced subsequent interactions between them (pg. 118).

More additions were made as the theory was shaped into an instrument specifically for studying intercultural communication (Gallois, Franklyn-Stokes, Giles, and Coupland 1988). In the 1995 article, CAT is described as providing "a framework rather than a tightly interlocked set of predictions" (Wiseman 1995:147). As such, it is intentionally open to mutual interplay and integration with other theories.

Expectancy Violations Theory

Everyone enters a communication situation with certain expectancies about how others will behave in that encounter. Adherence to or deviation from those expectations can have important effects on the outcome of the encounter. Clearly, a perfect fit between expectations and actual behavior will be more problematic in intercultural communication than in communication within one culture.

Judee K. Burgoon has been using Expectancy Violations Theory (EVT) since the late 1970s (Burgoon 1978) to study the effects of expectancy violations in interpersonal communication, both verbal and nonverbal, but with emphasis on the latter. Most of the development of EVT has been limited to interpersonal communication studies within the United States (Wiseman 1995: 195). The author nevertheless feels that the theory can be valuable in the intercultural context with relatively little adaptation from its pattern for studying interaction with strangers within one culture.

Expectancies can be violated either positively or negatively, when people do "better" than expected or "worse" than expected. The evaluation of an action as a positive violation or a negative violation can depend on many factors, such as an individual's social role, his or her clothing or demeanor, whether he or she has a prior history of friendship or enmity with the communicator, etc.

Cultural characteristics fit well into this framework. A person from a high context culture, in which strict conformity to social norms is expected (such as Japan) may anticipate "gross" behavior on the part of a stranger from a low context culture, in which norms are much less strictly enforced, like the United States, and would be pleasantly surprised if the latter actually exhibited a "positive violation" of the expectation by conforming to Japanese etiquette. The subsequent interaction between the two would be favorably influenced by the "violation."

Expectancy violations affect relationships in all cultures, although their content may vary widely. "A self-effacing act that is interpreted as appropriate deference in one culture may be interpreted instead as spineless sycophancy in another" (Wiseman 1995: 206). Predictions based on this theory must rest on empirically "knowing what interpretations and evaluations are assigned to communicative behaviors *in that culture*" (pg. 207).

Cross-Cultural Adaptation

Young Yun Kim's Integrative Theory of Cross-Cultural Adaptation is based on empirical research on a wide range of immigrant and sojourner groups in the United States dating back to the middle-1970s. Adaptation is important to these groups, as it would be to anyone in a strange cultural environment. According to Kim, "even relatively short-term sojourners must be at least minimally concerned with building a healthy functional relationship to the host environment in a way similar to the native population" (Wiseman 1995:170). Her theory aims both to describe the process, and to explain its structure "and the key

constituent factors that influence the degree (or rate) in which individuals adapt to a new and unfamiliar culture" (ibid.).

Methodologically, Kim moved from an early linear-causal model to a systems perspective which promised greater integration of approaches to cross-cultural adaptation and would result in a more realistic description of the process (pg. 171). She consolidates several divergent perspectives in the present theory. One is the long-term adaptation experienced by immigrants and the contrastingly short-term adaptation of temporary sojourners, both of whom can be described as "strangers" who stay for longer or shorter periods. Another involves the macro-level view of sociology and anthropology and the micro-level approach of psychology. A third contrasts the "melting-pot" conceptualization of traditional United States studies of immigration with the revisionist multi-culturalism of some of the more recent studies (pg. 172).

Kim's theory is based on a set of "open-systems" assumptions about human nature which hold that the inherent human drive to adapt and grow in regard to the social environment is a complex and dynamic process accomplished through communication.

The Structure of Cross-Cultural Adaptation

Kim discerns six dimensions and constructs which constitute the overall structure of cross-cultural adaptation. They are (1) the communication competence of the host society; (2) host social communication, both interpersonal and mass; (3) ethnic communication, both interpersonal and mass; (4) environment, as shaped by the hosts' receptivity and conformity pressure and by ethnic group strength; (5) predispositions in the sojourner; and (6) intercultural transformation, which depends on factors of functional fitness, psychological health, and intercultural identity (pg. 188).

Not everyone is sufficiently well-equipped, or fortunate, in all these ways to adapt successfully. Success depends on both the stranger and the host community.

VI. "Synthesis Needed": Intercultural Communication Competence

Guo-Ming Chen and William J. Starosta. "Intercultural Communication Competence: A Synthesis." In, *Communication Yearbook 19*, edited by Brant R. Burleson. Thousand Oaks/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1996, pp. 353-383.

Chen and Starosta (1996) have reviewed the whole range of theory as it pertains to the understanding of "competence" in intercultural communication. They express disappointment that "after more than four decades, communication scholars have produced an abundance of literature in this line of research... however this literature is fragmentary and lacks a holistic view" (pg. 370). According to the authors, part of this fragmentation is due to the inability of the various approaches to interpret global interaction processes. Rapid change and development have shrunken and multiculturalized the world in such a way that models which treat cultures as virtually independent entities are no longer able to deal with the real situation. The authors feel that what is needed is "a theory of communication competence that takes into account individuals' multiple identities" (ibid.).

After reviewing various categorizations of approaches which have been suggested, Chen and Starosta propose a model which they feel will bring those approaches together in a mutually reinforcing synthesis. Their model of "intercultural communication competence" contains three processes by which people can be led to a level of competence which will enable them to "qualify for enlightened global citizenship" (Chen and Starosta 1996: 362).

Intercultural sensitivity, developed through the "affective process," stresses the positive emotional responses which an "interculturally competent" person will manifest in a new cultural situation. The "cognitive process" brings one to a level of intercultural awareness which will give rise to "the understanding of the distinct characteristics of one's own and others' cultures (Triandis, 1977)" (pg. 364). The "behavioral process" emphasizes "intercultural adroitness, the ability to get the job done and attain communication goals in intercultural interactions," using the various relevant verbal and non-verbal skills (pg. 367).

The three processes variously combine the components of the diverse theories which the authors had reviewed earlier and form them into an interrelated whole. This framework is expected to help reduce the fragmentation noted in research approaches to intercultural communication competence, enabling researchers to explore new dimensions of that competence in an increasingly global society (pg. 373).

VII. Training

Aaron Castelan Cargile and Howard Giles. "Intercultural Communication Training: Review, Critique, and a New Theoretical Framework." In, Burleson 1996: 385-423.

Current Practice

As noted earlier, business applications of intercultural communication skills have huge financial implications. Consequently, training in such skills has assumed a major role in intercultural communication studies and related activities. Seminars, workshops and courses have multiplied as the demand has increased.

Deficiencies

Unfortunately, many of these efforts have lacked an adequate grounding in either theory or methodological sophistication. This is the view of Cargile and Giles:

> As we have already noted, approaches to intercultural training have frequently been criticized for their lack of theoretical grounding... Surprisingly, training has most often been undertaken without thorough consideration of the assumptions that support it. (pg. 398)

Furthermore, only a scattering of empirically-based projects have been carried out to test the effectiveness of the vast array of techniques which have been tried (pg. 386). Those tests which have been carried out have yielded mixed findings about whether the effects of the training methods have been effective, ineffective, or, in some cases, actually negative in their effects on the trainees' subsequent intercultural communications (pg. 393).

A Generalized Model of Current Training Practices

The authors first propose a model of intercultural training as it is currently practiced. It is a generalized model, incorporating some, but not all, of the methods which have been used by others. They nevertheless feel that "this model traces the major routes charted toward intercultural effectiveness by focusing on the goals and outcomes most logically implied by each method" (pg. 390).

Beginning with a classification of training techniques into "experiential" and "didactic", proposed by Gudykunst and Hammer (1983), they further subdivide these into "culture general" and "culture specific methods", yielding four classificatory "cells": 1) experiential-culture general, 2) experiential-culture specific, 3) didactic-culture general, and 4) didactic-culture specific.

> Didactic approaches...use a lecture format in an institutional setting for training, whereas experiential approaches attempt to involve the participant intellectually, emotionally, and behaviorally--most often in a simulated environment or role play (Cargile and Giles 1996: 388).

Whereas culture-specific training would relate to a particular culture, culture-general training would use a variety of experiences "that reflect worldwide variations in culture and aim at increasing the trainee's understanding of culture's global influence on human behavior" (pg. 388).

Critique of Current Practice

The authors say that the above generalized model, the array of models it represents and much of the literature which contains them provide an inadequate basis for studying intercultural training effects. The model "presents a naive and limited view of training effects," according to Cargile and Giles (pg. 411). Intergroup processes and other related factors exist that complicate training and prevent a direct cause/effect relationship between training and immediate beneficial outcomes which much of the literature seems to assume.

One important factor which the earlier models tend to ignore is the negative attitudes and stereotypes about the other culture preexisting in the trainee which inevitably will affect the way he or she attends to, receives, and accepts or rejects the training. Other contextual factors and the group dynamics of the trainees' group will also impose limitations on the training's effect (pg. 413).

A New Model

The authors describe a new and "more realistic" model of training effects which they believe will take into account some of the more important of these factors. It considers the influence of attitudes and stereotypes as well as variations in trainee attention, the dynamics of interpersonal and intra-group relations, context, self-identities and the behavior of both trainee and hosts (pg. 412).

They warn, however, that even this more sophisticated model must make some assumptions which can skew the results. For example, it assumes that the training is administered correctly, by trainers who themselves have been adequately trained (pg. 413).

VIII. Intercultural Public Relations

Stephen P. Banks. *Multicultural Public Relations: A Social-Interpretive Approach* (Communicating Effectively in Multicultural Contexts series, 4). Thousand Oaks/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1995.

Hugh M. Culbertson and Ni Chen (eds.). *International Public Relations: A Comparative Analysis*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1996.

Multicultural PR

Public relations present many problems for organizations--whether governmental, business or non-profit--which attempt to carry out their activities across cultural boundaries. The wrong word inadvertently dropped, the wrong image inadvertently established, the wrong level of bureaucracy inadvertently approached in the wrong order--all can cause trouble. And, as Banks points out, "Public relations literally is born and immersed in controversy--no need for change, no need for public relations" (1995: ix). So, in a strange culture or a multicultural society, the challenge is doubled: controversy plus cultural misunderstanding. In addition, even in its original culture, "PR" must overcome a pervasive negative image of "deception, whitewashing, manipulation, and insincerity" (ibid.).

To compound the problem even further, many practitioners in the field are almost endemically insensitive to cultural differences (Banks 1995: 2). Nevertheless, cultural differences are everpresent and increasingly important for most people, especially as societies -- particularly the United States, from whose perspective Banks is writing -- become much less "melting pots" and much more "multicultural". States of the latter form retain diverse cultural groups within their populations with the expectation that the diversity will be permanent.

In an effort to cut through what he sees as a jungle of varying definitions of three key words -- "culture", "diversity", and "public relations" -- the author selects those definitions which fit his purpose.

"Culture"

Culture is thought of "as systems of meaning differentially available to groups of people" (Banks 1995: 8); or, to include the means by which culture is acquired: "systems of meaning group members acquire through experiential apprenticeship" (pg. 10). Anthropologists formerly expended much effort on trying to delineate the boundaries between groups having different "cultures". The author sees the question of cultural boundaries "as moot: Cultures are bounded by the ways people make sense of events in their real-world settings" (pg. 11).

Another significant difference between this usage, which is common today, and that of traditional anthropology is that "culture" is no longer thought of as primarily a characteristic of a reproductive society -- i.e., one centrally constituted of parents, their children, their children's children, etc. -- but may be attributed to any social group. Thus, "youth culture", male/female "culture", "university culture", etc., have become acceptable -- at least in some circles.

"Diversity"

The view of culture as "shared meanings" affects the way "diversity" is conceived. Diversity means difference, and the differences which are socially significant are those which each group tends to fix on as "the differences that 'make a difference'" in their own lives (pg. 16). But diversity also means "variation", which Banks favors as being less inclined to favor one culture --the dominant one in a society--over others. In this sense, diversity is "the normal human condition of variation."

"Public Relations"

The author acknowledges that, "By all accounts, public relations, both as an academic specialty and as a collection of institutional practices, is a field in search of conceptual consensus and legitimacy" (1995: 19, citing L. A. Grunig 1992). In the multicultural context,

> ..public relations can be defined as the management of formal communication between organizations and their relevant publics to create and maintain communities of interest and action that favor the organization, taking full account of the normal human variation in the systems of meaning by which groups understand and enact their everyday lives. (Banks 1995: 21)

Ethics in PR

Despite its single-minded mission to promote particular interests, the author insists that Public Relations must be ethical, even though, in a multicultural situation, the question of "whose ethics?" continually arises. He feels that in this case a major part of ethical responsibility is a sense of equality and "mindfulness" of the presence of cultural diversity among one's communication partners and of the need to respond sympathetically to it (pp. 120-123).

International PR

If public relations within a multicultural state is difficult, crossing international boundaries makes it even more problematic. Under many of the same pressures which have driven the growth of public relations in western countries the profession has also developed rapidly in non-western countries, particularly those with high levels of industrial development and international business relations. "In the People's Republic of China, for example, public relations was almost unheard of until 1985. Today it employs tens of thousands in the world's most populous nation" (pg. 1).

Culbertson and Chen have assembled studies of public relations activities in a wide range of countries, with emphasis on Asia, South and Central America, and Europe. Culture is an inevitable part of the substratum on which the PR industry is based in each country, and it takes different forms in each depending on their differing cultures. But the level and kind of social, economic and political development in each country also is important. In a large number of countries, particularly East Asia, Saudi Arabia, and Latin America, "great emphasis is placed on personal interaction to establish a sense of trust, mutual understanding, and loyalty among those engaged in almost any shared undertaking" (pg. 6). In some countries, the mass media may lack credibility, leaving interpersonal communication as the only means by which good public relations might be cultivated.

Public relations in Japan may include the suppression of embarrassing information, a concern respected by the domestic press to a degree which would be considered as collusion in the West. Politicians accused of wrongdoing--whether justly or unjustly--often resign so quickly in Japan that knowledge of the real state of the matter is denied to the public (pg. 7).

