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Radio

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Radio

I. Introduction

Communication Research Trends has been negligent, over the years, in failing to devote enough attention to one of the most important of the mass media: Radio. In fact, this is the first issue in seventeen volumes that has been entirely devoted to research on that medium, even though many issues on related topics have discussed radio as it pertained to those topics.

One reason for our neglect of radio can be found in a relative lack of published research about it and the low priority it seems to be assigned in many university mass communication departments. The glamour of television and cinema seem to attract the interest of more students than the more "humdrum" offerings of music and talk to which radio is limited.

Challenges to research also are posed by the transitory character of radio programming compared even with the daily newspapers, always available for study piled neatly in their convenient "morgues." The Latin adage, "*verba fluunt, scripta manent*" — "[spoken] words flow away, writings remain" — still describes the problem of relative access to raw data for radio vs. newspaper research, despite the availability of tape and disk recorders. They can capture the flowing words and hold them, but they must be on the scene when the words are being spoken.

Gareth Price mentions radio's "lack of maturity," which somehow makes it less attractive than newspapers, hallowed by two or more centuries of development, and its lack of "appeal to young people attracted more to visual images in an increasingly multimedia world." But he goes on to stress that radio "continues to hold the largest audiences of all media, and it has been party to the most dramatic political developments during the past half century" (Price 1997: 22).

II. History: The Context of Technological Evolution

Stephen Lax. *Beyond the Horizon: Communications Technologies Past, Present and Future.* Luton, UK: John Libbey Media/ University of Luton Press, 1997.

Before about 1830, all communication depended on immediate contact — sender with recipient or messenger (or text), messenger (or text) with recipient, etc. — or signal systems which could only carry as far as they could directly be seen or heard. The telegraph began to change that. Wires could carry coded messages hundreds of miles in seconds. Lax (1997) describes the subsequent history of changes in communication technology in addition to explaining the basic principles of how each technology works. Radio, as a technology, forms an important branch on that tree of technological evolution.

Telephones were first regarded as instruments of business and not for "social talk" or for use by ordinary people (Lax 1997: 25-26). Only gradually was the phone network extended to include the homes of the middle class; and in developing countries the poor still have not been reached to a significant extent. The requirement of "universal service" remains contentious in the digital age, as debate over the United States Telecommunications Act of 1996 has shown (*Federal Communications Law Journal* 1997).

Radio began with a similar attitude — as a tool for navigational, military, diplomatic, and business use — but from the beginning it caught the interest of hobbyists. By 1920, in the United States, and 1922, in Britain, broadcasts for reception by the general public had begun (Lax 1997: 24).

By 1991, UNESCO reported more than 2 billion radio receivers in use throughout the world, in contrast to only 831 million TV sets and 540 million telephone lines (Lax 1997: 23). Radio, thus, has become the *mass* medium *par excellence*, but it has undergone many changes in the ways it is used, and, with digitization, it is about to undergo significant technical changes with vast implications for its social and cultural uses.

Solid State

The transition to transistors and integrated circuits permitted miniaturization and greater durability in radio equipment.

> Compared with valves [vacuum tubes], low-pressure glass tubes containing a small heating element, transistors were small, did not get very hot, did not use up much electrical power and were not fragile. They were thus ideal for portable, battery operated electrical equipment, but as their development continued they came to replace valves in almost all applications, except for very high frequency or high power systems. (Lax 1997: 27)

The integrated circuit, better known as the "silicon chip," used refinements of the same technology as in transistors to bring together many electronic components on a tiny piece of silicon. This resulted in greater reliability as well as greatly reduced size of all sorts of electronic equipment, including radios. One of the most significant effects of the integrated circuit on radio has been a shift in popularity from AM to FM broadcasts. The early history of radio had depended more on AM because of the greater complexity and cost of FM circuitry; but chips greatly reduced the cost of FM, and its greater clarity gave it an advantage, despite its restricted range (*ibid.* pp. 27-32). In the United States, the wide spectrum range used by each FM station, in contrast to AM, and the vested interest of David Sarnoff and RCA in AM radio and television also had led to extended litigation which contributed to the delay in widespread use of FM until after the Second World War (Lichty 1989: 420).

The next step, in the early 1970s, was the microprocessor, an advanced integrated digital circuit whose vast numbers of components can be programmed. This development revolution-ized the evolution of almost everything which operates by electricity (Lax 1997: 27). Much of its potential for changing both radio and television still lies ahead, in the "digital revolution."

III. A Rising Challenge: The Digital Revolution

InterMedia. "The future of radio." Vol. 25, No. 4, August 1997, pp. 4-15. Including:
  Fritz Groothues. "International services and the search for a global system." pp. 4-7.
  Annelise Berendt. "DAB: a chance for rejuvenation or a crisis of identity." pp. 8-10.
  Tim McGuire. "Will the pirates survive in the age of new media?" pp. 11-13.
  Noah A. Samara. "A vision to change the way the world listens." pp. 14-15.

David T. MacFarland. *Future Radio Programming Strategies: Cultivating Listenership in the Digital Age*, Second edition. Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997.

Benjamin J. Bates. "Station Trafficking in Radio: The Impact of Deregulation. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media.* Vol. 37, No. 1 (Winter 1993), pp. 21-30.

Lax (1997: 51) quotes Louis Rossetto, writing in the first UK edition of *Wired* magazine, as saying that the digital revolution could cause "social changes so profound their only parallel is probably the discovery of fire." Lax comments that this and similar "grand claims" are being made for a technology whose central feature — "the analogue-to-digital conversion process known as pulse code modulation" — was developed half a century ago *(ibid.)*.

Electromagnetic waves in nature, like sound and light, are able to carry communicative signals because they can vary in both frequency and amplitude. Their variation, in a communication system, is *analogous* to variations in the materials of the system's instrumentation — e.g., the carbon particles in a simple telephone or microphone. *Digital* signals depend on simple on/off switching. They do not vary through a range of possible values like analog signals, but must carry their message through some combination of "ons" and "offs", in whatever medium they are transmitted. Complexity can be introduced into the signals by increasing the numbers of on/off switches and working them in various combinations. Lax uses the example of a room with one lightbulb with an on/off switch and a room with many such lightbulbs and switches. The room with the single bulb is either dark or lighted, but the room with many bulbs can be lighted in different ways by varying the numbers of bulbs which are lit/not-lit at a given time (Lax 1997: 52).

The advantages of digital broadcasting over analog are listed by Lax as: elimination of "noise" through digital's "either/or" switching, speed of information processing, faithful reproduction (as a result of the elimination of noise), and ease of interfacing and processing — especially for correction of errors and encryption for secrecy — of digital communication technology with computer technology (Lax 1997: 53-56). One drawback has been the large amount of data and consequent wide bandwidth required by digital transmission (five to ten times that needed for FM), but efficient compression techniques have been developed to solve that problem and permit more channels in an equivalent bandwidth (Lax 1997: 58-61). Simon Reader (1996: 31), discussing television, says that "depending on the material being sent, the emergence of new digital compression techniques makes it possible to compress video signals into a bandwidth up to 10 times smaller than that required by their analogue counterparts." Since radio needs considerably narrower bandwidths than television, the same argument can be made, a fortiori, for radio.

Current Impact of Digitization on Radio

Whether or not the comparison of the digital revolution with the social effects of the discovery of fire will prove to be accurate, the prospect of a shift from analog to digital broadcasting already has sent shock waves through the radio industry. For example, American AM stations often were unsalable ten years ago, and half of all radio stations in the U.S. reportedly lost money in 1991 (Battaglio 1992). Nevertheless, AM stations now are being purchased for much-inflated prices. In one randomly selected example, KIEV-AM, broadcasting at a day-time power of 15 kilowatts and 1 kilowatt at night in Glendale and Los Angeles, California, recently sold for $33.4 million, the highest price ever paid for an AM station in the Los Angeles area. Towards the other end of the price range, 1 kw stations in rural areas might still be valued as low as $100,000 (*B & C* 1998a: 44).

Trading in radio stations also was stimulated by government deregulatory moves throughout the 1980s and 1990s

(Bates 1993: 21). Bates reports a vast range in radio station sales prices in the period 1988-1990, from "a high of $70.6 million for a single AM/FM combo"— one station with both AM and FM licenses — to "a low of $250 for a daytime-only AM station" (1993: 25). Bates found that, based on 1,847 sales of radio stations in the United States in 1988-1990, the price of AM stations averaged $886,921, FM stations $3,078,515, and combination AM/FM stations $3,299,078. Median prices were $230,000 for AM, $750,000 for FM, and $1,368,675 for combos (Bates 1993: 26).

Buyers of AM stations now tend to be interested in the width of electromagnetic spectrum controlled by each station and, of course, its potential audience, rather than its existing analog equipment; since the stations' conversion to digital technology will give them even greater clarity than today's FM, and the interfacing possibilities of the digital systems with computers give great promise for developments which have hardly been imagined. A completely digitized radio industry would make every station a "clear channel" station, but — as in the case of complete digitization of the television industry — each station would have to buy completely new equipment and all analog receivers would either have to be replaced with digital receivers or have a converter attached to them that would change the digital signal into an analog signal acceptable to the analog receivers. The cost of such a massive conversion would be so great — and would doubtless encounter significant consumer opposition — that projecting a timetable for full digitization is highly problematic. Despite that, the U.S. Federal Communication Commission (FCC) has tried to develop a timetable that would see both radio and television digitized before the year 2010. The FCC's announced goal for fully digitized television is the year 2006, but few believe that target can be achieved (Brown 1997: 8).