Women's roles in public relations vary widely from country to country. Women totalled 71% of PR practitioners surveyed in Thailand and 34% in China, but only 1% in Saudi Arabia. However, young women often have been recruited for their beauty and charm, prompting the dubious job title "Miss PR", but have been unable to advance to managerial roles in the industry. Rigid ideas of gender roles and stereotypes are important in perpetuating this "Miss PR problem". In addition, however, a masculine psychology often so dominates some countries' domestic organizations that it makes women's participation in them difficult or impossible. Greater opportunities for them often are to be found in multinational and joint-venture companies.

In many countries major government public relations efforts have sought to inculcate national ideologies and a sense of unity and national pride. As the importance of regional cooperation is increasingly recognized, this effort may be expanded to include other friendly countries in the same region.

Perspective

If nothing else is clear from the above discussion, at least it should be evident that intercultural communication is a "live" field of activity and interest. Furthermore, skills in this area are becoming essential to success in many activities, as Earth's populations become ever more intermingled. Curbs on immigration, refusal of refuge to refugees, isolationism and efforts at either legal or illegal segregation have all been tried, and some have been locally effective, for a time, but, in the long run, the airplanes will continue to ply their routes, bringing people from "there" to "here", and others from "here" to "there".

Not even the most draconian measures can block the mixing process; so the only alternative is to learn to live with it, and with the "strange" neighbors it brings to us -- or brings us to.

The enthusiasm for intercultural communication learning has pushed most of its enthusiasts in one of two directions: the larger number into training programs -- as students or teachers -- and a smaller number -- academics -- into research and theorizing. In the best scenario, the two overlap, and training is based on good research and theory. As the authors cited make clear, however, that is not always the case. If they do not coincide, results can vary. Individuals' common sense and good manners can go a long way to bridge cultural gaps without good training -- although they might be even more successful with it. Bad training, at best, can be a waste of time and money, and at worst it can be a disaster for countries, for institutions, and especially for the individuals who are directly involved in it.

This review of intercultural communication research has been able to touch only the tip of the iceberg. Many important scholars, studies and publications have had to be omitted. Those which have been discussed are only a rather arbitrary selection among the vast array of studies which would be difficult to categorize and even more difficult to represent with anything like accurate weighting in the space available.

Nevertheless, some tendencies are evident. As noted in section V, theory building is especially active in the intercultural communication field, possibly in part because it is so challenging. The field is essentially interdisciplinary. The intercultural communication specialist must call upon anthropologists and sociologists for help. In addition, when he or she actually reaches the interface where individuals of differing cultures interact psychologists' findings and insights become indispensable to understand the interaction process.

Cultures and social contexts differ and may seem to inhibit effective understanding across cultural and social boundaries. There is no substitute for knowledge about the culture in which one is working, as well as the constant awareness that people from other backgrounds are acting on a different set of assumptions. At the same time, a common substratum of human nature frequently provides adequate means for surmounting those barriers.

By-and large, the scholars working in intercultural communication would reject a naive cultural relativism of the extreme kind which some postmodernist theorists might propose. An extreme cultural relativism would rule out any and all intercultural communication, confining us within a cultural shell wherein we could only communicate with people of our own group, sharing our culturally-defined signs and symbols and their meanings. It takes only a bit of reflection on the real human condition to realize that we not only can, but must overcome cultural barriers to live peacefully and constructively in a pluralistic world.

Exactly how to do that is another thing! It is evident that the task must be approached on many fronts. Each intercultural encounter seems to the participant to be a unique combination of factors which requires a wholly new, resourceful and inventive solution. But theories based on others' experience and analysis can help. Some of the theorizing sketched above may seem excessively detailed, complex or subtle, but, as someone has said, "the most practical thing in the world is a good theory." The theories clarify and make more precise the knowledge gained from experience, and theoretically-informed experience can, in turn, hone the theories and make them more useful when we confront our next intercultural predicament.

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AFTERWORD

Practical Implications and Applications

Although the above discussion has centered on theory, intercultural communication has many practical implications for the working press and other professional communicators. Multiculturalism is here-and-now for most urban centers around the world. Sensitivity to each group's cultural values and feelings can at least make those groups feel more accepted. Insensitivity, on the other hand, can exacerbate bad relationships and, in extreme cases, might even lead to riots or other violent responses.

An Ethical Imperative

Intercultural sensitivity is an ethical and moral imperative. Its urgency has made it one of the more central, and more generally acceptable tenets of the new, "politically correct" moral code--murky as some of the other "commandments" of that code may be. But it also is implicit in more traditional moral systems, theological as well as philosophical.

Ethnic stereotyping is an especially offensive fault, and one into which it is extremely easy to fall. Generalizations based on ethnicity sometimes have to be drawn, but they should be based only on solid evidence, carefully thought through and applied only to those to whom they really pertain, not extended to innocent members of their group.

Culturally Appropriate Media

Communicators also should ask whether the medium they are using is culturally the one most appropriate to the audience they are trying to reach. Many religious television programs in the United States, for example, may be well-adapted to elderly, white, Anglo-Saxon, shut-in audiences, and at the same time be a total put-off for younger African-American and Hispanic audiences--and not much more acceptable than that among younger white, Anglo audiences, either! In appealing to the culture of one audience broadcasters must admit to themselves that they inevitably forfeit the ability to reach others, of differing cultural backgrounds.

The Dangers of Neglect

Avoiding offense to ethnic sensibilities may not be enough. If an audience contains people who are habitually ignored or neglected by a medium aimed at that audience they are likely to feel that neglect and to become alienated from that newspaper or broadcasting organization and from the interests it represents. For example, a diocesan newspaper which contained only articles of interest to its suburban readers would soon lose credibility among their inner-city co-religionists, for itself, at least, but possibly even for the church it represents.

Creating "Third Cultures"

The creation of "third cultures" in which audiences composed of different ethnic groups can all feel somewhat "at home" is a challenge to those engaged in intercultural dialogue at the personal or group level. It is an even greater challenge for the mass media. For example, in their effort to "Europeanize" their television offerings, broadcasters in the European Community are meeting with only limited audience acceptance for programs made in other European countries. It has even been seriously suggested that the most truly transcultural "European" films are those made in the United States, where the diverse European cultures already have been amalgamated in the American "melting pot"!

Even if that is true, however, it represents a special case which is of little help to everyday communicators

challenged to create their own "third cultures" to meet the ever-changing expectations of as broad a range as possible of their own multicultural audiences. Local cultural groups must be understood intimately and sympathetically and the "third culture" tailored to their needs.

Theory and Negotiation

The value of sound techniques of intercultural communication in such areas as labor-management negotiations is obvious in places where work forces at all levels are increasingly multicultural. All the theories of intercultural communication come into play in such circumstances. The stake may usually be economic advantage, but the means of reaching a settlement require close attention to cultural differences as well, if negotiations are to be successful in a notably multicultural situation. Uncertainty/anxiety reduction (or enhancement!), face-negotiation, communication accommodation, and all the other approaches discussed above are potentially useful means of dealing with the cultural dimension of labor- and other disputes.

Mindfulness

If there is a "key word" which can serve as a guide to constructive intercultural communication it is, perhaps, *mindfulness*. As Gudykunst and others have pointed out, mindfulness of cultural difference among communication partners and alertness to the possibility of misunderstanding due to that difference will create a positive mindset and go a long way to solve the problems which arise.

–The Editor

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Insight Media (2162 Broadway, New York, NY 10024; Tel: +1 (212) 721-6316) produces a series of videos, 20 to 60 minutes in duration, on cross-cultural communication. Titles include, "Valuing Diversity: Multicultural Communication" (1994), "Cross-Cultural Communication in Diverse Settings" (1992), "Communication Skills in a Multicultural World" (1994), "Cultural Diversity: Meeting the Challenge" (1989), "Social Interaction in Diverse Settings" (1992), "Developing Cultural Sensitivity" (1992), and "Managing Across Cultures" (1992).

"InterActs" - a series of books which "analyze how Americans and nationals of other countries see and do things differently and how these differences affect relationships." Published by Intercultural Press, Yarmouth, ME. Sample titles:

Good Neighbors: Communicating with the Mexicans, by John C. Condon; *Considering Filipinos*, by Theodore Gochenour; *Encountering the Chinese: A Guide for Americans*, by Hu Wenzhong and Cornelius L. Grove; *Understanding Arabs: A Guide for Westerners*, by Margaret Kleffner Nydell; *A Fair Go for All: Australian and American Interactions*, by George W. Renwick; etc.

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Current Research

International

SIETAR, the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research (SIETAR International, Suite 200, Room 808, 17th Street N.W., Washington, DC 20006-3953, USA; Fax: +1 202 223-9569; Tel: +1 202 466-7883) will hold its 1996 Congress in Munich, Germany, May 28 to June 2, 1996. The theme of the Congress is "Meeting the Intercultural Challenge." More than 350 presentations are expected, addressing research results, training approaches, and management practices. Individual presentations of special research interest are noted below, under the countries of the presenters, and are identified as "SIETAR 96."

International Communication Association, counts its Intercultural and Development Communication Division as the largest of its ten divisions. The Division was slated to conduct 16 sessions and panels at the 1996 ICA annual conference, according to its preliminary program. Some representative papers and panel titles are listed under the countries of the presenters, below, and identified as "ICA 96." Since most of the participants are from the United States, preference has been given to presenters from other countries, since the purpose of this section of *Trends* is to give as wide a geographical sampling of research as possible.

The **International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR)** lacks a section specifically devoted to intercultural communication, although the character of the organization makes intercultural considerations relevant to most of its members, and its International Communication Section, as well as a Working Group on Ethnicity, Racism and the Media deal with intercultural themes. Its 1996 General Assembly and Scientific Conference, to be held in Sydney, Australia, August 18-22, will center on four plenary sessions, one of which is entitled, "Indigenous Cultures and Global Communication." No advance program listing specific paper or session titles for the Conference was available at this writing.

The Speech Communication Association also has an International and Intercultural Communication Division. The Association publishes the International and Intercultural Communication Annual series each year, with Sage Publications. The membership of the Association, in contrast to the three organizations previously mentioned, is predominantly North American.

Australia

Patricia Garcia-Prieto, Cynthia Gallois, Victor Callan and **Michael Willemyns** (all at the University of Queensland, Queensland 4072. Gallois is in the Department of Psychology at U. of Queensland; Tel: +61 (7) 365-4466; E-mail: < CG@PSYCH.PSY.UQ. OZ.AU >) presented a paper at ICA 96 on "The Impact of Organisational Status, Sex, Ethnicity and Communication Style on Evaluations of Status and Solidarity."

Tony J. Wilson (Senior Lecturer, Deakin University; mailing address: P.O. Box 4219, Univ. of Melbourne, Parkville, Melbourne 3052; Tel: +61 (0)55 633 557; Fax: +61 (0)55 633 534; E-mail: < twilson@deakin. edu.au > is currently undertaking research on Malaysian responses to US popular television, principally drama and talk shows. The relationship between programs and audiences is theorized around the play of identification and critical distancing. Articles relevant to this research are due for early publication in *Jurnal Komunikasi* (Malaysia) -- "Malaysian Audiences and US Television" -- and the *Journal of International Communication* -- "The Games People Play: Television and Cross-Cultural Identification." Other recent and forthcoming articles are "Television's Everyday Life: Towards a phenomenology of the 'televisual subject'," in *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1996, and "Australian Television/Chinese Audiences: A Post-colonial Dialectic," with Audrey Yue, in press with the *Asian Journal of Communication* (vol. 6, no. 1, 1996).

Belarus

Elena Gapova (Belarussian State University, Skaryny prospekt 4, 220080 Minsk; university tel.: +7 (0172) 20-94-15) discussed the topic, "Eastern Europe Meets the West: Cultural Misunderstandings over Women's Issues," at SIETAR 96.

Belgium

Jan Servaes (Chair, Department of Communication, and Director, Research and Documentation Center "Communication for Social Change" [CSC], Catholic University of Brussels (KUB), Vrijheidslaan 17, 1080 Brussels; Tel: +32 2 412-4278; Fax: +32 2 412-4200) is organizing an International Summer Seminar on "(Tele)communications Policies in Western Europe and Southeast Asia: Cultural and Historical Perspectives" in Bruges, Belgium, August 29-Sept. 1, 1996, in collaboration with **Jean-Claude Burgelman** (Centre for Studies on Media, Information and Tele-communications (SMIT), Free University of Brussels (VUB), Pleinlaan 2, 1050 Brussels; Tel: +32 2 629-2414; Fax: 32 2 629-2861), and **Anura Goonasekera** (Asian Mass Communication and Information Center [AMIC] -- see Singapore). The aim of the seminar, limited to 50 participants, is to map communication technology developments in the ASEAN region and Western Europe historically to study the convergence of telecommunications and broadcasting from a cultural perspective. This data will then be used to construct a framework for the analysis of public (tele) communications policy. Participants, consisting of policy makers, business representatives, academics and PhD students, will center on a core group of invited presenters and other specialists. Further information may be obtained from one of the organizers or: College of Europe, Dijver 11, B-8000 Brugge (Bruges), Belgium; Tel: +32 (0)50 335334; Fax: +32 (0)50 347533.

Rico Lie (Catholic University of Brussels (KUB), Vrijheidslaan 17, B-1080 Brussels; Tel: +32 2 421-4247; Fax: +32 2 421-4200; e-mail: Internet: < Rico.Lie@ufsal3.kubrussel.ac.be >; and: < http://www.kubrussel.ac.be/psw/menul.html >) is doing doctoral research on intercultural aspects of globalization and localization.

Brazil

José Marques De Melo (Scientific Director, UNESCO Chair in Communication for Regional Devellopment, Methodist University of São Paulo, Rua Mateus Grou, 365 # 52 Pinheiros, São Paulo 05415-050; Fax: +55 11 280-5854; E-mail: < jodmelo@usp.br>) has been studying the images constructed by the elite press of São Paulo concerning the 1995 celebration of Christmas, which manifests aspects of regional folk cultures, emerging globalization, tradition and innovation, religion and commercialism.

Anamaria Fadul (Coordinator, Research Group on Telenovelas and Serial Fictional Television, University of São Paulo, Rua Rafael de Barros, 509 # 121, São Paulo 04003-000; Fax: +55 11 884-2055) is studying the size and character of the Brazilian family as represented in telenovelas as an indicator of changes in the family over time. Comparisons also are made with other societies.