In the UK, the impending digital revolution had been a major stimulus behind the enactment of the Broadcasting Act of 1996, sensing that British initiatives in digitization would put that country ahead of the rest of the world in that technology. Jeremy Landau has expressed some caution in that regard: "Whether the 1996 Act will meet the task of making the UK a global leader in digital broadcasting remains to be seen. Much will depend on the financial viability of digital television, which is presently uncertain" (Landau 1998: 2).

Annelise Berendt (1997), discussing the consumer side of digital audio broadcasting (DAB) says that the BBC expects 40 percent of UK households to have a DAB receiver within ten years. The first commercial receivers were unveiled at a Berlin trade fair in the summer of 1997, and digital broadcasting signals were expected to be accessible to an area of Europe occupied by 100 million people by the end of that year — although nowhere near that number would yet have receivers. Expense remains a factor, with a DAB receiver adding £200.00 to the cost of a "high end" car radio (Berendt 1997: 8). Various sources have predicted that digital TV adapters will cost $100.00 to $150.00 in the United States. The expenses of converting to digital radio, for both stations and consumers, can be expected to parallel, but not equal, those anticipated for digital television. Brown (1997: 8) expects the first fully digital TV receivers in the United States "to cost $1,000 to $1,500 more than the present analogue models." And,

> for stations to re-equip, the expense will range from $750,000 for those that produce no programming of their own to $8 million for a complete facility with mobile units — and more if a new tower is required. The major networks are projecting an outlay of around $55 million each. (*ibid.*)

Digital Replacement of Shortwave

Digital radio broadcasting — like digital television, high definition television (HDTV), or any other new communication technology — will require agreement about standards in order to introduce it on a commercially viable basis. Representative of the worldwide activity the drive for digital standardization is causing was a meeting held in Guangzhou, China, in early 1998, at which "twenty of the world's most important broadcast-related organizations signed an agreement to form Digital Radio Mondiale (DRM)," a consortium to develop specifications for digital technology to be adopted for worldwide direct satellite broadcasting systems which would be capable of replacing shortwave world services (Wijemanne 1998: 5). The Guangzhou meeting was the result of a process initiated by the BBC at a symposium of international broadcasters in London in 1994 (Harold 1995).

Fritz Groothues (1997: 6), discussing the same consortium under its English-language title, "Digital Radio Worldwide (DRW)," says that at the time discussion of it started there already was agreement on "two firm components" of such a world system: it would have to be digital and be delivered by satellite.

Wijemanne describes the aim of the consortium as "to produce a system which will serve as a single, tested, non-proprietary, market-led, consumer-oriented digital broadcasting world standard" (*ibid.*, pg. 6). An important goal of this effort is to persuade developers of various digital systems to negotiate their differences and avoid mutually damaging competition.

> Several organizations have been developing digital systems to improve broadcasting in the AM bands and there are, at this moment, at least three systems that have reached some degree of successful development. One is from the JPL/VOA (US), another from Thomcast (France) and the third from Deutsche Telekom (Germany). (*ibid.*)

However, a higher level of collaboration among these developers is anticipated than had been the case with HDTV or, later, digital TV (cf., Brinkley 1997), and the author hopes that excessive competition and delays can be avoided. "All systems have characteristics that are in line with the requirements of the project. DRM's task is to develop a unique worldwide standard for a digital alternative to HF [high frequency] broadcasting incorporating the best elements of the above systems" (*ibid.*).

If the project proceeds harmoniously and a world standard is adopted, "digital broadcasting in the bands below 30 mHz will be officially inaugurated" (*ibid.*).

> After receiver and transmitter prototypes are tested, digital broadcasting is expected to start in AM radio bands within three to five years, according to the Mondiale group. The sets, which will cost about $30 more than conventional short-wave receivers, will be multiband AM models, with digital medium and possibly long-wave as well as short-wave. (*ibid.*)

In a parallel commercial venture, a consortium of principally Middle Eastern investors, called WorldSpace Inc., is developing a direct broadcast digital radio system on 75 channels, broadcast from three satellites due to be launched in 1998 and 1999. The company hopes to make much of its profit by selling a US$200 receiver, to be manufactured by four large Japanese manufacturers (*ABU News* 1998: 29; see also Samara 1997).

Annelise Berendt is less sanguine about the potential for agreement among the competing systems. For example, the joint European Eureka 147 system, initially favored by the BBC and others (Witherow 1995: 16), has been less favored in the United States than because the latter "aims to provide a smooth spectrum transition from analogue to digital while protecting investments in existing FM and AM networks" (Berendt 1997: 9). The US National Association of Broadcasters opposed Eureka "on the basis of lack of new spectrum, the cost of new networks, and concerns that it may introduce new competition" (*ibid.*). Furthermore, digital audio broadcasting in general, lacks three things which digital television and the Internet both have: "available receiving technology, a proven consumer demand, and content providers willing to invest in creating bespoke products for them" (*ibid.*).

Multipurpose receivers, like those just described, may still be needed, since FM and shortwave, in their current analog form may still be considered useful enough to be retained for some purposes. Donald MacFarland changed his mind, between the first (1990) and second (1997) editions of his book in regard to the impact of digitization on FM radio in the United States. An informal survey of compact disk (CD) buyers suggested to him that "good fidelity and lack of noise and distortion were not high on the list" of features that made CDs important to them. "What people liked most were the ability to program selected tracks, the fact that the discs were less likely to be harmed by mishandling than cassettes or LPs, and the ease of storage" (MacFarland 1997: 20). He carried this parallel over to radio, noting that, between the two editions of the book, "a system was demonstrated that would allow broadcasting of digital audio in the same bands broadcasters now use for their analog service" (*ibid.*). With that added evidence, he voiced his changed view on FM:

> Contrary to what I said in the first edition, analog FM stations may be around for a long time to come. However, most AM stations will have every reason to jump to digital, because it will offer the chance to increase audience shares rather than see them continue to erode.
>
> On the other hand, successful FMs will see many bottom-line reasons to maintain their analog signal. As former talk-oriented AMs convert to digital and begin airing high-fidelity music, we may see additional FMs converting to the news/talk category. FM may prove to be the perfect channel for the human voice (which is what some industry people have said — wishfully — about AM). The human voice demands neither the dynamic range nor the frequency response that music does. Voices on FM can sound very natural.(MacFarland 1997: 20)

He goes on to cite the "high commercial loads" that are more feasible with talk radio, in contrast to music radio, as a factor encouraging the adoption of the talk radio format by FM stations. Talk radio has more saleable advertising time, and therefore more potential profitability, than music radio, according to him (*ibid.*).

Berendt (1997: 10) agrees with MacFarland's view that people may not be attracted to digital audio broadcasting (DAB) by its clarity alone. A more likely attraction for purchasers might be found in "DAB's portability and its ability to deliver data." Since it is both wireless and capable of clearer, more steady mobile use, DAB is considered a great improvement over analog systems for car radios (*ibid.*).

IV. New Technologies: New Roles for Radio

The shifting relationships of AM, FM and digital broadcasting described and envisioned above are only part of the story. Innovations in other technologies also have brought about changes in the ways radio is used and its role in society. MacFarland (1997) has outlined the history of some of these changes that have occurred since the 1960s.

Television

Television, of course, has thus far had both the earliest and the most massive impact of all "new" technologies on radio. In the 1930s and 1940s radio served as something like the "communal fire" of the "global village," a role which Marshall McLuhan saw television assuming and enhancing in the 1960s (McLuhan 1962; 1964). In the earlier period, families sat around their radios, attentive to the sound, but with only an unchanging box to look at. The moving image of television quickly usurped radio's function as the family's "hearth." Radio then had to content itself with filling roles in which television viewing was not feasible: in automobiles or in work situations requiring visual attention — in homes, offices, fields, construction sites, factories, etc.

Drama and comedy, previously important dimensions of radio programming, required too close attention to be effective in these listening environments, and were usually far more satisfactory when their medium included the moving, colored image of television. Radio still could deliver music, and increasingly greater proportions of its program time were devoted to music.

In early 1998, the United States had 12,276 radio stations and only 1,576 terrestrial broadcast television stations, but the latter were supplemented by 2,074 very low power TV stations and 11,600 cable TV systems. Cable penetrated 66.1% of the approximately 98 million U.S. TV households (*B & C* 1998b: 82). Television sets often are on all day long, but often half that time or more with no one present in the room to view them. On the other hand, 77% of Americans are estimated to listen to radio each day (*B & C* 1998c: 117).

MTV: A Major Cultural Force

MacFarland (1997: 23) believes "that the agenda-setting and cultivation functions of the mass media are carried out most pervasively through entertainment rather than through news and public affairs programming." Music television (MTV) is a powerful cultural force, making "hundreds of millions of impressions about lifestyles, mores, social problems, and the like, tying in to our personal stories at a level of consciousness that is near dreaming." Although the moving, colored images of MTV make it the most powerful medium for entertainment "editorials" and cultural conditioning, radio has an important supplementary function: "Radio now often plays a supporting role to television in the generation of opinion among teenagers, but because of its sheer ubiquity, radio is still influential" (*ibid.*). Radio remains dominant wherever portability and the need to attend visually to other activities make TV-viewing impractical.

VCR, DBS, and Cable

In the 1980s, other technologies arose to disrupt the established functions not only of radio but also of broadcast TV. The videocassette recorder (VCR) made time shifting of TV programming possible as well as the rental of cassettes of feature films. Direct reception of TV programs from satellites (direct broadcasting by satellite — DBS) made that medium even more attractive than before — especially in remote places — but radio managed to retain its value and its listeners. Television viewers dependent on direct satellite reception typically get only national and international news from that source and become dependent again on radio for local news and weather reports (MacFarland 1997: 16).

Cable television also added the local dimension, but at an extra subscription cost to viewers. The potential capacity of cable is enormous. Martin Cave (1997: 586) has noted, with regard to television, that "cable delivery overcomes the most serious deficiencies caused by spectrum scarcity, (depending on the infrastructure, cable could carry up to 1000 digital channels)."

Computers and Multi-media

The advent of digitization has opened many possibilities for interaction between radio, television and telephone systems, on the one hand, and computer based communication and data processing systems, on the other. But confident prediction of developments in this area remains elusive. Michael Marien has remarked "that the art of technology forecasting is still underdeveloped and may well be worsening instead of improving" (1996: 376). While some forecasts "are propelled by enthusiasm and/or self-interest, and are thus likely to be overstated. ...other recent IT [information technology] developments (notably fax machines and the explosive growth of the Internet) were expected by very few observers, if any" (*ibid.*).

Lax (1997: 85) defines multimedia as "the seamless integration of data, text, images of all kinds and sound within a single digital information environment." A "multimedia" computer, accordingly, would contain loudspeakers, a CD-ROM drive, "a sound card and possibly a video driver." Digital radio and digital TV would almost inevitably join at least the "upmarket" versions of such combinations.

The Internet is basically a telephone technology, although "heretofore, Internet telephony has lacked the quality, reliability, and security to be considered comparable to conventional telephone services" (Frieden 1997: 187). Much of this deficiency is due to "packet switching" — with large accumulations of data sent along available paths in brief bursts — which does so much to reduce Internet costs, but which militates against the "real time" delivery and orderly sequencing required for good audio transmission. If that technical hurdle can be jumped, it would be amenable to transmitting the same material as radio, and therefore could be a competitor of broadcast radio or at least a channel for the reception of broadcast radio. Initial costs for equipment and connections may indefinitely exclude those without adequate income from being linked to the Internet, but day-to-day costs are relatively low (*ibid.*, 186-187).

V. Format Shifts

Talk Radio

Ian Hutchby. *Confrontation Talk: Arguments, Asymmetries, and Power on Talk Radio.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1996.

The "news/talk" radio format has gained popularity in recent years, at least among older listeners, increasing in the United States by over 500 stations between 1989 and 1993 (MacFarland 1997: 83). One could speculate on the psychological uses to which talk radio is put — e.g., to create the illusion of companionship for the lonely, such as those isolated in their vehicles while caught in commuter traffic — but it does seem true that talk radio engenders a certain sense of intimacy with its audience that is unrivalled by any other mass medium. In addition to the U.S., talk radio appears to be growing in popularity in other parts of the world, such as Spain (Llewellyn 1996) and Britain (Hutchby 1996). In Latin American development radio, talk radio has been linked with something like the concept of "public journalism" in the persons of the "people's reporters," volunteers from local communities who are trained to report for regional stations, providing a "grassroots" flavor to the news which links the station intimately with the communities in its listening area (Huesca 1996).

Telephone call-ins create an interactive form of talk radio which is especially popular, creating as it does a special feeling of a personal relationship among the host, the caller, and the passive listener. It may or may not take the confrontational forms of the Brian Hayes phone-in shows in London described by Hutchby (1996), but controversy adds interest, and it may give listeners occasion for vicarious participation, as they react to controversial statements by either the host or the caller.

Market Fragmentation and Niche Programming

The radio market, like the TV market, began an accelerated fragmentation in the 1980s, giving rise to the realization among advertisers that true *mass* marketing was a thing of the past, and that now *niche* markets — defined by the special interests of smaller, more narrowly-delineated audiences — had become the new reality. This tendency has been promoted by the wide variety of entertainment choices available in competition to radio, so the modern listener has become "a demand-access customer — someone who is accustomed to getting what he or she wants to hear when he or she wants to hear it" (MacFarland 1997: 25). Consequently, radio stations have tended to specialize along demographic lines, particularly by language and age categories, to a greater degree than television has done.

Music Radio

Despite the growth in the popularity of news/talk, the various music formats are still dominant collectively in the United States, with "Adult-Contemporary" (AC), "Contemporary Hit Radio" (CHR), and "Country," and "Alternative/Modern Rock/New Rock," and even "Golden Oldies," being popular, but with many rivals, depending on region and fads (MacFarland 1997: 72-93). An ongoing survey reported, in early 1998, that news/talk, AC, Country, and CHR continued to be among the most popular formats, but varied widely by region (*B & C* 1998c). Spanish-language radio is especially popular in the Southwest United States and Florida, as is Spanish television.

Talk radio may elicit more concentrated attention from listeners than less demanding music formats, and radio as a whole invites more intensive participation — since all its stimulus comes through only one sense — than television, which "does more" for its viewers, through two senses, and so demands less "work" from its audiences' imaginations. Marshall McLuhan (1964) classified television as a "cold" medium and radio as a "hot" medium because of the greater involvement demanded of its listeners by radio, in contrast to the passive viewing so often characteristic of a TV audience.

MacFarland feels that music formatted radio is and will remain more common than news/talk stations, at least in the United States, but that music television remains more attractive than audio music alone. One study cited by MacFarland "found that 43% of teenage MTV viewers watched MTV at times when they formerly listened to radio, in spite of the fact that radio was thought to offer better songs and more musical variety (MacFarland 1997: 17, citing Melton and Galician 1987).

Raymond L. Carroll and his collaborators emhasize that listeners are "members of an 'evolving' audience, characterized by psychological development, cultural affiliation, and even the changing media environment in which choices become more accessible due to greater income or are considered more desirable because of alienation from broadcast programming" (Carroll, et al. 1993: 173).

Younger media users, in particular, may use two or three forms of media at once— listening to music on a radio or CD player while reading a book in the presence of an operating television set with the sound turned down, for example. Emphases may shift with shifting content: the appearance of interesting content on the TV screen may inspire the individual to turn down the radio volume and neglect the book; or an especially well-liked song on the radio might cause the TV volume to be turned down and the radio turned up, while the reading goes on (MacFarland 1997: 54).

VI. Regulation

The Need for Regulation

From the earliest days of radio it became evident that coherent transmission required some overarching authority to assign frequencies and to ensure that stations did not infringe on each others' portions of the spectrum. The nature of the electromagnetic spectrum is such that different segments of it are more useful for some functions than for others. One of the first priorities in regulatory efforts therefore was to decide which frequencies should be used for what activities. Aircraft and ships, for example, need to use frequencies capable of both long distance and local communication. International broadcasting has worked best on shortwave, while AM broadcasting functioned best on low to medium-length wavelengths, and, later, FM and television needed higher frequencies. Within those larger domains, each station then had to be assigned its own narrow segment of the spectrum and was required to stay within it, in order not to interfere with other transmissions (Smythe 1989: 145; Lax 1997: 23-35).

In Britain, and most other countries where mass-media broadcasting was seen as the prerogative, if not of the state, at least of a government-chartered monopoly, the enforcement of frequency discipline seems not to have been a significant problem — except in the case of clandestine transmissions. In a wholly commercial broadcasting environment, such as that of the United States, chaos could have prevailed — and, in fact, there were enough indications of it in the mid-1920s that a British post office official, having observed it, returned to Britain emphasizing the need for tight controls to avoid such chaos there. That report may, in fact, have influenced the establishment of the BBC as a single central broadcasting authority (cf., Tracey 1998:99, citing Asa Briggs). Most American broadcasters eventually recognized the need for reciprocity and courtesy in order to make the system work efficiently for themselves, as well as for others.

An exception to this attitude was Evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson, whose religious station kept wandering from its assigned frequency, in the mid-1920s, occasioning its temporary closure by the Commerce Department, which then had authority over U.S. broadcasting. The evangelist took great offense at this and sent a telegram to the Secretary of Commerce, demanding: "Please order your minions of Satan to leave my station alone. You cannot expect the Almighty to abide by your wavelength nonsense" (Hadden and Swann 1981: 188-189).

Domestic Regulation

In most countries the regulation of broadcasting tends to fall, like other communications, under the authority of the postal service. Characteristically, if it is not kept under direct government control, it may be entrusted to a government-chartered monopoly, such as the BBC, in Britain, or NHK, in Japan. In Britain and elsewhere, this situation has been complicated by the rise of commercial broadcasting, which has required a parallel administrative structure to deal with very different administrative questions.

United States

Gregory L. Rosston and Jeffrey S. Steinberg. "Using Market-Based Spectrum Policy to Promote the Public Interest." *Federal Communications Law Journal.* Vol.50, No. 1 (December 1997), pp. 87-116.