Bulgaria

Rumen Valchev (University of Sofia, Ruski 15, 1504 Sofia; univ. tel.: +359 (2) 85-81) presented a paper on, "Training an Intercultural Team of Facilitators" at SIETAR 96.

Canada

Karim H. Karim (Nepean, Ontario [no further address available]) presented two papers, "The Historical Resilience of Primary Stereotypes: From Saracen to Post Cold War Other" and "The Competition of Socio-Political Discourses in Canada: Reconstructing the Multicultural Community," at ICA 96.

Stewart McFayden (University of Alberta, Edmonton T6G 2M7; university fax: +1 (403) 492-7172) participated in a panel on "Cultural Linguistic Markets: Alternative to Globalization?" at ICA 96.

Finland

Tapio Varis (Docent, Department of Communication, University of Art & Design, University of Helsinki, Immolantie 25 C, 00780 Helsinki; Tel: +358 (9) 0-359 979; Fax: +358-(9) 0 351 4285; Internet: < tapio.varis @helsinki.fi >; Currently, Visiting Professor, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, Spain; Internet: < tvaris@usc.es >) is carrying out research on the cultural values and problems of the global media, with special emphasis on the autiovisual media. He initiated the research in Helsinki and Santiago de Compostela, and plans to finalize it next winter, when he will hold the UNESCO Chair at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain. His recent publications related to intercultural communication include, *The Media of the Knowledge Age* (in Finnish; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1995); "Internationaler Programmarkt für Fernsehsendungen" ("The Inter-national Program Market for Television Broadcasts" - article, in German, University of Hamburg, 1996); "Radio and the Northern Saami People" (forthcoming, in English, 1996); "Communication and the United Nations" (forthcoming, in Galician, 1996); and "Cultural Values and the Limits of the Global Media" (forthcoming, in English, 1996).

France

Corinne Coulet (further details unknown) recently published a book, *Communiquer en Grèce ancienne* (To Communicate in Ancient Greece; Paris?: Les Belles Lettres, 1996?), describing the means of communication in classical Greece, at the time of transition from oral to written culture. Rather than contemporaneous intercultural communication, it illustrates some of the pitfalls and possibilities of--necessarily one-way--historical communication.

Germany

Lilly Beerman (Munich), **Alois Moosmüller** (Keio University, Tokyo, Japan), and **Dennis Clackworthy** (Siemens Corporation, Munich) presented a simulation-oriented workshop at SIETAR 96 on "Tricultural Interaction Training in the 'Triad'." The interactive training design was tested on American, German and Japanese learners from high-tech companies.

Konrad Ehlich (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Geschwister-Scholl-Platz, 8000 Munich 22; University Tel: (89) 21800), **Kristin Bührig** (University of Hamburg, Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, 2000 Hamburg; University Tel: 41-23-1), **Susanne Günthner** (University of Konstanz, Postfach 5560, D 7750 Konstanz; University Tel.: 733359; University Fax: (07531) 88-3688), and **Jan ten Thije** (University of Chemnitz) made a presentation on "Intercultural Communication: Data and Concepts" at SIETAR 96.

Bernhard Haupert (Catholic School of Social Work [no further address available]) and **Bernt Schnettler** (University of Konstanz, Postfach 5560, D 7750 Konstanz; University Tel.: 733359; University Fax: (07531) 88-3688) presented a paper on "Culture Shock and Intercultural Competence.." at SIETAR 96.

Ulrich Zeutschel (Regensburg University, Universitätsstraße 31, 8400 Regensburg; University Tel: 0941/9431; University Fax: (0941) 943-2305) delivered a paper on "Intercultural Synergy in Professional Teams: Field Observations and Simulation Findings" at SIETAR 96.

Hong Kong

Lars Willnat (Department of Journalism and Communication, Chinese University, Shatin, New Territories; Tel: +852 2609-7702; Fax: +852 2603-5007; E-mail: < B442742@MAILSERV.CUHK.HK >), with **He Zhou** (San Jose State U., San Jose, CA, USA) and **Hoa Xioaming** (Nanyang Technological U., Singapore) presented a paper, "The Effects of Foreign Media Exposure on Cognitibve and Affective Perceptions of Americans in Hong Kong, China, and Singapore," at ICA 96.

India

The **Indian Centre for Plural Heritage** (505 Media Apartments, 18 Mother Dairy Road, I.P. Extension, Delhi 110 092; Tel: +91 11 222-5495; Fax: +91 11 221-7582; E-mail: < john@plural.unv.ernet.IN > documents "the contribution of ethnic, linguistic and religious minority cultures in the dynamics of a pluralistic India." It is a Christian-oriented institution, with a special concern to monitor "Indian and subcontinental developments as they affect the human rights of ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities, particularly the Christian community."

Krishnasamy Subramanian (Professor, Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad AP 500 007) is interested in intercultural communication. No further information available at press time.

Japan

Preeya Hori (Chief Researcher, National Language Research Institute, 3-90-14, Nishigaoka, Kita-Ku, 115 Tokyo; E-mail: < PREEYA@TANSEI.CC.U-TOKYO.AC.JP >) did a comparative study in 1993, published in Japanese, on "Apology--A Comparative Study on Apology and Behavior in Thai and Japanese." Another study, in 1995, dealt with the Thai expression, *Man pen rai*, a polite formula whose variable translations can cause confusion among non-Thai. Additional research on that topic is continuing. Over 60,000 copies of a book by Dr. Hori on intercultural communication, commissioned by the Japanese Culture Ministry, have been distributed to schools and other organizations in Japan. A lecture by Dr. Hori to the Children's International Summer Villages also was recently published by that organization.

Mexico

Monica Gendreau (Universidad de las Americas-Puebla, Ciencias de la Comunicación, Apartado Postal 104 C. P. 72820 Cholula, Puebla Mexico < Gendreau@udlapvms.pue.udlap.mx >) and **Gilberto Giménez** (Universidad Nacional Autonoma De Mexico, Tlalpan) presented a paper, "San Pedro Cuauco, Between Popocatépetl and Brooklyn..Migration and Media: Two Ways of Altering Regional Identity in Central Mexico" at ICA 96.

Kenton T. Wilkinson (Instituto Technológico de Monterrey, Sucursal de Correos "J", 64849 Monterrey, Nuevo León; university tel.: +52 (83) 58-20-00; university fax.: +52 (83) 58-89-31) participated in a panel on "Cultural Linguistic Markets: Alternative to Globalization?" at ICA 96.

Netherlands

Vincent Merk (Technische Universiteit Eindhoven) led an interactive workshop at SIETAR 96 for non-Francophone trainers or professionals with business partners in France or other Francophone countries to provide strategies and techniques for managing successful business communication in a French cultural setting. **J. M. Ulijn** of the same university delivered a paper, "How Can Intercultural Discourse Research Benefit Negotiation Training," at SIETAR 96.

Norway

Johannes Brinkmann and **Roberta Wigg** (handelshøyskole [Norwegian School of Management], POB 580, 1301 Sandvika; instituion tel.: +47 (02) 47-05-00; institution fax: +47 (02) 47-05-70) presented a paper, "Teaching Business Students Intercultural Communication," at SIETAR 96.

Oyvind Dahl (Centre for Intercultural Communication [no further information]) discussed "The Use of Stereotypes in Intercultural Training" at Sietar 96.

Romania

Alexandru Crisan (Institute of Educational Sciences [no further information]) presented a paper, "Intercultural Communication in the Classroom: A Source of Evidence in Curriculum Implementation," at SIETAR 96.

Russia

Anna Pavlovskaya (Moscow State University, Leninskie gory, 117234 Moscow; university tel.: +7 (095) 939-53-40) presented a paper on, "Russia and Russians in Western Orientation Literature" at SIETAR 96.

Singapore

Anura Goonasekera (Director of Research Programme, Asian Mass Communication and Information Center [AMIC], 39 Newton Road, Singapore 1130, Republic of Singapore; Tel: +65 251 5106; Fax: +65 253-4535) is one of the organizers of the workshop comparing convergence of telecoms and broadcasting in ASEAN and Eurpoean countries, to be held in Bruges, Belgium, August 29-September 1, 1996. (See "Belgium", for details.)

Hoa Xioaming (Nanyang Technological. U., Nanyang Ave., Singapore 2263; Univ. Tel.: 2651744), with **Lars Willnat** (Chinese University, Shatin, New Territories, Hong Kong) and **He Zhou** (San Jose State U., San Jose, CA, USA) presented a paper, "The Effects of Foreign Media Exposure on Cognitibve and Affective Perceptions of Americans in Hong Kong, China, and Singapore," at ICA 96.

Slovenia

Darko Strajn (Pedagoški Inštitut (Educational Research Institute), Gerbičeva 62, Ljubljana; Tel.: +386 (061) 331-625) presented a paper, "Matrix of Identity", in the "Identities in Interaction" session of the "Community Interaction" division of SIETAR 96.

Spain

Estrella Israel Garzón (Facultad de Ciencias de la Información, Universidad Politécnica CEU San Pablo, 46113 Moncada, Valencia; Fax: +34 6 139-5272) published an article on the journalistic construction of intercultural differences in *Anàlisi* (A.U.B., Bellaterra), No. 18 (1995), pp. 59-85, titled, "Comunicació intercultural i construcció periodística de la diferència" (Intercultural communication and journalistic construction of difference).

Emilio Lamo de Espinosa (Department of Sociology, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Ciudad Universitaria, 28040 Madrid) recently published a reader, *Culturas, estados, ciudadanos. Una aproximación al multiculturalismo en Europa* (Cultures, states, citizens: an approach to multiculturalism in Europe), Madrid: Alianza, 1995. Contributors include **Miquel Siguan**, on languages, **Josèp R. Llobera**, on national identity, **Antonio Remito Brotons**, on immigrants, **John Rex**, on urban problems in Britain, **Marco Martiniello**, on European multicultural citizenship, and **Carlota Solé**, on intercultural education.

Miquel Rodrigo Alsina (Departament de Periodisme i de Ciències de la Comunicació, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Edifici 1, 08193 Bellaterra (Barcelona); Tel: +34 3 581-1545; Fax: +34 3 581-2005; E-mail: < IPPE7@BLUES.UAB.ES >) currently has three articles in press on intercultural communication: "Etnocentrismo y medios de comunicación" (Ethnocentrism and the Media of Communication), stressing the ethnocentricity of mass media institutions, in *Voces y culturas*; "Els estudis de comunicació intercultural" (The study of Intercultural Communication), differentiating intercultural, crosscultural, international and comparative communication research studies, in *DCIDOB"*, and "Panorama de los estudios de comunicación intercultural," a review of the history and current status of intercultural commnication studies, in *Pauta Geral*. Professor Rodrigo spent five months at Saint Louis University's Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture, in 1995, doing the research which resulted in these articles.

Sweden

Claes Moberg, Anders Törnvall and **Hossein Dadfar** (Linköping University, 581 83 Linköping; university tel.: +46 (013) 28-10-00) presented a paper, "In Search of Cultural Synergy in Multinational Companies," at SIETAR 96.

Switzerland

Tania Ogay (University of Geneva, Chemin des Aubepines 7, Lausanne 1004; Tel.: +41 (022) 7059620; Fax: +41 (021) 6487204; E-mail: < ogay@papse.unige.ch >) presented a paper on, "Cultural Diversity in Switzerland: A Place to Observe Intercultural Competencies?" at SIETAR 96.

United Kingdom

Ivan Heng (Tripitaka Theatre Company) discussed "Dramatic Theater as Intercultural Training" at SIETAR 96.

P. D. Nayar (University of Humberside, Cottington Road, Hull HU6 7TR; university tel.: +44 (0482) 440550) presented a paper on "The Infotainment Explosion: Intercultural Challenge or Invasion?" at SIETAR 96.

Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi (Centre for Mass Communication Research, University of Leicester, 104 Regent Road, Leicester LE1 7LT; Tel: +44 (0116) 252 3874; Fax: +44 (0116) 252 3874; E-mail: < AS19@LEICESTER.AC.UK >) co-chaired, with **Robert L. Stevenson** (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, USA) a panel on, "Remapping the World of Global News Flow in the 1990s," at ICA 96. This was the first presentation of the results of a large study of foreign news and international news flow with data from more than 40 countries, replicating and expanding upon a comparable study sponsored by UNESCO in the late 1970s.

United States

At ICA 96, **Maher Al-Hajji** and **Christine Ogan** (School of Journalism, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405;

Tel: +1 (812) 855-1699; Fax: +1 (812) 855-0901; e-mail: < OGAN@JOURNALISM.INDIANA.EDU >) presented a paper, "How Does Saudi Ownership Affect the Content of UPI? A Qualitative Analysis of Selected Coverage by the Associated Press and the United Press International."

Nobleza Asuncion-Lande (Department of Communication, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-2177; Fax: +1 (913) 864-5203; e-mail: < mcmnal@falcon.cc.ukans.edu >) recently conducted research in Singapore on predicting the conflict potential of multi-cultural organizations, testing a research instrument developed at the University of Kansas. Her current interests also include the politics of communication policy in the ASEAN countries and culture as mass media, and she would especially welcome correspondence with others working on the latter topic.

Pamela Caadwal-Ilott, a retired vice-president of CBS, has founded the Center for Intercultural Communications (Dove House, Box 295A H.C.2, Canyon Lake, TX 78133; Tel.: +1 (512) 935-2828 [or contact Sue Reading, Austin, TX; Tel.: +1 (512) 335-6694) which hosts master classes designed to help Hispanic young people develop their communication skills. The Center works in cooperation with the Mexican-American Cultural Center in San Antonio, TX.

At ICA 96, **Ling Chen** (University of Oklahoma, 101 burton Hall, 601 Elm Ave, Norman, OK 73019; Tel: +1 (405) 325-2833; Fax +1 (405) 325-7625; E-mail: < AA0449@UOKMVSA.BACKBONE.UOKNOR.EDU >) chaired a session on "Self and Intercultural Communication." Participants included **Maria Knight Lapinski** (Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI), **Timothy R. Levine, Kyoko Kitani** and **Min-Sun Kim** (all of the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, HI), and **Patricia Garcia-Prieto, Cynthia Gallois, Victor Callan** and **Michael Willemyns** (all of the University of Queensland, Queensland, Australia -- see Australia, above), and as Respondent, **Ted Singeles** (also University of Hawaii at Manoa).