In the United States, which started with an entirely commercial and independent broadcasting system, regulation was first carried out by the Commerce Department. The Federal Radio Commission was then set up within the Department of Commerce to deal with the growing radio industry. Finally, in 1934, a Communications Act was passed, which established the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) as an independent agency. William L. Fishman remarks that "Congress assumed in writing the 1934 Act, that the radio frequency spectrum belonged to the federal government" (1997: 4). This opinion has taken hold in official circles, "but the justification for this opinion is not self-evident" (*ibid.*, quoting Arthur De Vany, et al. 1969). FCC Chairman Reed Hundt holds the view that "the spectrum belongs to the people: 'Those who characterize public-interest obligations as encroachments on licensees' rights ignore the fact that licensees use precious public property for their own private gain'" (Fishman 1997: 5). In opposition to that view is a 1997 federal appeals court decision which seems to say that allocated spectrum is really owned by private licensees, and the government "owns" only that which has not been allocated. However, Fishman concludes:

> Debate about the origin and extent of government property rights in spectrum thus continues to the present. What is indisputable is that in allowing members of the public to use any particular portion of the spectrum, Congress was careful to specify that such authorization was temporary, limited, and subject to withdrawal in a wide variety of circumstances. (1997: 5)

Rosston and Steinberg (1997: 88-89) say that "a principal reason that congress established the [Federal Communications] Commission more than sixty years ago was to manage the radio spectrum so that the public could receive maximum benefit from its use." Prior to 1927, the secretary of commerce had issued licenses and designated frequencies, but the courts held that he "did not have the authority to deny licenses on the ground that they would cause interference, nor to limit licensees' power, frequency, or hours of operation" (*ibid., pg. 89*). The result of this court decision, in 1924, was progressive interference of stations with each other, to the point where everyone's use of the spectrum was hindered. The Radio Act of 1927 responded to this situation, and the Communications Act of 1934, strengthened that authority and established the FCC to administer it. Subsequently,

> the Commission has broad authority, consistent with the public interest, convenience, and necessity, to license users of radio spectrum; impose conditions on their licenses; prescribe the nature of the services to be rendered by stations or classes of stations; and prevent interference with licensees' authorized uses of spectrum. (*ibid.*)

In 1945, the FCC stated its principles for spectrum allocation as being to try to ensure that the most appropriate uses were made of each block of spectrum, in accordance with its particular characteristics, including the judgement whether a particular service might better be carried out by wire rather than by wireless transmission (*ibid.*, pp. 89-90).

Technological changes have made obsolete many of the principles articulated in 1945, according to Rosston and Steinberg, and the Commission has moved "toward an approach that is more attuned to the operation of market forces" (pg. 90). One such adaptation was to allow "service providers increased flexibility to respond to incentives communicated by the marketplace for the efficient production of diverse services that consumers want and need" (*ibid.*). In addition, the FCC asked for and received "authority to award licenses by competitive bidding...in an efficient, market-based manner" (*ibid.*). That is, spectrum segments are henceforth to be auctioned off to the highest bidder.

Many, have questioned this deregulation and "sale" of spectrum as the alienation of a valuable natural resource, which thereby passes to the control of the wealthy and powerful elements of society. The authors deny that, saying that "the Commission's overriding mandate is to promote the public interest," and that "a license to use spectrum shall not constitute ownership of that spectrum" (*ibid.*, pg. 91). They continue, arguing that "private users of spectrum are required to use that spectrum in ways that serve the public interest," and that the public is often best served by letting market forces run their course, rather than mandating uses which "may ultimately diminish the public welfare by preventing market forces from operating to yield the most valued services at efficient cost and competitive prices" (pg. 92).

Rosston and Steinberg grudgingly admit that "under some circumstances market forces will fail to produce outputs that maximize social welfare" (pg. 103), but they tend to regard this as the exception, rather than the rule.

Britain

Tony Prosser. "Public Service Broadcasting and Deregulation in the UK." *European Journal of Communication*. Vol. 7, No. 2 (June 1992), pp. 173-193.

Jeremy Landau. "The Future Regulation of Broadcasting and Telecommunications in the United Kingdom." *Communications Law* (Tolley). Vol. 3, No. 1 (1998), pp. 2-5.

The resort to *laissez faire* economic principles manifested by Rosston and Steinberg would be viewed with dismay by many in Europe, where, as has been mentioned above, the broadcasting industry typically has been centralized from its beginning, and only recently has opened itself to independent, commercialized broadcasting in the American pattern.

In Britain, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA; now ITC, Independent Television Commission) was established when independent television broadcasting broke the BBC's monopoly in the 1950s. Independent radio, started only in 1972 (Prosser 1992: 174), has been limited to local stations. In addition to the BBC national services, 39 BBC local stations compete with more than 170 independent local radio stations (Lax 1997: 34). In general, the principle of public service broadcasting in Britain lives under a perceived threat of creeping deregulation and commercialization, as it does in other European countries with a centralized public service broadcasting tradition (Hoffmann-Riem 1992).

Prosser identifies "two key characteristics of broadcasting regulation in the UK. The first is the lack of any detailed legal prescription (in contrast to, say, France) and the use of informal administrative action or private agreement" (Prosser 1992: 174). This apparent informality cloaked a fairly high level of regulatory control exercised through the BBC, IBA/ITC and the Radio Authority. During the 1980s, according to Prosser, "new technology and economic liberalism were creating pressure for lighter forms of regulation," (*ibid.*, pg. 181) and Landau, more recently, has quoted the House of Lords Select Committee on science and technology to the effect that "the true test of success of the UK's policy on communication is likely to be measured in all probability by the criteria of 'light and logical regulation'" (Landau 1998: 3). On the other hand, on questions of politics and those relating to decency the government has in the past favored stronger controls (Prosser 1992: 181).

A new Broadcasting Act, in 1996, was inspired at least in part by the convergence of the various media, which was seen as being accelerated by digitization (Landau 1998: 2). The aims of the Act were much the same as those of earlier legislation, except for its acknowledgement of the incentive posed by the imminent digital revolution:

> The objectives underlying the 1996 Act were to safeguard and encourage the polarity, diversity and quality of broadcasting within the UK; to maintain standards of impartiality, taste and decency; and to encourage competition to enable the UK to lead the path into the new digital age. (Landau 1998: 2)

Landau sees a probability that the new legal framework will be unable to keep up with fast-moving technological developments. He says, "as with the Broadcasting Act 1990...which quickly became obsolete, it is likely that the 1996 Act may suffer a similar fate and some commentators expect further broadcasting legislation to be required within the next five years, as the digital age develops further" (*ibid.*). In 1988, the government established the Broadcasting Standards Council — to develop a code to control the portrayal of sex and violence, chiefly on television — and made it permanent in the Broadcasting Act of 1990 (*ibid.,* pg. 181). Colin Shaw, outgoing director of the Broadcasting Standards Council, noted the Council's unpopularity among broadcasters in a talk at the University of Manchester Broadcasting Symposium in 1996: "in the last six or seven years, I've had the task of trying to make a body which was universally reviled, the Broadcasting Standards Council, rather less universally reviled, and even at odd moments earning a moment or two of respect from people" (in Brown, et al. 1997: 96).

Britain has, "at present, at least 14 regulatory bodies which claim jurisdiction over matters of media and telecommunications" (Landau 1998: 2). One is the Independent Television Commission (ITC), which also has charge of radio (Landau 1998: 3), and another is "Oftel," created by the Telecommunications Act of 1984, which "regulates licenses granted under the 1984 Act which permit the licensee to install and run a telecommunication system over which cable television and telecommunication services may be provided" (*ibid.*). But, according to Landau, "ITC's jurisdiction extends to the regulation of telecommunication signals sent by wireless telegraphy, if such signals are used to carry television or radio broadcast services. Additionally, the ITC is responsible for the regulation of local delivery services, which are synonymous with cable television broadcasts" (*ibid.*). The regulators' jurisdictions thus tend to overlap, and consolidation of all regulation under a single regulator is needed, according to the author.

Developing Countries

Although centralized governments, in particular, seemingly have a "natural" tendency to maintain tight control over broadcasting and all other means of communication, financial realities have, in many cases, caused them to open their systems to advertising and commercial competition. Support of a government or government-chartered system by license fees has proven unworkable in most "Third World" situations as well as in many "developed" countries, and the alternative would be direct tax support, which most would find an unwelcome addition to state expenditures. The inevitable result is increasing commercialization (Reeves 1993: 157).

Latin America: In the 1930s, United

States exporters to Latin America quickly recognized that radio advertising would have enormous potential for increasing their sales in that region. This factor increased the already strong pressure in favor of an all-commercial system of radio broadcasting in Latin America according to the U.S. pattern. That pattern was extended to television as it developed in the 1950s. Advertising by transnational corporations remains an important factor in the financing of Latin American radio and television stations (*ibid.*, pp. 157-159).

Papua New Guinea: Language differences are complicating factors in radio and other forms of mass media in many countries. Papua New Guinea (PNG), as a rather extreme example, has a population of about four million speaking over 700 languages, although both Pidgin and English are frequently used for communication among different language groups. Its mountainous terrain limits terrestrial radio and television transmission. Satellite television is available from several sources and is distributed by cable where the population warrants it. All TV reception is international, so no domestic news or cultural features are included. Consequently, radio is the main electronic source of local news and locally relevant information. Radio broadcasting was started by the Australian Broadcasting Company (ABC), before PNG's independence, and was taken over in 1975 by the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), which operates 19 provincial stations. Most network programs of NBC are in English, with some in Pidgin, and the locally-originated programs are usually in local vernacular languages or Pidgin. One private FM station was started in Port Moresby in 1995 (Sinebare 1997: 34).

International Regulation

Geoffrey Reeves. *Communication and the 'Third World.'* London/New York: Routledge, 1993.

Electromagnetic waves are obviously not respecters of political boundaries. Consequently, the problem of one country's transmissions interfering with those of other countries has been inherent in radio broadcasting from its earliest days. International efforts to deal with communication across international boundaries antedate radio, going back to the foundation of the International Telegraphic Union, started in 1865 to establish rules and standards for sending telegraph messages from country to country (Mowlana 1989: 332). "Telephone" was added to its name in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A separate organization was established by twenty-seven countries in 1906 to regulate maritime radio communication, and it also took over the task of setting standards for radio equipment and technology. Finally, in 1932, the two organizations united to form the International Telecommunication Union (ITU). That Union became an agency of the United Nations in 1947 (*ibid.* pp. 332-333).

Within the ITU are two "international consultative committees," one for telegraph and telephone, and one for radio, as well as the International Frequency Registration Board. The ITU's World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC) brings together representatives of interested countries to work out the allocation of international radio frequencies and to negotiate other potential conflict areas in nations' use of the spectrum (Mowlana 1989: 334). Since the early 1980s, a special conference, "Space WARC," has convened periodically to work out equitable rules for satellite use by the various nations. It was requested by 'Third World' governments which feared that their inability to develop satellite communication would forever eliminate them from equal opportunities with the technologically advanced nations to enjoy future use of the limited number of geostatic satellite transmission sites in orbit (Reeves 1993: 120-124).

Regional Regulators

Regional spectrum use questions appear to be pretty much taken care of at the ITU and WARC level, but many regional issues remain in the areas of media content and standards for integrating the many technologies that now are both competing and converging. These issues have perhaps been most critical, but at the same time have been confronted most directly, by the European Community. Landau feels that it, too, manifests "a clear need for a new structure to be established for the regulation of media and telecommunications" (Landau 1998: 5).

VII. Radio and Democracy

"Pirates"

Lawrence C. Soley and John S. Nichols. *Clandestine Radio Broadcasting: A Study of Revolutionary and Counterrevolutionary Electronic Communication.* New York/Westport, CT/London: Praeger 1987.

Although the words "pirate radio," as used in Western Europe, bring to mind images of transmitters operating from rusting ships anchored just outside the twelve-mile limit and beaming "naughty" rock-and-roll to rebellious adolescents, Tim McGuire (1997: 11) points out that clandestine transmission and reception play an important role in many countries where free political expression is suppressed. Citing Lawrence Soley and John Nichols (1986), McGuire notes the difficulty in researching the topic, because

> clandestine stations generally emerge from the darkest shadows of political conflict. They are frequently operated by revolutionary groups or intelligence agencies that are unable or unwilling to leave a documentary record of their activities. And unlike printed propaganda, no artifact remains. (McGuire 1997: 11).

Heretofore, clandestine broadcasting has been easy and cheap. "All you need is a transmitter and antenna which can cost less than £30, and a source for audio input, such as a tape recorder, CD or microphone. No special technical knowledge is required" (*ibid.*). But it is very dangerous, for several reasons. Interference with aircraft transmissions or emergency wavelengths can cause fatal disasters. Apart from causing dangers to others is the great likelihood of getting caught, since most countries are very sensitive about illegal use of the airwaves. In Britain "171 pirate radio stations were raided 842 times in 1996, demonstrating both the determination of authorities and the tenacity of pirate broadcasters" (*ibid.*, pg. 12).

In contrast to unsuccessful revolutions, the role of pirate radio in successful revolutions can often be well documented. For example, in the Philippine popular revolution against the Marcos dictatorship, in 1986, a low-power clandestine transmitter operating on the frequencies of its suppressed parent religious station, was instrumental in effectively rallying and coordinating the movements of Manila demonstrators and in relaying essential announcements (Brisbin, 1988; Gonzalez 1988: 40-41). Mina Ramirez has described the process of the Philippines' "People Power Revolution" as follows:

> In the Philippines, both mass media and group media, a face-to-face communication (which evolved during twenty years of political oppression) complemented each other as integral elements of social change which led to a political breakthrough in February of 1986. ...
>
> Radio Veritas instructed the people to bring along a radio, gather in small groups and reflect on what they were committed to do. This was group media in practice. At the same time, this station functioned as a catalyzer that amplified and enhanced the process of awakening. The people of

> the Philippines who were not in Manila were, thus, actively involved, as they huddled around their radios, praying and expressing their solidarity with the process of political liberation. (Ramirez 1997: 47)

McGuire sees a big change occurring in political pirate radio due to the rise of the Internet. The latter "has spawned thousands of news groups that cater for every conceivable interest. On the Internet the anti-establishment and radical nature of pirate radio content is freely published without ... fear of police raids and confiscation of equipment" (McGuire 1997:13).

He quotes Stephen Jones, "a computer science student with close involvement in pirate radio," who believes that the Internet will help, not replace pirate radio, at least in the UK. Since advertising pirate frequencies is illegal on radio, television and in print, Internet sites are the only place pirate broadcasts can legally be advertised. McGuire speculates that,

> Far from marking the decline of pirate radio, the Internet may propel it into the next century, cementing pirate broadcasters into a loose global alliance that strives to meet the demand of that small elusive audience who wants to hear news, views or music, unconstrained by commercial or government influence. (*ibid., pg. 13*)

The Internet, in various combinations with radio, the press, television, and other media has opened broad possibilities for uninhibited revolutionary and "subversive" communication. The imaginative uses to which it has been put by the Zapatista rebels in Mexico are an outstanding example (Hoechsmann 1996; Oppenheimer 1996; Trejo Delarbre 1994).

Revolutionary Patterns

In revolutions of the past, the first main objective of the revolutionary forces was to capture the seat of government — the castle, the presidential palace, or at least some symbol of governmental "oppression," such as the Bastille. In the late 20th century that pattern shifted sharply, so that now the priority target is the studios and transmitters of the television and radio stations. Particularly noteworthy were the sometimes-bloody struggles by opposing groups to seize broadcasting stations in Lithuania, Estonia and Moscow, itself, in the course of the dissolution of the U.S.S.R., in the early 1990s (Turpin 1995; Ganley 1996; Mickiewicz 1997). Because of radio's broader coverage, radio stations assume at least parity with television stations as an attractive revolutionary prize, and may be even more important than TV.

The dire consequences which can result when radio stations fall into the wrong hands and are used for the wrong purposes were horribly illustrated during the massacre of the Tutsi population of Rwanda, in 1994, when station RTLM incited Hutus to murder their Tutsi neighbors. Cees Hamelink says that

> RTLM (the Hutu radio/tv station) played an inciting and aggravating role in this massacre by repeatedly broadcasting messages in which the Tutsis were slandered and ridiculed and depicted as despicable. The Hutu militia were informed by RTLM where Tutsis — who were referred to as 'cockroaches' — were hiding so they could be slaughtered. ... The hate propaganda was so successful that neighbors, who had been living in peace together for many years, got killed by people they considered to be friends — not enemies. (Hamelink 1997: 31-32)

Indigenous Minority Broadcasting

Donald R. Browne. *Electronic Media and Indigenous Peoples: A Voice of Our Own*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996.

Michael C. Keith. *Signals in the Air: Native Broadcasting in America*. Westport, CT: Praeger

(Greenwood), 1995.

Radio, and to a lesser degree television, has been used in efforts to provide culturally and linguistically appropriate programming for minority indigenous people in various parts of the world. Browne (1996) has described approaches of this nature in New Zealand, Australia, and several other regions of the world. He notes, in particular, the problem broadcasters face when there are multiple languages in their listening areas. Giving equal attention to all can be impossible, but neglect can widen ethnic differences.

Keith discusses the progress of the concept in the United States. The United States government recognizes 547 tribes, comprising a total of two million people, of whom about half live on 300 reservations in 33 states (Keith 1995: 1-2). Until relatively recently, few tribal leaders were interested in the idea of tribally-sponsored radio stations, but many have changed their minds since about 1970 — possibly coinciding with the increasing availability of transistor radios which are more rugged and better suited to battery operation and therefore to rural conditions. A stronger reason is the rising awareness among tribal leaders of the power of the media to meet their people's needs. Tribal stations are desirable because white-controlled commercial stations near reservations had generally paid little attention to native broadcasting interests, since the native population had relatively little buying power. Stations under tribal control also help reconfirm native identity and the feeling that their future is under their control, rather than being determined by the white community.

At the time Keith was writing, about thirty native stations were on the air in the United States, and six more were due to begin broadcasting within a year. These are concentrated in states with large native populations, such as Alaska, Arizona, Oklahoma, New Mexico and South Dakota. Only three are east of the Mississippi River.