Darlene K. Drummond (Ohio State University, 2157 #5, Summit Street, Columbus, OH 43201; Tel: +1 (614) 292-3400; E-mail: < DRUMMOND.26@POSTBOX.ACS. OSU.EDU >) presented a paper, "The Creation, Maintenance, and Transformation of Ethnic Identity through Ethnic Labeling: Subjective and Ascribed Meanings from the Mouths of Americans of African Descent," at ICA 96.

At ICA 96, **Richard A Gershon** (Western Michigan University, 1503 Academy St., Kalamazoo, MI 49006; Tel: +1 (616) 387-3182; Fax: +1 (616) 387-3990; E-mail: < RICHARD.GERSHON@WMICH.EDU >) chaired a session on "International Telecommunications: Issues and Trends." Participants included **Kyungmo Kim, George A. Barnett, Joseph G. T. Salisbury, Minho Ahn** and **Young Choi** (all at the State University of New York, Buffalo, Dept. of Communications, Buffalo, NY 14261), **Abigail Gray** (Department of Defense Air Command and Staff College, Montgomery, AL , and as Respondent, **Sharon Strover** (University of Texas at Austin, Austin TX 78712)

William B. Gudykunst (Department of Speech Communication, California State University, Fullerton, Fullerton, CA 92634-9480; Tel: +1 (714) 773-3617; Fax: +1 (714) 773-3377) continues to develop his AUM theory (see review article in this issue of *CRT*) as an instrument for studying effective interpersonal and intergroup communication in practical settings, and has applied it at CSUF to leadership courses and training for students studying abroad. He also is engaged in research stemming from his work on the AUM theory and/or recent or forthcoming publications based on that research in collaboration with the following: **S. Guerrero, S. Heyman, K. Hubbert, K. Kim, Y.Y. Kim, Y. Matsumoto, T. Nishida, R. Shapiro**, and **S. Ting-Toomey**. (See "References" and "Additional Bibliography" for these titles.)

Call for Papers:
Communication Research. This journal has issued a call for papers for a special issue on "Cultural Variability in Communication", Volume 24, Number 4, scheduled for publication in August, 1997. "Manuscripts should be submitted in triplicate by Sept. 15, 1996, to Bill Gudykunst, [address above]."

Edward T. Hall (Professor Emeritus, Northwestern University -- current address: 707 E. Palace, #13, Santa Fe, NM 87501; Tel: (505) 982-3203; Fax: (505) 982-6715) continues his longstanding interest in both explicit and tacit levels of epistemology: "the hidden rules for how we know, and how misreading other people's hidden rules can lead to conflict and worse." He believes that a true understanding of this -- of how to make the experiential real and to translate it into words -- remains minimal, even in intercultural enterprises and attempts at training. "My ultimate objective is to have students in grade school becoming aware of each other's tacit epistemologies. I'm working on a book tentatively titled, *Culture: The Unbreakable Code*." (Letter 15 April 1996.)

Zhou He (School of Journalism and Mass Communication, San Jose State University., San Jose, CA 95192-0055; Tel: +1 (408) 924-3284; Fax: +1 (408) 924-3229; E-mail: < HE@SJSUVM1 >) with **Lars Willnat** (Chinese University, Shatin, New Territories, Hong Kong) and **Hoa Xioaming** (Nanyang Technological U., Singapore) presented a paper, "The Effects of Foreign Media Exposure on Cognitive and Affective Perceptions of Americans in Hong Kong, China, and Singapore," at ICA 96.

Suraj Kapoor, Arnold Wolf and **Janet Blue** (Dept. of Communication, Illinois State University, Normal, IL 61790-4480; Tel: +1 (309) 438-7550; Fax: +1 (309) 438-3048) presented a paper, "Adaptation to Host-Cultures: An Individualist-Collectivist Approach," at ICA 96.

Young Yun Kim (Department of Communication,

University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK 73019; e-mail: < youngkim@uoknor.edu >) is presenting a paper, with **Philip Lujan** (U. of Oklahoma, Norman) and **Lynda Dixon Shaver** (Indiana U. at South Bend, IN), on identity integration of American Indians in Oklahoma, at the May 1996 Conference of the International Communication Association (ICA). That research tests Kim's cross-cultural adaptation theory (see review article in this issue) and suggests that it is applicable to both domestic and immigrant ethnic groups. She also has been studying communication practices and problems between Japanese and Americans in Japanese-owned subsidiary companies in Oklahoma. An initial analysis of data from the latter studies was reported in Kim and Paulk 1994 (see "Additional Bibliography"). A new book by Kim, *Becoming Intercultural* is in press with Sage.

Jong G. Kang and **Suraj Kapoor** (Dept. of Communication, Illinois State University, Normal, IL 61790-4480; Tel: +1 (309) 438-7550; Fax: +1 (309) 438-3048) presented a paper, "Image of Arabs on U.S. Television Drama," at ISA 96.

Yoo-Kyung Kim (Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY 13210) presented a paper, "The Impact of Cultural and Market Distance on International Advertising: An Analysis of Information Content in Ads from US, Japan and Korea," at ICA 96.

Judith Martin (Arizona State University) and **Michael Paige** (University of Minnesota) presented a paper on "Ethics in Intercultural Communication Education, Training and Research" at SIETAR 96.

At ICA 96, **Emile G. McAnany** (University of Texas, Austin, TX) chaired a panel on, "Cultural Linguistic Markets: Alternative to Globalization?" Panelists were **Richard Collins** (London School of Economics, London, UK [see United Kingdom]), **Joseph D. Straubhaar** (Brigham Young University, Provo, UT), **Stephen Wildman** (Northwestern University, Evanston, IL), and **Kenton T. Wilkinson** (Technológico de Monterrey, Monterrey, Mexico [see Mexico])

The **National MultiCultural Institute** held its eleventh annual national conference in Washington, DC, May 30-June 2, 1996, on the theme, "Creating Community Through Dialogue: Bridging Differences in a Multicultural Society". (Contact: NMCI, 3000 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 438, Washington, DC 20008-2556.)

Manjunath Pendakur (Chair, Dept. of Radio-TV-Film, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60208-2270; Tel: +1 (847) 491-2243; Fax: +1 (847) 467-2389) has recently been working on communication in an Indian village.

Debra Reese and **Philip Palmgreen** (Department of Communication, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY 40506-0042; Tel: +1 (606) 257-7801; FAx: +1 (606) 257-7818; E-mail: < HUC134@UKCC.EDU >) presented a paper, "Coming to America: The Influence of Cultural Variables on Media Use Among Indian Sojourners in the US," at ICA 96.

Rochester Institute of Technology (One Lomb Memorial Drive, Rochester, NY 14623; university telephone: +1 (716)475-2400) is sponsoring a second conference on international/intercultural communication July 11-14, 1996, directed by **Michael Prosser** (Rockefeller Institute of Technology; e-mail: < MHPGPT@RIT.EDU >) and **K. S. Sitaram** (Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, 210 S. Violet Ln., Carbondale, IL 62901; Tel: +1 (618) 536-7555; Fax: +1 (618) 453-6982).

Robert L. Stevenson (University of North Carolina, 420 Fairoaks Cir., Chapel Hill, NC 27516; Tel: +1 (919) 962-1204; Fax: +1 (919) 962-0620; E-mail: < ROBERT STEVENSON@UNC.EDU >) co-chaired, with **Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi** (University of Leicester, Leicester, UK) a panel on, "Remapping the World of Global News Flow in the 1990s," at ICA 96. This was the first presentation of the results of a large study of foreign news and international news flow with data from more than 40 countries, replicating and expanding upon a comparable study sponsored by UNESCO in the late 1970s.

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Jan Servaes (Brussels)
John F. Snyder, S.J. (St. Louis, MO)
Tapio Varis (Helsinki)
Tony J. Wilson (Melbourne)
Monika Zwink (Bosseldorn, Germany)

Book Reviews

Reviewers:

W. E. Biernatzki, S.J. (WEB)
Paul J. Duffy, S.J. (PJD)
Shanna L. Monnig (SLM)

Of Special Note

Burleson, Brant R. (ed.). *Communication Yearbook 19*. Thousand Oaks/London/New Delhi: Sage (for the International Communication Association), 1996. Pp. xx, 457. ISBN 0-7619-0165-5 (ISSN 0147-4642) (hb.) $49.95.

Although the *Communication Yearbook* has been published annually since 1977, this year's edition marks a change in its approach which we would like to bring to the attention of *Trends'* readers. This year, the contents of the *Yearbook* consist exclusively of review articles surveying the state-of-the-art in major sub-areas of research representing the interests of the various divisions and interest groups of the International Communication Association, which sponsors the *Yearbook*. As the editor remarks, "In a sense..*CY* has returned to its roots in publishing reviews that seek to synthesize and integrate research literature" (pg. xii).

Recognizing that the burgeoning publication in communication studies has made virtually impossible fully comprehensive reviews of the literature in the larger sub-fields of communication research, the *Yearbook* focusses on "reviews of literature on the specific topics on which scholars and students actually conduct research" (ibid.). The topics selected for review in this volume are as follows: "communication and older adults", "sexual communication in interpersonal contexts..", "sexual harassment..", "television programming and sex stereotyping..", "the knowledge gap hypothesis..", "the meaning of 'communication technology..", "communication aspects of dyadic social influence in organizations..", "argumentativeness and verbal aggressiveness..", and the two articles discussed earlier in this issue of *Trends*: "Intercultural Communication Competence: A Synthesis" (Chen and Starosta 1996) and "Intercultural Communication Training: Review, Critique, and a New Theoretical Framework" (Cargile & Giles 1996).

This pattern sets the pattern for the *Yearbook*'s contents in future years. "*CY* will exclusively publish articles providing comprehensive synthesis and critiques of major areas of the communication literature. More specifically, articles in *CY* will review, critique, and integrate bodies of literature that have appeared with respect to specific, relatively narrow topics" (Burleson 1996: xii).

Does this mean a threat of overwhelming competition to *Communication Research Trends*? No. On the contrary, we very much welcome this change in *Communication Yearbook*, because it makes available far more reviews of the literature of communication research than have previously been available. *Communication Research Trends* is intended for a somewhat more general audience -- practitioners and decision-makers in communication who need easier access to the major findings of research, as well as scholars who might also find such overviews useful. We are happy to refer those who want a somewhat deeper, more technical coverage of related topics to *Communication Yearbook*. At the same time, we shall try not to overlap too much with *CY*, to ensure that our four annual contributions supplement its contents to broaden as much as possible the area of communication literature reviews available to readers of both publications. -- The Editor

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Other Reviews:

The Annenberg Washington Program:

Michael R. Beschloss. *The Digital Libraries in Our Future: Perils and Promise*. Based on a Conference Cosponsored by the Library of Congress. Washington: The Annenberg Washington Program in Communications Policy Studies, 1996.

Charting the New World of Communications, 1983-1996. Washington: The Annenberg Washington Program, Communications Policy Studies, Northwestern University, 1996.

The Annenberg Washington Program Electronic Library (Washington D.C.: The Annenberg Washington Program in Communication Policy Studies of Northwestern University, CD-Rom, 1996).

Beschloss' 24-page report is representative of the serial publications of the Annenberg Washington Program of Northwestern University. The Program, now ending, began in 1983, to provide

> a neutral forum, open to diverse opinion, for assessing the impact of communication technologies and public policies. The Program serves as a bridge between policymakers, industry officials, academics, the press, and the public. Newton N. Minow, a former Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, is Director (Beschloss, 1996, text from inside front cover).

The reports are the products either of conferences or special projects organized by the Program on topics relevant to its interests: communication technology impact and public policy regarding communications.

Beschloss addresses library digitization. The computerization of library records is developing rapidly in many parts of the world, and on-line retrieval of books which have never been printed on paper is a rapidly approaching reality. But, is this altogether a good thing? The

technology overcomes budget limitations, permitting library acquisitions to equal or surpass those of the past despite shrinking funds. "At the same time, computer technology offers us the chance to acquire intellectual property and disseminate it with a comprehensiveness that no previous generation could dream of" (pg. 3).

But, "the notion of a digital library system also could backfire" (pg. 18). Dangers include the expenses involved, which could limit access to only "rich families, schools and communities...denying equal educational opportunity and accentuating the gap between rich and poor" (ibid.). Legislative adjustments, especially in copyright law, will be needed to ensure that all the public has access to all library materials at affordable cost. Otherwise, "it will be a tragedy if, a century after Carnegie, the expense of hardware and rights to printed material on-line create a privileged class.. who can afford it and a disenfranchised one..who cannot" (ibid.).

The publication also contains the text of the address to the conference by James H. Billington, Librarian of Congress (pp. 19-21) as well as a list of other participants.

The publications vary widely in length, ranging from 4 to 460 pages, but averaging around 35-40. Some other, representative titles in the same series include, *Annenberg Health Communication Forum, 1993-1994 Summary*, published in 1994; *Communicating the Americans with Disabilities Act: Transcending Compliance: A Case Report on Sears, Roebuck and Co.*, by Peter David Blanck (1994); *Realigning Journalism with Democracy: The Hutchins Commission, Its Times, and Ours*, by Stephen Bates (1995 -- also on CD-ROM); *Preface to White House to Your House: Media and Politics in Virtual America*, by Edwin Diamond and Robert A. Silverman (1995); *Charting the New World of Communications: The Annenberg Washington Program, 1983-1996*, (Anon. - 1996); and *Guilt by Allegation: Lessons from the Cardinal Bernardin Case: Rapporteur Summary*, by Jack C. Doppelt (1994). This last title was more extensively reviewed in the *Trends* issue on "Religion in the Mass Media" (Vol. 15, No. 2, 1995, pp. 17-20).

Charting the New World of Communications, 1983-1996 (1996) describes the Program's history.

A CD-ROM containing over 90 publications of the program has just been issued as, *The Annenberg Washington Program Electronic Library* (1996).

The Annenberg Washington Program closed on June 1, 1996. Information on its publications is available electronically on < http://www. annenberg.nwu.edu >.