A majority of these stations are public service stations, supported by grants from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting or other funding sources, but four are commercial stations.

Propaganda Broadcasting

Both sides in the "Cold War" invested heavily in propaganda broadcasting by both shortwave and AM radio, and, where feasible, television. The investment covered not only broadcasting, but also jamming of "enemy" broadcasts, which required transmitters of at least equal power to the ones being jammed. Price (1997) cites an estimate that jamming was costing the Soviet Union $800 million per year in the early 1980s. National networks — BBC, Voice of America, Radio Moscow, etc. — that were engaged in international broadcasting had both covert and overt propaganda functions. Some broadcasts were aimed at their own nationals in remote places, and that was the initial purpose in establishing the BBC World Service, but others — particularly, foreign language broadcasts — were explicitly propagandistic. Other stations, such as Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and RIAS (Radio in the American Sector of Berlin) were established specifically to broadcast with political intent to regions "on the other side," and the Soviet Union had, in addition to Radio Moscow, "Radio Peace and Progress" for the same purpose (Soley and Nichols 1987: 6). Most "white propaganda" stations, except the jamming stations, abided by international rules and stayed in their own assigned frequencies; but violations did occur, especially in cases where the broadcasters wanted to break into popular local broadcasts in the target areas.

One of the most controversial American propaganda radio efforts was Radio Marti, broadcasting openly to Cuba as a "white station" from 1985. It had been preceded by Radio Swan, established by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in the Swan Islands in

1960, soon after the Communist victory in Cuba. Radio Swan originally was intended to be a "black" station, but circumstances forced it to operate more openly, under "commercial cover" (Soley and Nichols 1987: 188-189).

VIII. "Public Service" Broadcasting

Marc Raboy (ed.). *Public Broadcasting for the 21st Century.* Acamedia Monograph 17. Luton, UK: John Libbey Media/ University of Luton Press, n.d. (1996?).

Ralph Engelman. *Public Radio and Television in America: A Political History.* Thousand Oaks, CA/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1996.

Errol Hodge. *Radio Wars: Truth, Propaganda and the Struggle for Radio Australia.* Cambridge, UK/New York/Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Michael Tracey. *The Decline and Fall of Public Service Broadcasting.* Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

The Idea of Public Service Broadcasting

David Attenborough is reported to have described the ideal of public service broadcasting as follows:

> Public service broadcasting is not just a schedule with a peppering of good programmes, nor is it a broadcaster with claims to a social conscience. It is a system which strives to provide the widest possible range of programmes and is enabled to do so by being beholden neither to commerce on the one hand nor government on the other... Public service broadcasting, uniquely, can thus be free from pap on the one hand and propaganda on the other. (as quoted by Knud Ebbesen 1997)

The BBC Pattern

The prototypical public service broadcasting system is the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Prosser (1992: 175-180) has outlined the concept of public service broadcasting as it has developed in Britain in the form of the BBC. The Corporation is "a public corporation established by Royal Charter (not by ordinary legislation) and operating under a license and agreement granted by the Home Secretary)" (*ibid.*, pg. 176). The financing of the BBC is a key to its independence both from commercial pressures and from direct government controls. A "license fee" is levied on those who have television sets, and the proceeds are devoted to supporting the BBC. The radio-only license was abolished in 1971, in favor of a combined radio-television license (Tracey 1998:104) — de facto, charged only to television owners. According to Prosser:

> The intention is to avoid pressure from advertisers to lower programme quality and pressures from government to prevent political criticism. This form of financing has become controversial, largely because it is alleged to insulate the BBC from commercial realities and to make unnecessary the effective control of costs (Prosser 1992: 175-176).

In return for this support, the BBC has pledged to maintain high standards of content and quality and a wide range of subject matter, as well as to show "due impartiality on controversial subjects," avoid offense to good taste, and maintain a "proper proportion" of material from Europe. The Corporation is in no way legally bound to keep these "promises," but handles any problems internally, as "a classic example of self-regulation" (*ibid.*, pg. 176) The BBC has come under increasing pressure — especially under Conservative governments — to give up the license fee and begin to sell advertising (Tracey 1998: 98-120). It is frequently admonished not to imitate the "crowd-pleasing" behavior of the commercial media. A factor of competition is nevertheless inevitable, as Parliament may be influenced in its decisions about license fees, in particular, by the relative audience ratings of the BBC and ITV. Fear of poor comparable ratings exerts a subtle programming pressure on the BBC to attract audiences comparable to those of the commercial stations by presenting similar programs. This is not so much a radio problem because of the absence of commercial radio networks to compete with the BBC's national services.

In fact, however, the commercial services, too, are considered, to some extent to have a public service orientation. Prosser says that "domestic commercial services have been subject to a considerable degree of regulation concerning programme quality" (Prosser 1992: 176), according to a pattern recognizably similar to that of the BBC.

Paddy Scannell (in Raboy, n.d. [1996?]) has outlined some of the arguments raised recently in Britain against the principle of public service broadcasting. Some say it has outlived its original purpose, as "no more than a necessary state intervention to regulate an industry in its infancy and to help with its teething troubles" (pg. 23). They argue that the advent of new technologies has solved the problems of channel scarcity, permitting commercial services to deliver such a wide range of services that "the need for regulation simply withers away as the market takes over" (pg. 24). Scannell, however, sees those arguments as ignoring the real nature and function of public service broadcasting. It is a "business," but one whose "business is not the production of programming commodities but of a communicative relationship" (*ibid.,* citing Nicholas Garnham 1994). Scannell feels that this function is so well appreciated in Europe that the future, not only of the BBC but also of public service broadcasting throughout Europe, is assured, even though it "is not, however, the same thing at the end of the century as it was in the beginning" (pg. 24).

Australia

Radio Australia, the overseas service of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, is one of the most audible international shortwave services available to listeners in the Western Pacific and Southeast Asia. Hodge (1995: 1) emphasizes the value of international broadcasting which governments have long recognized. It can project a nation's perspectives and opinions across national boundaries without fear that it could "be confiscated at a frontier or refused a visa or be burnt in a public square," as an Australian parliamentary report put it. Furthermore, "shortwave broadcasting can reach audiences in all sections of society, including the illiterate, and those in remote areas" (*ibid.*).

But international broadcasting seems often to court controversy, and Radio Australia is no exception. As the author puts it, "This book is called *Radio Wars* because warfare of a kind has raged around Australia's international shortwave service for much of its fifty-five years of existence. At different times there have been conflicts between Radio Australia and foreign governments, between Radio Australia and Australian governments and their departments, especially Foreign Affairs, and between Radio Australia and the ABC" (*ibid.*, pg 7). International conflict has been chiefly with Indonesia, when Radio Australia reported Indonesian oppression of native populations in East Timor and West Irian, news the Indonesian government was not happy to have relayed to its own people (pp. 157-225).

The service has recently come face-to-face with a new threat: satellite broadcasting, with television satellite competition covering its listening area, not only from CNN, Star television, and the United States Information Service's TV Worldnet, but also from its own parent organization, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, itself, which started Australia Television in 1993, an international service with permission to accept advertising in order to support itself, although ABC was still forbidden to accept commercials, since, as an ABC background paper put it, "It is crucial to the public credibility of the ABC that it is not seen to be influenced by, or dependent on, commercial interests" (*ibid.*, pg. 269).

Japan

Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK), the Japanese equivalent of the BBC, existed before and during the Second World War as an instrument of government policy and propaganda, and consequently it had to be wholly reoriented during and after the occupation period. Although occupation policies were dominated by the United States, Japanese broadcasting had developed much more in the BBC pattern. What evolved, under guidance from the military government, was an autonomous, license-fee-supported, public-service-oriented corporation paralleled by independent commercial stations (Tracey 1998: 131-150).

Shinichi Shimizu (in Raboy n.d. [1996?]: 140-157) notes that from its humble rebirth, in 1945, the Japanese broadcasting industry has grown to be one of the largest in the world.

> It includes a nationwide public service and five commercial terrestrial television networks, as well as three public and one private direct broadcast satellite (DBS) stations and 11 private communication satellite Pay-TV channels. It also has three nationwide public radio (AM and FM) services and numerous AM and FM radio stations broadcasting locally. (*ibid.*, pg. 140).

Shimizu feels that NHK is in a secure competitive position vis-a-vis commercial broadcasters, especially as a preferred source of news and information. That was especially true of disaster news, with 73 percent of those surveyed saying they got earthquake and typhoon news from NHK, while 14.9 percent said they relied on commercial stations (in Raboy n.d.[1996?]: 149).

Germany

The end of the Second World War found Germany in a position parallel to that of Japan, or perhaps worse because of the East/West division of its territory between Russian occupiers on the one side and British, French and Americans on the other. But there were great similarities.

> In June 1946 the American military governor ... informed the German authorities responsible for framing new *Länder* [state] institutions, '... Control over the instrumentalities of public opinion such as the radio and press, must be diffused and kept free from governmental domination.' It was not necessarily easy ...' The initial contacts revealed the extent to which earlier German traditions covering control of speech, press and radio had penetrated the German representatives chosen to formulate standards for the new regime'" (Tracey 1998:156).

German media policy-making is decentralized, with each state (*Land*) largely determining its own media policy (Ruck 1992: 221). This resulted in nine broadcasting authorities — some with more than one state cooperating — in the Federal Republic, coordinated by a Working Group (ARD) at the federal level. ARD produced television programs on the channel First German Television and fed them to the state systems. A separate collaborative organization, Second German Television (ZDF), is also nationwide. Radio, however, remains regional. The states began to license private broadcasting in the mid-1980s. At the time of unification, the East German states integrated their broadcasting within the pattern set previously by the Federal Republic (*ibid., pp. 223-224).*

Regulatory mechanisms, which formerly required high standards of public service broadcasting have, according to Silke Ruck, been considerably loosened in recent years, under the influence of Christian Democratic governments and growing commercial pressures. Even when regulations remain in force, the regulatory bodies often lack adequate resources for investigation and enforcement (*ibid.*, pg. 230). This has resulted in a gradual crumbling of public service aspects of German broadcasting, across the board, according to the same author. Public stations had previously carried advertising, but now are in increasingly intense competition with the private stations for sponsors (*ibid.*, pg. 231-232). But much of the public service motivation survives. Ruck says:

> Nevertheless, one continues to find a broadcasting system that does not treat broadcasting primarily as an economic commodity but rather (at least according to rhetoric) mainly as a cultural good, and there continues to exist a dense network of regulations. In particular, continued reliance is placed on a functioning public broadcasting system that attracts ever more viewers and listeners than the private competition. (pg. 234)

United States

Engelman (1996) documents the uphill battle which has had to be waged to establish any kind of noncommercial broadcasting system in the United States, after broacasting's beginnings, there, as an entirely commercial tool. "Commercial forces crushed the movement to reserve noncommercial channels on the AM band during the 1920s and 1930s. Following World War II, noncommercial broadcasters appeared doomed to an obscure existence on the FM dial, and risked being excluded from the newly developing medium of television" (*ibid.*, pg. 1).

A breakthrough came in 1967, when the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television strongly endorsed not just educational television but public service broadcasting in general. A Public Broadcasting Act was passed, establishing the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). "The legislation gave the CPB responsibility to provide federal funds and political insulation for public broadcasting and its two networking arms, National Public Radio (NPR) and the Public Broadcasting System (PBS)" (*ibid., pg. 2).*

By the 1990s, NPR could boast of having "over 500 affiliate, associate, and auxiliary stations," and PBS "embraces nearly 350 [TV] stations in every state, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and American Samoa," and "more than 60% of American television households watched public television each week" (*ibid.*).

Public broadcasting in the United States has been described by Michael Tracey (in Raboy n.d. [1996?]: 165) as having an organizational structure which

> is a bizarre combination of both the monolithically bureaucratic and the anarchically fragmented. There is an unwieldy combination of university, state, and local education authority stations serviced by a confusing array of state and regional organizations, all overlain by an indescribably complex national bureaucracy represented by the welter of organizations known as the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), the Public Broad-casting Service (PBS), the American Program Service(APS), National Public Radio (NPR), American Public Radio (APR), the National Association of Public Television Stations (APTS), the Children's Television Workshop (CTW), and myriad other federal, foundation, and corporate

funding and programming agencies.

The worst effect of this fragmentation seems to be that funds are dribbled out in such small amounts that no entity has sufficient funding at its disposal for sustained production of much high quality programming. Public television, in fact, must rely heavily on British imports to maintain a reasonable level of quality programming, according to Tracy (*ibid.*, pg. 159).

Public radio is better positioned, if only because production costs are lower; but it, too, suffers from the fragmentation Tracey spotlights. National Public Radio (NPR) also benefits by a close interaction with the BBC, especially for international news.

Both NPR and PBS stations find it necessary to conduct periodic on-the-air solicitations for donations to supplement their operating income and "make ends meet."

IX. Station Management

Michael C. Keith. *The Radio Station*, fourth edition. Newton, MA: Focal Press, 1997.

Keith's textbook has become, in the decade since it first appeared, a standard source for practical information about how to run a radio station in the United States context. The new, fourth edition has added sections about digital technology, potential interrelations between radio and the Internet, niche formats, and many other practical aspects of managing a radio station, that we have only been able to mention in this issue of *Trends*.

Perspective

Although the recent tendency among researchers as well as regulators has been to submerge radio in their treatments of television, radio nevertheless continues to fill some unique functions. Its mobility continues to be superior to that of television, and it fills the need for broadcast reception in situations such as driving, work, etc., in which visual attention must be devoted to other tasks. Television sometimes even appears to be used to fill a role that would be better filled by radio when it is left on all day to provide "company" for someone working in another room or even in the same room without paying attention to the TV picture.

So, radio is far from dead, and it may even be undergoing a renaissance as digital broadcasting makes possible more stations and clearer sound. The cost of the digital transition may inhibit rapid acceptance of the new technology, but scientists, engineers, and policy-makers seem to be trying to develop both systems and timetables which will make it as painless as possible. While affirming the continued vitality of radio, however, we shall have to recognize that its range of applications has been and continues to be somewhat restricted by the encroachments of other media. Very little radio drama remains on AM or FM services in regions with adequate TV coverage. In the United States, some radio comedy has survived, but often more in the form of talk, interview, or phone-in programs, rather than "stand-up" comedians or comedy skits, such as were common in the 1930s and 1940s. American radio generally has narrowed to two major formats: news/talk, on the one hand, and music, on the other. "Diversity" has come to mean diversification within these two domains: with a constant quest for more topics to discuss, on talk radio, and narrow niche marketing of different types of music radio to narrowly-defined audiences: country and western, golden oldies, rock (of various kinds), rap, gospel, etc.

If the future of radio seems assured in the industrially developed countries, it is probably even more certain in the less industrially developed countries. The "transistor" has been ubiquitous for over thirty years. Few people with any purchasing power at all would be willing to be without at least a cheap radio, even in the most remote forests, deserts and mountains; and most governments have made sure that at least a government station is on the spot to be listened to. With direct satellite radio broadcasting, even more people will be attracted to make the relatively minor investment required to purchase an appropriate radio to receive its programs.

At first, digital broadcasting — predicted by some to replace shortwave for international broadcasting — will require rather expensive receivers; but it should be noted that one of the most interested parties to the Digital Radio Worldwide satellite broadcasting discussions is China. China will have especially strong motivation to produce economically-priced digital receivers for its own huge and farflung population and is very likely to finance that effort through overseas sales, through its already extensive marketing channels. The result of that could be earlier than expected widespread availability of low-cost receivers throughout the world. It is precisely the lack of economically-priced receivers that has been felt to be one of the factors most likely to inhibit the spread of the digital revolution, at least in radio.

Radio has long been recognized as a means of evangelization by both Catholics and Protestants, although the latter have been more energetic in using it — despite some pioneer Catholic initiatives, such as Vatican Radio, in 1931, and WLWL, started by the Paulist Fathers in New York City, in 1925, with a strongly non-denominational, pro-working class agenda. The bias of the U.S. government of the time in favor of commercial broadcasting seriously hampered the operation of WLWL as a noncommercial station (Engelman 1996: 28).

In countries such as the United States or Latin America, dominated by commercial broadcasting, religious stations have always faced the dilemma of either sacrificing what many of them feel is a moral principle of not accepting advertising, on the one side, or of having to do on-the-air solicitation of donations, on the other. Some religious broadcasters would regard both the acceptance of advertising and begging from listeners who can often ill-afford to contribute as both being morally questionable practices. They are left depending on the Church, itself, or on large donations for their survival.

Churches rarely feel that they have sufficient spare funds to fully pay for the operation of their broadcasting stations. The alternative sources, large donors, tend to be politically and religiously conservative and have tended to funnel their support to equally conservative broadcasters, causing a dearth of such funding for liberal or even middle-of-the-road religious broadcasting.

The digital revolution will make additional demands on religious stations, as on others, for replacement of analogue equipment. Before deciding to commit their stations to the transition, however, FM broadcasters might carefully consider the view of David T. MacFarland, cited earlier (MacFarland, 1997: 20), where he comments that FM may continue to have a future for talk radio formats, even after digital broadcasting becomes common.

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Current Research: An Apology

Due largely to time constraints, we were unable to gather enough information about current research concerning radio to be able to present a full and balanced "Current Research" section on the subject of radio at this time. We hope to be able to gather enough information to bring you a current research section on radio in a future issue of *Trends.*

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Book Reviews

Arntsen, Hilde. *The Battle of the Mind: International Media Elements of the New Religious Political Right in Zimbabwe*. IMK-report no. 26. Oslo: University of Oslo, Dept. of Media and Communication, 1997. Pp. 191. ISBN 82-570-6098-4 (ISSN 0802-1872) (pb.) 90 Norwegian kroner.

American-style televangelism penetrated Zimbabwe during the 1980s, as it has penetrated other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. Arntsen took it as the topic of her 1993 MA thesis as an element in the ongoing University of Oslo program of research "in media and development and democratization processes in Zimbabwe and Southern Africa," in cooperation with the University of Zimbabwe (from "Preface" and "Acknowledgements" unnumbered pages).