--WEB

Arias, Jaime, et al. *Etica i Comunicació Social: III Converses a La Pedrera* [Ethics and Social Communication: Conversations at La Pedrera III.] (Collecció Monografies i Documenti, 9). Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Centre d'Investigació de la Comunicació, 1993. Pp. 159. ISBN 84-393-2651-3 (pb.) n.p.

This publication, in Catalan and Spanish, is the result of the third in an ongoing series of conferences organized by the Center for Communication Research of the Catalonian Government and held in the La Pedrera building, Barcelona, December 15, 1992. Most of the participants were from Barcelona and other parts of Catalonia and included both journalists and academics. This conference followed closely upon the adoption of a new code of ethics (*Codi Deontològic*) by the Catalonian College of Journalists (October 22, 1992).

The keynote paper, by Professor Porfirio Barroso, of Complutense University, Madrid, on "Ethics and Social Communication: Points for a Debate," is printed in full, in Spanish. Brief responses by fourteen participants (pp. 41-86) are mostly in Catalan, as is most discussion (pp. 87-133).

The conference dealt with a wide range of issues in communication ethics, both practical and theoretical. Texts of the new Catalonian code of ethics and of parallel Spanish and European codes are included in an Annex. --WEB

Baty, S. Paige. *American Monroe: The Making of a Body Politic*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1995. Pp. xiv, 197. ISBN: 0-520-08805-0 (hb.) $40.00 (£32.00); ISBN 0-520-08806-9 (pb.) $15.00 (£11.95).

Marilyn Monroe is described by Baty, using a term credited to Robert Bellah, as a *representative character*. Such characters typify in a special way aspects of the society in which they lived and can be used to study the political and cultural condition of their time (pg. 10). Recent history, aided by the mass media and "showbiz hype", has been replete with such characters. John F. Kennedy, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Andy Warhol and Elvis Presley are others who stand out. Their lives, and deaths, like that of Monroe, are the stuff of which legend and myth are made. But, in the American situation, they also become icons and commodities, recognizable and saleable, "a common means of relaying stories and constructing histories which are easily circulated and imaged across great distances of time and space" (pg. 11).

Although her death, surrounded as it was by mystery and rumor, is a major element in her myth, Marilyn, like Elvis, "lives on"--a virtual postmodern goddess.

> She appears to citizens of the late twentieth century as both chronologically frozen and historically fluid; she is forever the young woman she was at the time of her death, and yet she constantly yields to new reconstructions of her form.. Teleologies are undone as past, present, and future are rewired into a circulated common ground of mass-mediated memory (pg. 30).

This book is less about Marilyn Monroe than about her posthumous impact on the world and the uses to which her image and memory have been put by, for example, Andy

Warhol, Norman Mailer and Madonna. Perhaps the peak of the many-faceted myth can be found in the conspiracy theories surrounding her death, including high-level romantic liaisons, gangsters and spies. This angle continues to be mined by the media for all it is worth. A 1991 "article claims that the KGB's Marilyn files are 'the most explosive' seen by the CIA since the collapse of the Soviet Union" (pg. 142). --WEB

Born, Georgina. *Rationalizing Culture: IRCAM, Boulez, and the Institutionalization of the Musical Avant-Garde.* Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1995. Pp. xv, 390. ISBN 0-520-08507-8 (hb.) $55.00 (£45.00); ISBN 0-520-20216-3 (pb.) $18.00 (£14.95).

IRCAM -- *Institut de Recherche et de Coordination Acoustique/Musique* -- is a state-funded computer music research and production institute in Paris. Pierre Boulez, conductor and avant-garde composer, founded IRCAM in 1977 and directed it until 1992. The purpose of IRCAM is to advance the development of computer music through the application of technology.

Born's study of this "attempt to institutionalize creativity itself" looks for "insight into the sense of crisis in late twentieth-century composition, and in particular into the crisis of musical modernism." Secondly, through the ethnographic case study of IRCAM, the author looks for a parallel insight into the state of contemporary anthropology (pg. 2).

Three initial chapters present the theoretical and historical/contextual underpinnings of the study. "Chapters 4 to 10 constitute the ethnography of IRCAM, for which the 'ethnographic present' is 1984, the main period of my fieldwork," according to the author (pg. 11). The concluding chapter updates events to and after Boulez's retirement, as well as presenting the insights and lasting themes which can be derived from the pivotal stage of IRCAM's history covered in the original field study (ibid.).

Despite being a workplace designed to advance such a presumed symbol of the postmodern as avant-garde, computer-generated music, IRCAM revealed to the author a persistent continuity with structures and processes more representative of "modernism." Also surviving was the "high culture"/"popular culture" dichotomy which some have believed should disappear with the advent of postmodernism. An early, anti-commercial orientation in IRCAM also tended to dissolve into closer interaction with commercial companies as computer music became more saleable.

In its more efficient, post-Boulez phase, IRCAM continues to develop innovative music technology, such as the "Max" software package and the SIM (*Station d'Informatique Musicale*) workstation, both of which are being produced by American companies and are selling well (pg. 311). --WEB

Cissna, Kenneth N. (ed.). *Applied Communication in the 21st Century.* Mahwah, NJ/Hove, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995. Pp. xvi, 218. ISBN 0-8058-1475-2 (hb.) $45.00; ISBN 0-8058-1852-9 (pb.) $19.95.

Cissna comments in his Introduction that communication as an academic field began in the very practical area of speech training. Now, however, it must struggle to maintain its social relevance if it is to attract students and make its proper contribution to the world.

Concern about the field's relevance led to the founding of the *Journal of Applied Communication Research* and to a Speech Communication Association-sponsored conference in 1991, limited to forty participants and devoted to finding ways to promote applied communication research, and ultimately resulting in this volume.

One of the many issues discussed in the conference papers was that of "co-optation" -- the possibility that the findings of applied research might be taken over by propagandists and advertisers and used against the best interests of the public. Dwight Conquergood raised the question, insisting that research can no longer be carried out as if in a vacuum.

> The choice is no longer between pure and applied research. Instead, we must choose between research that is 'engaged' or 'complicit'.. Engaged intellectuals take responsibility for how the knowledge they produce is used.." (pg. 85).

Samuel Becker agreed with Conquergood that there is a danger both of co-optation and of ethnocentrism in applied research, but he advised against reacting too "humbly". "Instead, or perhaps also, we should attack the problem of co-optation by doing everything possible to make the results of our learning available to all of the other Sancho Panzas of the world" (pg. 103).

Applied researchers, in Becker's view, should try "to do more good than harm," to work within their own cultural perspective, which "is generally as valid as any other," and at the same time try to bring into the field scholars with a wider range of cultural backgrounds. "The more cultural perspectives from which we approach the problems that concern us, the more likely we are to find some theories that are fruitful for more than one culture" (ibid.). --WEB

Cohen, Akiba A. and **Gadi Wolfsfeld** (eds.). *Framing the Intifada: People and Media.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1993. Pp. xxviii, 214. ISBN 0-89391-899-7 (hb.) $42.50; ISBN 0-89391-958-6 (pb.) $22.50.

At the time this book was published the Intifada had become the longest-running confrontation within the general context of Israeli-Palestinian conflict. "This book is about communication and the *intifada*: It is about what people have

been saying, thinking and writing about the conflict and about the messages being produced by the mass media" (pg. ix).

It was subject to diverse interpretations from the beginning. An Israeli truck collided with a car on December 8, 1987, killing its four Palestinian occupants. Their deaths were interpreted by Palestinians as murder -- "revenge by a relative of an Israeli who had been killed two days earlier." "Israelis saw it as just another accident" (xiii). Widespread demonstrations and instances of violence broke out among the Palestinian population and were sustained for years.

The authors of the book's 11 chapters build on the metaphor of "frames", suggested by Erving Goffman. According to Goffman, writing in the 1970s, interpretive frames are "definitions of a situation [which] are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events -- at least social ones -- and our subjective involvement in them" (xiv). Any conflict will be framed in various ways, depending on the relationships of those perceiving it. The antagonists, themselves, will naturally interpret the situation differently. The media see only part of the situation, and so give a limited interpretation. The perceptions of various media audiences will be even less complete, depending on how much of the reporting on the conflict they receive and understand.

The book's chapters deal with a variety of indicators of framing by different groups. Topics include graffiti, Israeli soldiers' narratives, Jewish opinion, impact of the *intifada* on Israeli Arabs, American public opinion and media, television news, the role of women in the *intifada* as interpreted by TV, and Israeli and Palestinian press interpretations. --WEB

Dahlgren, Peter. *Television and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, Democracy and the Media.* London/ Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995. Pp. xiii, 176, ISBN 0 8039 8922-9 (hb). 0 8039 8923-7 (pb) $21.95.

Dahlgren's book, one of the Media, Culture & Society series, examines the role of the media in modern societies, especially in their relationship to the functioning of democracy. His study, he says, is mainly a project of clarification, "an essayistic effort to explore some of the connections and boundaries of the public sphere, partly empirically but largely theoretically" (pg. ix).

In exploring his theme he uses media studies and social, cultural and political theory. For Dahlgren the public sphere is "the historically conditioned social space where information, ideas and debate can circulate in society, and where political opinion can be formed.." (pg. ix). He argues that in our time the health of democracy is closely linked to the health of communication systems: concern for democracy must include a concern for television, because television "has become..the major institution of the public sphere in modern society" (x).

He situates the theme of the public sphere in the larger context of contemporary democracy, focusing on the relationship between the state and civil society, and he examines four key dimensions of the public sphere - social structure, media institutions, media representations, and sociocultural interaction. He reviews the literature on television research and theory, and then analyzes television as an industry, as audio-visual text, and as sociocultural experience.

There are chapters on television journalism and popularization, and the economic, political, technical and cultural aspects of modernity and their impact on the public sphere. An analysis of the importance and limitations of Habermas's theory of communicative action is followed by reflections on civil society and its citizens, with a final critical assessment of television's central place in the public sphere and in the functioning of democratic society. -- PJD

Dégh, Linda. *American Folklore and the Mass Media.* Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994. Pp. 217. ISBN 0-253-31677-4 (hb.) $35.00; ISBN 0-253-20844 (pb.) $14.95.

Dégh wishes to demonstrate that "the phenomenon we identify as folklore permeates all society assisted by the mass media." It is not limited to an environment "of traditional spinning rooms, firesides, and wayside inns" (pg. 1). The instruments may be new, but the phenomenon is recognizably the same, and it now appeals to a larger population than before.

The process of uniting folklore and media began earlier than might be thought. One of the first folktale collections, George Gaal's *Märchen der Magyaren* (Fairy-tales of the Magyars - Vienna, 1821), arose from an order by an Austro-Hungarian army officer to Hungarian recruits each to write down a folktale from his home region. Thus, the transmission dispense entirely with the customary requirement that folklore be orally transmitted (pg. 21). Now, not only literacy but also the electronic media have affected most oral transmissions. "The discussion of primary and secondary orality in relationship to literacy by Walter Ong directs us to a more realistic view of modern folk narration" (pg. 21).

The Industrial Revolution almost obliterated the "classical oral prose narrative of Old World peasantry" (pg. 34). Very few of these "Märchen" survived the voyage of immigrants to America and their urban living conditions. But the magic lives on. Now "television...is the main dispenser of certain forms of folklore, including the tale" (pg. 36). But rather than the "unfaithful recasts" of folktales by Disney and others and fragmentary uses of themes, episodes, structures, etc., in other narratives, according to the author the most faithful modern reproduction of the folktale is the dramatized commercial. This "characteristically American" and "magico-animistic" art form comes closest to "the *Märchen* in ideology, in application of paraphernalia, and even in structure" (pg. 37).

Other parallels can be found in the promises of "beauty, wealth and power" in both folklore and the mass media, and

in the religion of the televangelists and of Pentecostalism's technologized churches. "In Memoriam" advertising, commemorating and directly addressing the dead in newspaper ads, is another example--technology perpetuating traditions of funerary ritual in a modern form. --WEB

Diawara, Manthia (ed.). *Black American Cinema.* New York/London: Routledge, 1993. Pp. x, 324. ISBN 0-415-90396-3 (hb.) $49.95; ISBN 0-415-90397-1 (pb.) $15.95.

Serious African-American involvement in film production has grown significantly in recent years, both inside and outside "Hollywood," prompting this exploration of Black American cinema from two perspectives. The first is that of film aesthetics, "focusing on the Black artist, his or her representation of the Black imaginary, and his or her place within broader communities" (pg. ix). The second is from the point of view of film spectatorship -- reception, expectations, "spectatorial identification," and "political resistance" (ibid.).

In his introductory essay, Diawara cites an emergent realism as one of the most important trends in Black films. This often is expressed in the context of "Black males' initiation into manhood" (pg. 24). Other authors in the first section discuss the works of pioneer Black producer Oscar Micheaux, 1930s filmwriter Wallace Thurman, the independent Black filmmaking movement which developed in Los Angeles in the early 1970s, the work of director Spike Lee, and others.

Analysis of Black film spectatorship is fraught with difficulties, many of them due to the historical and sociological circumstances which have shaped Black artistic expression in the United States. According to British sociologist Stuart Hall, as quoted by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., in his chapter, "Looking for Modernism," Black identity, like any identity, must be sought in a "partnership of past and present," realizing that "cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories" (pg. 201).

Gates comments on how Black artists -- and Black leadership in general -- have had to contend with ambivalent criticism and condemnation not only from the White community, but even more intensively from the Black community. For example, producers of serious films about the problems of Black women "have been called black-male-bashers and accused of calculated complicity with White racists" (pg. 200). Others are accused of being "assimilationists", and others of being "Black nationalists." Gates discusses this crippling paradox in reviewing the British film, *Looking for Langston*, "a meditation" on New York's "Harlem Renaissance" of the 1920s.

Ed Guerrero discusses the "biracial buddy films" through which Hollywood attempted to balance the racial scales in the 1980s. According to Guerrero, the Black image projected by these films remained a stereotype of even favorably portrayed Blacks still being in Whites' "protective custody." In them, Black comic roles dominated and serious dramatic portrayals by Blacks were lacking. Guerrero sees hope for improvement in both Black and other non-White portrayals in "the dialectical pressure exerted on Hollywood by the humanized, culturally complex, self-fashioned images of people of color in their emergent and independent cinema practices" (pg. 245). --WEB

Garrison, Bruce. *Computer-Assisted Reporting.* Hillsdale, NJ/Hove, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995. Pp. xiv, 410. ISBN 0-8058-1632-1 (hb.) $59.95; ISBN 0-8058-1633-X (pb.) $24.95.

In the author's view, computers are central to the future of news reporting. On the other hand, by some estimates, news people may have less ability to use computers and may be less comfortable with them than an equivalently well-educated sample of the general population (pg. x).

This book is intended to help reporters keep from falling behind by introducing them to the mysteries of computer-assisted reporting and to the many ways computers can make their work more effective and the stories they produce more complete and more accurate. One special area of concern lies in the technology, itself, which many journalists misuse or fail to use because they naively either "hate it, ignore it, or love it blindly" (pg. xi). Many examples of effective computer use are presented. They include not only ways the technology can be used to gather facts more quickly and effectively but also ways it can be used to find new meaning in the data. One example is the investigation into fraud, waste and favoritism shown towards food lobbies by the United States Department of Agriculture, which resulted in a 1992 Pulitzer Prize for the *Kansas City Star*. The reporting team at the *Star* analyzed publicly available computer records of the farm subsidy program to pinpoint and document abuses. That was only one Pulitzer Prize out of six, in the successive years, 1989-1994, in which computer analysis by reporters played a major role (pp. 10-12).

The book's sections give detailed information about online news and information, elementary information management, advanced database reporting strategies, and computing goals for the newsroom. The major goal is to "create the computer-literate journalist."

Appendices give detailed information about online databases, other online services, U.S. government bulletin board services, and examples of a survey research questionnaire and a survey database and SPSS programming example. "SPSS" stands for "Statistical Package for the Social Sciences." The author agrees with many communication scholars that, "reporters and social scientists are not all that different" (pg. 4). Both should make use of the available technical resources to assure maximum depth and accuracy in their reporting. --WEB

Gelder, Ken. *Reading the Vampire.* London/New York: Routledge, 1994. Pp. xi, 161. ISBN 0-415-08012-6 (hb.) $55.00; ISBN 0-415-08013-4 (pb.) $16.95.

In the postmodern world we are becoming used to having fiction become reality--or at least "virtual reality". Gelder comments that vampire fiction has done the opposite by turning a real region, Transylvania, into such a "virtual fiction" that almost no one outside the region itself can hear the name without thinking, "vampire" (pg. 1).

Although vampire-like horror stories are common to countries in all parts of the world, "two Eastern European sources for [Bram] Stoker's Count Dracula are usually privileged over others: Vlad the Impaler (1431?-76) and Countess Elizabeth Bathory (1560-1614)" (pg. 24).

"The first English vampire story -- Dr. John William Polidori's 'The Vampyre' (1819) -- has its hero Aubrey journey to Greece just as Jonathan Harker journeys to Transylvania in [Stoker's] Dracula" (pg. 25). Although Greece may have the strongest folkloric vampire tradition, Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) definitively centered it in Transylvania for most of the popular fiction-reading (and, later, movie-going) public.

Gelder discusses the history and meaning of vampire fiction, from its 19th century literary beginnings through the novels of Stephen King and Anne Rice, devoting chapter five to "Vampires in Cinema, from *Nosferatu* to [Francis Ford Coppola's] *Bram Stoker's Dracula*" (pp. 86-107). Through it all, "the vampire's *nature* is fundamentally conservative -- it never stops doing what it does; but *culturally*, this creature may be highly adaptable" (pg. 141).

Consistent elements in the vampire tales suggest some of their socio-cultural functions. The vampire is "'foreign' or 'unassimilated' -- located beyond culture, but grounded *in* culture.." But it "was shown to enable mediation between what is 'beyond' culture...and what is culturally definitive..." In a Freudian approach, the vampire is simultaneously unfamiliar...and familiar..." Victorian vampire narratives dealt with the vampire's difference -- especially sexual difference. Youth is especially vulnerable to vampires, particularly in the films, where youth subculture ("beyond culture") is in conflict with family ("*in* culture"). Modern fictional representations play on "fantasies of paranoia" (pp. 141-142).

Gelder also sees the "beyond culture"/"in culture" tension in vampire fiction "as a kind of dialectic between illusion and disillusion--as a problem of *belief*--which is mobilized in the fiction for ideological reasons but also to produce a certain kind of force or affect" (pg. 142).

As the cover blurb puts it, the book "embeds vampires in their cultural contexts, showing how vampire narratives reproduce the anxieties and fascinations of their times.."

--WEB

Hastings, Elizabeth Hann, and **Philip K. Hastings** (eds.). *Index to International Public Opinion, 1992-1993.* Westport, CT/London: Greenwood Press, 1994. Pp. xxii, 749. ISBN 0-313-29057-1 (hb.); ISSN 0193-905X. n.p. and
same editors, *Index to International Public Opinion, 1993-1994.* Westport, CT/London: Greenwood Press, 1995. Pp. 792. ISBN 0-313-29068-7 (hb.) $245.00.

Published yearly since 1978, the *Index*.. contains a selection of polling information from reputable research organizations in a large number of countries. The 1994 edition includes data from polls conducted in 65 countries, as well as several international polls in Europe, in the period from the spring of 1992 through the spring of 1993 (the 1995 edition was not available to this reviewer).

The bulk of each volume is devoted to data from single nation surveys, on a wide range of topics, such as Business, Crime, Education, Environment, Health, International Relations, Labor, Marriage and Family, Politics, Recreation and Entertainment, Religion, Science and Technology, Social Issues (abortion, drugs, elderly, etc.), and many others. Multinational surveys were more limited in topics, centering, in the 1994 volume, on political data in Europe and on American/Japanese relations. The European data include the bimonthly "Eurobarometer" reports on matters of European political, economic and social concern. A "Retrospective" cites polls ranging back fifty or more years to illustrate changing opinions on various topics. Three indices list topics, countries in which surveys took place, and countries and geographic areas referenced in the surveys. --WEB

Hummert, Mary Lee, John M. Wiemann, and **Jon F. Nussbaum** (eds.). *Interpersonal Communication in Older Adulthood: Interdisciplinary Theory and Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1994. Pp. 272. ISBN 0-8039-5116-7 (hb.) $49.95; ISBN 0-8039-5117-5 (pb.) $24.95.

In an effort to gain "a richer understanding of the complex interactive world of older adults" the editors have brought together contributions from communication studies, cognitive psychology, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and medical sociology, which discuss "cognition, language, and the relational world of elderly individuals" (pg. 1).

North American authors contributed most of the 11 papers, with 7 Canadian authors and 15 from the United States, while one is from the United Kingdom. Topics focus on issues of special concern in care for the elderly and in their social adjustment. They include perceptions of conversational skills, use of proper names, the effects of Alzheimer's Dementia on communication, decrease in hearing sensitivity (presbycusis), life-cycle changes in communication, stereotypes and patronizing speech, elderly identity, friendship, and patient's presentation of self in the initial

medical encounter.

The book as a whole reflects "a conception of human beings as engaged in a dialectical process of negotiating the self within environmental constraints" which "is consistent with current theoretical views of interpersonal communication, including constructivism and communication accommodation theory" (pg. 8). --WEB

Johnson, J. David. *Organizational Communication Structure*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1993. Pp. viii,228. ISBN 089391-721-4 (hb.) $45.00; ISBN 1-56750-069-2 (pb.) $22.50.

The author was led to write this book because he was dissatisfied with approaches to organizational communication which treated it only as systems theory or placed too much stress on network analysis, neglecting many substantive areas and "speaking only to the converted" while ignoring the needs of a broader audience (pp. vii-viii).

Although a vast number of communication relationships can be found in any organization, Johnson notes that only a limited number of these form recurring patterns. These constitute the organization's communication structure and embed the individual in the organization's social system. They establish the normative behavior of the organization, expedite action and information processing, reduce uncertainty, and promote social support and integration, all of which are necessary for the achievement of the organization's goals. However, structure also can have dysfunctional consequences, such as those which mingle structure with the exercise of power, give powerful individuals excessive control of agendas and information flow and the ability to manipulate others (pp. 2-5).

Part I is a survey of approaches to organizational communication structure, including formal approaches, which at first were preoccupied with vertical and horizontal information flows, but more recently "have tended to focus on more abstract variables..such as configuration, complexity, formalization, and centralization" (pg. 17). Network analysis is another important approach which "represents a very systematic means of examining the overall configuration of communication relationships" (pg. 33). Another approach is through the use of communication gradients, which "portray communication intensity in a physically bounded plane through the use of rich visual imagery" -- typically "through topological or graphical representation" (pg. 59). Finally, interest in cultural approaches has increased greatly in recent years. "This interest arises partly out of the realization that meanings are created through the social communi-cation people have with each other.." (pg. 75). However, although cultural approaches often work well at the micro level, they "have not been too concerned with developing techniques for systematically describing communication behaviors across an entire organization" (pg. 89).

Part II reviews antecedents to organizational communication structure, such as time-space dimensions of its context, technological factors, and the human environment within which the organization must function. Johnson's approach to the human environment concentrates on intra-organizational relationships, in contrast to the inclusion of extra-organizational relationships emphasized by Cynthia Stohl (see review, below).

The third and final part of the book discusses the relation of communication structure to individual outcomes, such as satisfaction, commitment, and support, and to organizational outcomes, with emphasis on innovation and productivity.

--WEB

Kerbel, Matthew Robert. *Remote and Controlled: Media Politics in a Cynical Age*. Boulder/San Francisco/Oxford: Westview Press, 1995. Pp. xii, 170. ISBN 0-8133-2592-7(hb); 0-8133-2593-5 (pbk) $13.95.

Kerbel, a political scientist and former television newswriter, analyzes the connection between what he sees in the U.S. as a pervasive distrust of politicians and the role of the media in creating a climate of cynicism about politics. He explores "the dilemma confronting those who might wish to learn about the [political] system without being repelled by it, given how national politics is conducted and covered in the 1990's" (pg. xii).

His study focuses on television because it has become by far the main source of political news for most people, and polls show that the public trusts television news far more than it does printed news. We have access now to vastly more political information than ever before, and we also have the lowest-ever level of public trust in government: disenchantment most aptly describes the public's view of government and politics. Television is not wholly to blame for this reversal in people's confidence in the political system - other factors and stakeholders share the responsibility - but Kerbel argues that much of this change in attitude is due to the way television journalists, in particular, report political news.

One chapter traces the history of two hundred years of politics and reporting, with sketches of those politicians who, like Franklin Roosevelt (with radio) and John F. Kennedy (with television), rapidly learned how to manage and profit by new media technologies. His analysis studies the role of the various stakeholders in the system, the media's role in portraying politics as a military contest, and the ways in which reporters report electoral campaigns in terms of their experience, generally presenting the process negatively.

Kerbel finds that the media present U.S. politics as mainly presidential politics, and thus neglect the roles of Congress and the bureaucracies in the political system. We now have "the television presidency" which operates on television's terms. Television has constructed a model of governance which does not fit the facts: "The media have it all wrong. They cover governance as if we had a presidential system, as if the chief executive really did outweigh Congress. They

elevate the president to impossible heights, then tear him down when he turns out to be unable to perform beyond his constitutional capability.. The president plays to this media frame" (pg. 124). --PJD

Mumford, Laura Stempel. *Love and Ideology in the Afternoon: Soap Opera, Women and Television Genre.* Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995. Pp. viii, 166. ISBN 0-253-32879-9 (cl), $27.95. ISBN 0-253-20965-X (pb), $12.95.

Mumford began watching television soap operas when she was seventeen and has remained an avid watcher ever since. She uses her extensive viewing experience to analyse the genre from a feminist viewpoint, and while she still finds pleasure in these programs, she critically evaluates what she sees as "the form's tendency to reproduce the repressive ideology of capitalist patriarchy" (pg. 4).

After sketching the history of her own viewing practice over many years, she reviews the literature on the subject, develops a comprehensive definition of the soap opera, and sets out the broad questions for critics and theorists. In a chapter on public exposure and privacy, Mumford examines the attraction of the soaps in their construction of fictional but believable communities, whose private and intimate relationships are then exposed to public view. She studies the structure and function of closure in the programs' narratives and in viewers' expectations, and concludes that in most soapie programs the narrative closure serves "to reinforce patriarchy and the related repressions of racism, classism, and heterosexism" (pg. 93). In a final chapter, "Beyond Soap Opera", Mumford goes beyond the text of particular soapies to examine the role of the soap opera fan magazines and the future of this television genre. --PJD

Noam, Eli M., and Gerard Pogorel. *Asymmetric Deregulation: The Dynamics of Telecommunications Policy in Europe and the United States.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1994. Pp. vii, 264. ISBN 0-89391-696-X (hb.) $52.50; ISBN 0-56750-003-X (pb.) $26.00.

International telecommunication relations between the United States and Europe used to be a cozy and relatively trouble-free interaction of equality between national companies enjoying domestic monopolies.

That equilibrium was upset by U.S. restructuring and deregulation of its domestic telecommunications industry, which created the "asymmetric" situation to which the book's title refers. Free domestic competition, with a multiplication of long distance telephone companies, for example, has not been a problem for Europe, where PTTs (Post-Telephone-Telegraph companies) control the whole domestic network as well as its international connections. The same was, de-facto, true in the United States when AT&T (American Telephone and Telegraph) controlled the whole system under tight federal regulation.

Now, however, competition among U.S. companies in international services is carried on in an environment in which the competing companies must interconnect with monopoly systems outside the control of any U.S. government agency. Evan R. Kwerel, senior economist for the U.S. Federal Communications Commission, explores the implications of this problem in his chapter (pp. 75-106) and proposes, among other policy adjustments, the establishment of certain U.S. government controls on the competing U.S. carriers which would limit the ability of the European monopoly carriers to gain undue financial concessions from the American companies.

Most of the papers in the book discuss economic aspects of what William J. Drake explores more broadly, in his chapter on the "international telecommunications regime" (pp. 137-203). Trends initiated in the United States have begun to influence the structure of other countries' telecom systems. The international regime established at the foundation of the International Telegraph Union (ITU, now International Telecommunication Union), in 1865, "has undergone fundamental transformation since the late 1980s" (pg. 197). Many of the "key injunctions" which administrations used to maintain their authority have become void, or soon will be void, as the operational environment changes. A serious proposal was even put forward that the ITU, itself, should be privatized and shares issued to transnational corporations and governments, alike. "The ideological, economic and political terrain has been recast so as to make state control an exception which must be justified, rather than an unquestioned rule" (ibid.). The earlier equilibrium now has to be regarded as "abnormal", and a turmoil of continual competition and readjustment as "normal". --WEB

Popkin, Jeremy D. (ed.). *Media and Revolution: Comparative Perspectives.* Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995. Pp. vii, 246. ISBN 0-8131-1899-9 (hb.) $29.95.

The essays comprising this book were originally presented as papers at a 1992 symposium on "Media and Revolution" at the University of Kentucky. The thirteen authors examine the role of the communication media in revolutionary crises, with studies ranging from England's Puritan Revolution of the 1640s to Czechoslovakia's "velvet revolution" and the Chinese students' failed Tiananmen Square revolution of 1989. The contributors are mostly professional historians, but there is a balancing presence of academics in the fields of journalism, literature and languages.

In addition to the revolutions already mentioned, there are historical treatments of the media's role in the revolutions of the American colonies (1776), France (1789), Germany (1848-49), Russia (1917), and China (1919-1989). The studies for the most part concentrate on the role of the newspaper, pamphlet and periodical press, since these were the predominant media in the eras of most of the revolutions

studied. One essay evaluates the use of political cartoons in reporting revolutionary preparations and their outcomes.

One comparative study analyzes the media's part in two revolutionary movements in race relations in the U.S.: the abolition-of-slavery movement of the 1830s and 1840s, and the civil rights movement of the 1950s. There is an examination of a single newspaper's role (*Pravda*) in the establishment of the "propaganda state" (the U.S.S.R.), and its part in shaping the mentality of the men and women who operated the Communist state and party apparatus. A study of the aftermath of the 1848 German revolution focuses on the influence of a single newspaper proprietor and his crusade as the "Persecutor of Evil."

The question each scholar sets out to answer is: Do the media in fact have a real influence on the unfolding of a revolutionary crisis? There is considerable divergence in the responses. Some, like the French scholar Pierre Rétat, say the media play an influential role. The press might not bring about the revolution, "but it is one and the same with the revolutionary process" (pg. 5). Others are more skeptical of such influence. Most essayists do not see a direct causal relationship between the media and revolutions. "Instead, they generally see a revolutionary media structure emerging as preexisting institutions... crumble, and they tend to focus either on how the new media structure shapes conflicts in the chaotic periods that follow the overthrow of established authority or on the media's role in the reconstruction of new institutions" (pg. 10). --PJD

Rodrigo Alsina, Miquel. *La construcción de la noticia* (The Structure of the News), 2nd edition. Barcelona/ Buenos Aires/México: Ediciones Paidós, 1993. Pp. 208. ISBN 84-7509-507-0 (pb.) n.p.

Rodrigo examines the structure of that part of the mass media which has the largest audience -- the news. It provides society with what is considered to be "truth", "reality".

The author refers to the news by a metaphor: the news "was once considered as a means of communication that was like a black box, which had its 'INPUTS', the events, and 'OUTPUTS', the news" and he aims to convert this "black box" into a structure that is now "transparent".

Moving through this book, the reader can view how epistemology--the philosophical investigation into the origin, nature, methods, and limits of human knowledge--relates to mass media, the circulation of the news, its consumption, and its production process. That process includes the determinants of selection of events to be reported, selection of sources, journalistic work patterns, informants, journalistic professionalism, objectivity, and a consideration of the traditional concept of "news" in contrast to the contemporary view of it as a "construction".

Rodrigo also raises the much-debated question of whether the news is a mirror image of society or whether the events are transformed to make a more interesting presentation. He does this by considering the news as existing in three worlds: the real world--the actual events verified to have happened--the referential world--which is the media's presentation and interpretation of what happened--and the possible world--the locating of the events and interpretation in reference to the previous knowledge and worldview of the audience. --SLM

Rodrigo Alsina, Miquel. *Los Medios de Comunicación ante el Terrorismo* (The Communication Media Before Terrorism). Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, S.A., 1991. Pp. 157. ISBN 84-7426-176-7 (pb.) n.p.

This book does not attempt to rid the world of political violence and terrorism. Rather, Rodrigo's goal is to illustrate the singular relationship which terrorism enjoys with the mass media by explaining that terrorism's success is significant because it feeds on society's belief in the image of an ideological illusion -- and the media allow this image to transform itself into a "reality".

This causes a debate as to whether controls should be placed on the media to inhibit their use by terrorists in this way. How can the public's right to know about such events be guaranteed without simultaneously promoting and reinforcing the political violence, the political delinquency and the perversion of politics that these terrorist groups utilize?

Though this raises the question of censorship in the media, Rodrigo believes the primary concern should be with how the media present the issues. He does this by analyzing four Spanish daily newspapers' reporting about twenty acts of terrorism. The papers were *Egin, El Alcázar, El País*, and *La Vanguardia*. Their coverage was analyzed according to how it treated the objectives and motives of the terrorists, how it analyzed the terrorist organization, and how it described the issues and events. The criteria and method of the content analysis are described in the appendix. --SLM

Rodrigo Alsina, Miquel. *Los Modelos de la Comunicación* (The Models of Communication). Madrid: Editorial Tecnos, S.A., 1989. Pp. 138. ISBN 84-309-1766-7 (pb.) n.p.

Communication is a passionate and complex phenomenon. We, as humans, cannot escape the limitations of history or social circumstances unless we analyze and critique the processes of social communication. Studies in political science, mathematical theory, sociology, linguistics, and psychology all claim to describe and explain the phenomenon of communication.

The reader who desires a deeper insight into the phenomenon can compare and contrast the contributions and limitations of the various scientific perspectives, especially the models of Lasswell, Shannon, Schramm, Jakobson, and Maletzke, which Rodrigo has singled out for treatment. He provides biographical data, historical and scientific contexts, and sketches of the scope of their studies, as well as

descriptions and explanations of the models and their advantages and limitations.

Rodrigo provides a panoramic view of communication studies by introducing the sociosemiotic model, in which society's interpretations of signs and symbols are related to language by the use of syntactics, semantics, and pragmatics.

Rodrigo's in-depth description of this model brings with it an amplified vision of mass communication. He not only integrates the more mainstream theories relevant to social communication but also introduces new methodological resources for its study. The sociosemiotic model of communication is a multidisciplined, dynamic, flexible, and integrated model designed to describe and explain its complicated process. The model also suggests future lines of research into the communication process. --SLM

Ross, Andrew, and **Tricia Rose** (eds.). *Microphone Fiends: Youth Music and Youth Culture*. New York/ London: Routledge, 1994. Pp. ix, 276. ISBN 0-415-90907-4 (hb.) $49.95; ISBN 0-415-90908-2 (pb.) $16.95.

"Youth culture" is a worldwide phenomenon centered on music, united by music--if by anything--and perhaps the paradigmatic expression of the "postmodern" age. According to Andrew Ross, "In the forty-odd years since 'youth culture' was created as a consumer category, music remains the medium for the most creative and powerful stories about those things that often seem to count the most in our daily lives." (pg. 3)

Nevertheless, the kinds of music vary, and the uses to which music is put are diverse.

The papers in *Microphone Fiends* stem from an American Studies conference at Princeton University, in 1992. All the contributors were participants in the conference, but some of the essays are much revised versions of their conference papers or are entirely new.

"Rock", "hip hop", "rap", "gangsta' rap", etc., are names given to the music; and "vague", "angst", and similar negative words describe its "hardcore" followers and their influence on "the vast majority of kids" who "share to some extent in the activities and sensibilities that find high symbolic visibility in these subcultures" (pg. 7).

Youth, at large, seem to have been convinced by the "hardcore" that they are some kind of persecuted minority, "deprived of its civil rights." Meanings vary, and are constantly being reinvented. The statue of "Lady Liberty" was meaningful to Chinese youth in Tiananmen Square, but "would be anathema to Western youth in a domestic context" (pg. 12). Nevertheless, the authors recognize a certain underlying similarity. As George Lipsitz puts it, "Our time is a time of crisis for youth, a time of unprecedented damage and danger to young people" (pg. 17).

On the other hand, something of the kind has always existed, in one form or another. Susan McClary notes that "diatribes against the music produced by or for the young pockmark the historical record back as far as Plato.." (pg. 29). Social scientists in the critical/cultural studies tradition must approach the youth scene with caution, according to Donna Gaines. "We do not wish to assist hegemonic interests in disrupting and undermining the psychic spaces young people have carved out for themselves" (pg. 228).

Larry Grossberg, quoting Simon Frith, comments that polls indicate that while teenagers now listen to music much more than did teenagers of the 1970s it means less and less to them, functioning only in relation to other activities (pg. 56).

The 19 contributors to the book are, with two or three Canadian and British exceptions, based in the United States. This might limit the worldwide representativeness of their views, despite some attention to other regions, such as Brazil. Those views and perceptions do differ, and often conflict, as the authors probe for some key to what all seem, to at least some degree, to regard as an enigma. --WEB

Sigman, Stuart J. (ed.). *The Consequentiality of Communication*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995. Pp. vii, 236. ISBN 0-8058-1269-5 (hb.) $59.95; ISBN 0-8058-1765-4 (pb.) $22.50.

Communications have consequences. Sigman has assembled authors who would agree with this view--that meanings emerge from communication processes which are active producers of meaning, not merely its passive conveyors. They represent four perspectives on this area of general agreement which are presented in the book's first section. Having read the others' views the writers return, in the next section, to critique those views and reformulate their own.

Sigman is interested in isolating the communication process as a distinct phenomenon, irreducible to psychological, sociological or cultural factors. This effort is reminiscent of that by early sociologists to isolate distinctive "social facts" which would constitute a unique subject matter for their science, and the parallel effort by anthropologists to define "culture." Sigman says, for example,

> This consequentiality [of the communication process] cannot be explained by primary recourse to cultural, psychological, or sociological variables and theorizing... It is the ebb and flow of the communication process itself that must be studied, and a theory of communication consequentiality apart from anthropological, psychological, or sociological theory that must be developed. (pg. 1)

The four perspectives represented are Vernon E. Cronen's application of his theory of "the coordinated management of meaning", Robert E. Sanders' "Neo-Rhetorical Perspective," Wayne A. Beach's conversation analysis of the use of the word "okay", and an application of social communication theory by Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz, Stuart J. Sigman and Sheila J. Sullivan. --WEB

Splichal, Slavko, and Colin Sparks. *Journalists for the 21st Century.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1994. Pp. vi, 210. ISBN 0-89391-725-7 (hb.) $42.50; ISBN 0-89391-954-3 (pb.) $22.50.

The authors surveyed 1,855 first-year journalism students in 22 countries with the help of "willing, and unrewarded collaborators" among journalism teachers in each country. The survey was carried out under the auspices of UNESCO. Its aim was to study "motivations, expectations, and professionalization tendencies... in all the main regions of the world" (pg. 1).

The study's findings are reported in two sections: "The Fate and the Situation of Journalism as a Profession," and "Perceptions of Journalistic Careers.." among the students.

The authors summarize their findings as follows:

> Overall, the evidence of our study shows that, while journalism may not be a profession, there is a strong tendency among students of journalism to aspire towards precisely those aspects of occupational autonomy which are held to be characteristic of the professional work-situation. Students identify the prevailing mechanisms of ownership and control in their own societies as obstacles to the free exercise of journalism, and wish for change in the social and legal position and status of journalists that would grant them increased occupational autonomy. (pg. 12)

The English-language version of the questionnaire is included in an appendix. --WEB

Stevenson, Nick. *Understanding Media Cultures: Social Theory and Mass Communication.* London/ Thousand Oaks, CA/New Delhi: Sage, 1995. 37p. xii, 238. ISBN 0-8039-8930 X (hb.) $69.95; ISBN 0-8039-8931-8 (pb.) $21.95.

This work grew out of a long list of questions which have been asked about the role of media in culture and society and out of Stevenson's observation that while social theorists acknowledge the importance of the mass media, many quickly shift to analyses which assume the central importance of other factors, such as economics or politics. Those theorists who do treat the media seriously tend to regard it "as being the cause of social breakdown and the ideological cement that glues an unjust society together" (pg. 1).

The author feels that such views are "overly reductive and essentialist", and he wants to address theories which take the media seriously. This involves studying both the relationship between the media and other public and private social practices, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the unique social practices which are unique characteristics of the media themselves (pg. 2).

The discussion begins with Marxism, especially British Neo-Marxism, as represented by Raymond Williams, the Glasgow University Media Group, and Stuart Hall. Stevenson argues that mass media research "should articulate a political economy of the cultural industries" (pg. 46). At the same time, he notes in this school "a certain tendency to overstate the incorporating power of ideology" (ibid.).

Next, he takes up the contributions of Jürgen Habermas, whose "substantive and complex account of modernity" has had growing significance in contemporary social theory, but whose "writing on mass communication has not so far attracted the attention it deserves" (pg. 47).

Other approaches given in-depth treatment by Stevenson are "critical perspectives within audience research," and those of Marshall McLuhan, and Baudrillard, which are media-oriented.

The several approaches can be grouped into three paradigms: *critical* (the Marxists and Habermas), *audience*, and those which, like McLuhan and Baudrillard concentrate on the nature of the *media*, as such. Although each help answer or at least clarify the questions raised by the media, Stevenson feels that they neglect some important areas. He highlights two of these, "human needs" and "citizenship", which "are sure to attract increasing attention from social theorists and lay concerns alike" (pg. 213). --WEB

Stohl, Cynthia. *Organizational Communication: Connectedness in Action* (Interpersonal Commtexts 5). Thousand Oaks/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1995. Pp. xvi, 203. ISBN 0-8039-3424-6 (hb.) $39.95; ISBN 0-8039-3425-4 (pb.) $17.95.

The central thesis of the author is that organizations should be studied as networks of persons linked by messages and relationships which extend beyond the boundaries of the organization itself to take in its members' family life and other involvements which form the organization's context.

The core of any organization consists of relationships which are established, maintained and developed through the interchange of messages. Besides those central elements, some form of hierarchy must be present to provide structure and direction to the organization. In addition, the organization must elicit voluntary social participation by its members to give it life and to make it effective.

The author, Professor of Communication at Purdue University, sees her focus on "the multileveled interfaces between organizational and interpersonal domains" (pg. 172) as essential to understanding organizations and their place in the broader culture and society. "Although we cannot actually see or touch these metaphorical networks, they have powerful consequences that go far beyond the workplace" (pg. 173).

Extensive references gathered at the end of the book constitute a substantial bibliography of the topic.

--WEB

Thayer, Lee, and **George A. Barnett** (eds.). *Organization-- Communication: Emerging Perspectives IV*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1994. Pp. xviii, 235. ; ISBN 0-89391-995-0 (vol. 4) (hb.). Also available: Vol. I, ISBN 0-89391-274-3 (hb., $59.50 [1986]); Vol. II, ISBN 0-89391-425-8 (hb., $59.50 [1988]); and Vol. III, ISBN 0-89391-621-8 (hb., $59.50 [scheduled for publication in 1995]).

The papers which comprise Volume IV of this series take a somewhat different approach to the study of organizational communication than either of the two other books on organizational communication reviewed above (J. David Johnson 1993, and Cynthia Stohl 1995). "The chapters in this volume all contribute to our understanding of the role of language and culture in organizational life" (pg. xi). The editors are working out of a more anthropological tradition. For them, "organizational culture may be defined as 'the system of..publicly and collectively accepted meanings operating for a given group at a given time'" (pg. x, quoting P. M. Pettigrew).

The 17 contributors -- all based in the United States -- generally emphasize semiotics and symbolism, and some integrate these with network analysis, with a "theory of structuration" which sees structures as both the media and the outcome of action, and with the evaluation of communication competence at the group and organizational level. One chapter speculates about the democratizing effect of electronic mail on organizational communication. A final chapter develops a model of "power in the organization and the role of communication" (pg. xvi). --WEB

Tulloch, John, and **Henry Jenkins**. *Science Fiction Audiences: Watching Doctor Who and Star Trek*. London/New York: Routledge, 1995. Pp. xiii, 294. ISBN 0-415-06140-7 (hb.) $59.95; ISBN 0-415-06141-5 (pb.) $16.95.

This audience study attempts to fathom the reasons for the popularity of two science fiction television series which have survived several cancellations, each, always to be reincarnated both as new series and as feature films. *Star Trek* has persisted, in its evolving forms through several "generations," since September 8, 1966. *Doctor Who*, started even earlier, on BBC-1 in 1963.

Part I, of the book, looks at the science fiction audience historically, from various directions. Part II, is largely based on Tulloch's empirical studies of various audiences' reactions to *Doctor Who* in Australia. In Part III, Jenkins discusses *Star Trek* through textual analysis.

This book is part of Routledge's "Popular Fiction Series," edited by Tony Bennett and Graham Martin. The series editors, in their preface, provide an "apologia" for devoting so much effort to the study of something as seemingly ephemeral as popular fiction -- on television or any other medium. Popular fictions matter, they say, because they "saturate the rhythms of everyday life.. they help to define our sense of ourselves, shaping our desires, fantasies, imagined pasts, and projected futures" (pg. viii). They continue,

> It should be clear, though, that in all of this our aim is not to transform popular fiction into something else -- into literature, say, or art cinema. If the study of popular fiction matters it is because what is ultimately at stake in such analysis is the production of a better popular fiction as well as of better, politically more productive, ways of reading it. (ibid.)

By about 1991, more than 1,300 English-language articles had been published analyzing various aspects of *Star Trek*, including its audience, which they tend to describe as "exotic, unknowable and irrational" (pg. 3). The program's survival is nevertheless due to the perceived economic power of that audience. The "Save *Star Trek*" campaign, which caused NBC to reconsider its first cancellation, in 1968, generated hundreds of thousands of protest letters from fans to the network. The networks, as well as critics of the ratings system would comment that this phenomenon supports the view that American television is as it is precisely because that is what its audiences want (pg. 9).

Many earlier critiques of both *Doctor Who* and *Star Trek* follow the lead of the Frankfurt School of sociologists, in the 1940s and 1950s, who condemned the "culture industries." They would see the two series as myths which ideologically reinforce the status quo and the interests of the ruling elite. Tulloch sees some science fiction as a retelling of "the known tale of capitalism's victory over feudalism" (pg. 33). But the series also are open to countercultural readings. For example, although the character of Dr. Who was perceived by some young Australian mothers as both sexist and undemocratic, "readings against the grain" remained possible (pg. 124).

Interviews with students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology also revealed negotiation with the text. In criticizing characters' behaviors, students related them to their efforts to resolve their own personal problems. "What allows them to resolve their personal anxieties and to confront their professional doubts is the optimistic vision *Start Trek* offers them of a future perfected through advanced technology" (pg. 236).

One secret of success for these and other long-running television series appears to be that they are able to construct an alternative, "virtual" culture which various audiences are able to use to negotiate meanings which are functional in their own, "real" lives. --WEB

Wasko, Janet, Vincent Mosco, and **Manjunath Pendakur** (eds.). *Illuminating the Blindspots: Essays Honoring Dallas W. Smythe*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1993. Pp. ix, 435. ISBN 0-89391-846-6 (hb.) $85.00; ISBN 0-89391-955-1 (pb.) $39.95.

Dallas Smythe, who died September 6, 1992, as this *festschrift* was in its final stages of editing, was arguably the leading "guru" of the political economy and critical theory traditions of communication studies in North America. Canadian, by birth, and with a doctorate in economics from the University of California at Berkeley, Smythe worked for the United States government in Washington, for 11 years, including five years (1943-1948) as chief economist for the Federal Communications Commission. In that position, and later, as Director of Studies for the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, he played an important role in saving parts of the U.S. radio and TV spectra for non-commercial and educational broadcasting (pg. 4).

Investigated at least five times by the FBI, Smythe became dissatisfied with the political climate in the United States and returned to Canada in the early 1960s, where he eventually became Professor of Communications at the University of British Columbia (ibid.).

Although competent in the statistical methodology of the time, Smythe rejected it for what he felt to be a more in-depth approach. As Manjunath Pendakur describes this transition:

> Smythe departed from functionalist sociology that dominated the study of communication in the U.S. after World War II by critiquing the principal positivists -- Wilbur Schramm, Daniel Lerner, Ithiel de Sola Pool, and Everett Rogers -- and offering an alternative conceptual framework. Political economy of communication provided a vantage point to examine how communication in society occurs, who shapes it, under what specific conditions, and for what purposes. (pg. 85)

The 21 chapters, by 22 authors, discuss and develop many of Smythe's seminal ideas. Eileen Meehan, for example, begins with Smythe's analysis of the audience, in his 1977 article, "Communications: Blindspot of Western Marxism," to amplify the concept of the "commodity audience." The mass media in a commercial media system convert their audiences into a commodity, which they then literally sell to advertisers as a market for the advertisers' own products. In Smythe's view, Marxist theory had ignored the mass media, and thereby neglected this facet of capitalistic exploitation.

Later analysts, including Meehan, find Smythe's view correct, as far as it goes, but oversimplified. Ratings, on which the "sale" of audiences now is based, are influenced not only by market factors but also by the vested interests of the rating service, which can skew their conclusions in different ways with equal validity by using different measurement techniques (pg. 387).

Advertisers are interested in actual audiences with buying power, rather than ratings alone. The realization of this has stimulated researchers on a broad front -- ideologically "right", as well as "left" -- to veer away from statistics and towards a greater use of ethno-graphic and other qualitative methodologies.

An appendix contains a list of both published and unpublished work by Smythe from 1948 to 1992. --WEB

Whillock, Rita Kirk and **David Slayden** (eds.). *Hate Speech*. Thousand Oaks, CA/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1995. Pp. xvi, 294. ISBN 0-8039-7208-3 (hb.) $54.00; ISBN 0-8039-7209-1 (pb.) $22.95.

While tolerance and the social reinforcement of anti-hate messages may be having some success in contemporary society, hate speech -- increasingly covert -- remains a part of all cultures. Although usually viewed as wrong and disruptive, the editors suggest that hate speech can serve some positive functions for a society. One of the most important of these is to serve as a defining indicator of a culture's core values by targeting certain objects for hatred and disdain, rather than others. "In practice hate becomes an essential tool for the construction of identity and the acquisition of power" (pg. xiii). Paradoxically, essentially destructive expressions of hate must be admitted as part of public discourse, heard out rather than silenced because of its defining function. Like pain, it is disagreeable but warns us that something is wrong in the body politic.

Teun A. van Dijk, the only one among the nine authors not based in the United States, leads off the book with a study of how racism is reproduced in elite discourse. This process is subtle, but it permeates the mass media, textbooks, academic and political discourse, and the discourse of corporations, whose public relations departments go to great lengths to conceal it.

Other chapters deal with the use of hate strategies for achieving social and political goals, the use of clothing and other symbols in hate discourse, rapists' narratives, and other examples and cases.

Stephen A. Smith's final chapter discusses the relation between hate speech and freedom of speech in a pluralistic society, as evidenced chiefly in U.S. court decisions. He feels that hate speech must be allowed, not only for constitutional reasons but because "legal restrictions on hate speech only suppress the symptoms; they do not treat the underlying causes of the social disease... the infection would remain and fester. A better prescription would be to expose it to... the healing antibiotic of counterargument" (pg. 260).

--WEB

Winsbury, Rex, and **Shehina Fazal** (eds.). *Vision and Hindsight: The First 25 Years of the International Institute of Communication*. London/Paris/Rome: John Libbey, 1994. ISBN 0 86196 449 7 (hb.) £25.00 ISBN 0 86196 467 5 (pb.) £15.00.

The International Institute of Communication (IIC), headquartered in London, is described by Rex Winsbury and Shehina Fazal, in the Preface of this book, as follows:

> The unique qualities of the IIC are that it is global in membership and in outlook: that it spans all forms of

mass communications; that it is neither the spokesman nor the lackey of any vested interest or paymaster; and that it operates at the interface between technology, society and politics, at the international level. (pg. 3)

Rather than being a history of the IIC's first 25 years, this is a collection of disparate reflections on the IIC by people who have known it. Some of the contributions to the book are more historical, others more personal and subjective.

The Institute was founded through UNESCO inspiration. The "founding fathers" were chiefly Americans, and initially funding was largely from the Ford and Rockefeller foundations. Now, however, the IIC is relatively inactive in the United States, but vigorous in other parts of the world. Contributing to this change were accusations that it had become a "Trojan Horse" for "socialist" ideas and Third World issues. At the same time, however, others were accusing it of being a "Trojan Horse" of a different color, "for American 'media imperialism'" (pp. 6-7).

Being attacked from both extremes is usually a sign that one is doing something right, and, as Executive Director Carol Joy outlines, the IIC has continued to do effective work despite many ups and downs, financial and otherwise (pp. 137-144). One of its most outstanding contributions has been the journal, *InterMedia*, which offers a global perspective on telecommunications. Outstanding research projects with which the IIC has been involved are sketched in section four (pp. 145-206).

Michael Tracey, in suggesting a philosophical framework for the IIC in the 1990s, poses some questions which it and others concerned with communication policy should be prepared to address: "What will media institutions 'look' like by, say 2020?" "How will other institutions within society be affected by communications..?" "How will the physical ecology of the planet be impacted by developments in, say, telecommunications?" "Will cultures be diverse or monolithic, liberating or enslaving..?" "What will happen to ideas of society, community, the public and the nation which have constituted much of the conceptual architecture of the modern world?" "What will 'work' look like?" "What are the resolutions to the public interest issues which might be said to accompany the development of interactive communications systems?"

These questions illustrate the areas which have been, and continue to be of interest to the IIC. They also illustrate the tremendous challenges facing organizations in trying to keep up, and to help others keep up with the rapidly changing world of communication. --WEB

Zimmermann, Patricia R. *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film.* Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995. Pp. xix, 187. ISBN 0-253-36876-6 (hb.) $29.95; ISBN 0-253-20944-7 (pb.) $14.95.

The mass communication media contain a paradox about which many observers have commented: they only go one way -- "sender" to "receiver". Their lack of opportunity for two-way interaction causes some to question whether they should be called "communication" at all.

Amateur film -- "home movies" -- might have provided an opportunity for ordinary people to "talk back" to the media, to create their own productions, emancipated from the "culture industries" and with a potential for stimulating social change. Zimmermann explores this "unsightly, sprawling underside" neglected by "more traditional commercial-film histories" (pg. x). In her view, "social, economic, aesthetic, and political discourses have historically defined amateur film.. [so that] dominant media formations marginalized and stabilized the potential, but latent, political disruptions of amateur film" (pp. ix-x). But the history of amateur film must take account of "shifting social structures and categories," and despite the forces which have worked to define amateur film as a mere "consumer item" it has interacted with the professional film industry in various ways (pg. xii).

The history of amateur film falls into several periods, marking changes which have transformed its development. These changes are linked to social, political and aesthetic developments as much as to technological innovations (pg. xv). The first period is the formative one, prior to 1897, in which amateurism and theories of amateurism developed. The second is from 1897 to 1923, in which the initial technological developments took place. A third phase was from 1923 to 1940. The period of the Second World War was the occasion for such a "massive transformation and professionalization of amateur film" that it warrants a chapter by itself. Closing out the period covered by the book is a phase in which an emphasis on the nuclear family dominated the development of amateur film and the 8 millimeter format became the standard.

This period brought to a climax a development process by which, in the author's view,

> Reduced to a few narrow components, the discursive definition of amateur film incorporated the very limited, almost claustrophobic territory of the suburbanized private sphere. The socialization pressures of consumption, leisure, the family, and the Cold War created an ideological construct of amateur film as sterile, passive, apolitical, and an inconsequential commodity. These discourses dissipated amateur film into an atrophied, impotent plaything, a toy to endlessly replay repressive ideologies. (pg. 142)

A final chapter carries the discussion into the age of the camcorder and calls for a reinvention of amateurism. Examples are cited to illustrate that amateur film/video has not lost its potential for greater aesthetic, social and political significance if it can be liberated from the socially constructed straitjacket it has hitherto worn. --WEB