The author concentrates on an analysis of *The 700 Club*, in the United States, and the *International 700 Club*, broadcast in Zimbabwe, because the "US counterpart has been regarded as the quintessential example of the 'electronic church' genre" (pg. 11). The electronic church is seen as engaging in a worldwide "battle of the mind," with political as well as religious implications. The combination of religious fundamentalism and a conservative political agenda with "cultural-imperialist" overtones presents Arntsen with an intriguing case for study:

> Television can be seen as the medium of modernity. When it is used to disseminate a message of traditional fundamentalist religious beliefs, these beliefs are seen to be influenced by the medium of modernity in which it is presented. The result is an interesting and troublesome mix, but also beguiling as a research topic for precisely that reason. (pg. 3)

Adopting a cultural studies approach, the author carried out textual analyses of broadcasts of *The International 700 Club* on Zimbabwe Broadcasting Company schedules, most of which took place in September 1991, and one month of *The 700 Club*, as broadcast in the United States.

> The taped material has been analysed for its adherence to generic conventions and discourse strategies. The US editions were examined for their political and inter-national content. Furthermore, the question of how the international expansion of the CBN [Christian Broadcasting Network] appears in the promotion of *The 700 Club* was examined. *The International 700 Club* was examined for its mode of address, its content and its possible political content. (pp. 51-52)

Informal interviews were conducted with key informants, and relevant documentation on religious fundamentalism in Zimbabwe was surveyed, as well as literature published by and about Pat Robertson, CBN, the electronic church and New Religious Right groups in Zimbabwe, the United States and elsewhere (pg. 52).

Arntsen concludes that, "despite the discourse of international expansion as one of fulfilling a religious obligation ..., the analysis of the verbal and visual discourses of the media material in this study indicates a continuation of the missionary and colonialist discourse. ... Thus the concept of media imperialism is relevant for the discussion of this phenomenon both at the structural and textual levels" (pg. 147). She finds that mainstream reception theories are inadequate to deal with the complexity found in this case:

> The significant difference is that these theories were not developed for a context with a ground layer of traditional religions and a recently overlying belief in Christianity or other world religions. It is particularly the multiplicity of religious beliefs and their syncretism which challenge the notions of religion in reception theories developed in Western societies. Often, the notions of religion and culture have been collapsed into one simple interpretative category. The material in this study suggests that the two concepts should be seen and applied as separate but inter-related and dynamic categories. (pg. 150)

The references form a substantial bibliography (pp. 165-177). Six appendices contain, respectively, a list of interviewees, other written and audio-visual sources, a description of five focus groups, a list of religious groups represented in focus groups, a list of abbreviations, and a short overview of New Religious Political Right Groups in Zimbabwe.

— WEB

Berger, Charles R. *Planning Strategic Interaction: Attaining Goals Through Communicative Action.* Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997. Pp. x, 162. ISBN 0-8058-2308-5 (hb.) $39.95 (special prepaid price: $19.95).

Berger places his approach in the mainstream of interpersonal communication studies by noting than an increasing number of researchers in that field "have elected to view the study of human interaction from a strategic perspective. This stems from the recognition that people seek to reach goals in their daily interactions "by employing a variety of interaction strategies and tactics" (pg. 3).

The goals of their strategies may vary widely. Often they seek to gain compliance from others; but "affinity-seeking", comforting, ingratiation, acquiring personal information, ending relationships, and "assessing the state of relationships," all are pursued through strategies which manipulate interactions and communication with others (*ibid.*).

Although a large number of researchers have conducted many projects in this area of research, and much descriptive data has resulted, the author complains that "there are significant problems with the general direction of this research tradition" (*ibid.*). One is its almost total lack of theoretical basis. Rather than develop theory, "researchers have been content to shift their attention from one social goal to the next and to describe the communication strategies and tactics people employ to achieve the goal of most recent interest" (pp. 3-4). Lack of theory has resulted in non-comparability of research results and in difficulty in isolating factors involved in choosing particular strategies. In addition, much of the research has relied on self-reports concerning hypothetical situations — a procedure open to many errors (pp. 4-5). Berger hopes, in this book, "to begin to fill in some of the gaping conceptual and empirical voids that persist in the strategic communication research corpus" (pg. 6). Some of the more specific questions that need to be explored include how people develop strategies for attaining their various goals, how strategies are altered when new contingencies arise, and how to assess the effectiveness of various strategies (*ibid.*).

After explaining the concepts of plan and planning and exploring the effects of both goal attainment and its failure, in chapter two, he deals with the factors influencing the complexity of plans in chapter three, and, in chapter four he develops the "hierarchy principle" as a damage control and "regrouping" strategy when plans are thwarted. The hierarchy principle says that the first response when actions are thwarted is to repeat the previous series of actions with only minor variations, but "continued thwarting will tend to produce more abstract alterations to plan hierarchies" (pg. 35). Chapter five addresses plan effectiveness and communicative performance. Chapter six relates the plan-based theory to "the broader domain of communication theory, especially those theories and models of message production devised by communication researchers" (pg. 107). Finally, chapter seven discusses the implications of the book's argument for practical communicative behavior.

Extensive references provide a bibliography of the field (pp. 142-155). — WEB

Biesecker, Barbara A. *Addressing Postmodernity: Kenneth Burke, Rhetoric, and a Theory of Social Change.* Tuscaloosa/ London: University of Alabama Press, 1997. Pp. x, 123. ISBN 0-8173-0874-1 (hb.) $29.95.

Biesecker's project, an attempt to answer the question, "What are the conditions of possibility for social change in post-modernity? ... an address to theorists and critics that seeks to redress postmodernity or, at least, one particularly salient feature of it — the fragmentation of the contemporary lifeworld" (pg. 1). Postmodernist approaches to social change have neglected a theory of rhetoric (pg. 6), Jürgen Habermas has shown the way out of a morass of language theory "that colonizes the potentially radicalizing force of lived speech or rhetoric," although his development of "a nonessentialist theory of the relations of structure and subject that does not simply accommodate or incorporate the art of public deliberation but takes it as the primary means of progressive social transformation" only appears to provide what the author says is "the kind of framework that I am claiming has yet to be developed" (pp. 8-9).

Although she grants that the writings of Habermas and even the deconstructionists contain "some of the most theoretically useful and practically plausible descriptions to date of the complex processes through which subjectivities are constructed and reconstructed in history," she turns to the work of Kenneth Burke in her effort "to push forward these attempts to refigure the relations between structure and subject within a post-Enlightenment frame" (pg. 9).

Kenneth Burke was arguably the outstanding American rhetorical theorist of the mid-twentieth century, a prominence testified to by the continuing existence of the Kenneth Burke Society and frequent attention to his thought in academic papers presented at the conventions of various associations interested in rhetoric and communications. Biesecker acknowledges that it may seem strange for her to appeal to Burke, who was "a bonafide bricoleur," "without tenure, a Ph.D, or even a BA," "who, over nearly a century, has written poetry, short stories, and a novel, has composed music and orchestrated transla-tions, has criticized the arts and its critics, and has crafted literary, rhetorical, and social theory" (pg. 9). Nevertheless, she feels that

> Burke's work puts us on the track of an alternative theorization of the relations of structure and subject that, in taking rhetoric seriously into account, can admit the role of human agency in the making and unmaking of social structures and history without resurrecting the sovereign subject of Enlightenment philosophy (*ibid.*).

The author adopts a deconstructionist approach to three of Burke's texts, *A Grammar of Motives, A Rhetoric of Motives,* and *The Rhetoric of Religion: Studies in Logology.* She looks for Burke's errors, "trying to make visible the manner in which those dominant logics begin to unravel from within," not just as errors, but as

> irreducible moments that move us beyond the declared claims of the particular texts, as critical self-transgressions that put us on the track of something resolutely other...a 'new' conception of the relations of structure and subject, of history and rhetoric.. (pg. 1).

Chapter two concentrates on "Reading Ontology in [Burke's] *A Grammar of Motives*," which Biesecker says "is a book concerned with the practical art of interpreting symbolic acts" (pg. 24). Concluding her critique of the *Grammar*, the author finds a problem in "a decisive discontinuity between Burke's ontological presuppositions and his morphology," which "occludes the possibility of assuring the accuracy of his explanation of the human being..." (pg. 39). But the error shows how, "by way of an uncanny inversion, Burke's *Grammar* enables us to begin to compute the relationship of philosophy and history" (*ibid.*).

That, she feels, sets the stage for *The Rhetoric of Motives*, which she discusses in chapter three as a movement "toward an ontology of the social" (pp. 40-51). She notes that this "reading supplements contemporary Burkeian scholarship, the dominant trend of which is to interpret this work as an epistemological enterprise" (pg. 51).

In chapter four, Biesecker takes up the third work, *The Rhetoric of Religion: Studies in Logology*, "his inaugural booklength manuscript," in which he first presents "logological analysis" — an approach developed more fully in later works, that are more often quoted than this. Logology's ultimate aim "is to appreciate the origin and logic out of which 'the quandaries of human governance' arise by studying theological anecdotes" (pg. 55).

In chapter five, "From Communicative Action to Rhetorical Invention," the author turns to a "deconstruction of Burke's trivium of motives" needed "for a retheorization of the relation of subject and structure and, hence, of social change that makes it possible for us not only to newly appreciate our past but also, and perhaps more important, to refigure a future that is not simply a future-present" (pg. 74). Such a retheorization faces special obstacles in our time, when "upheavals and splinterings ... undermine every certainty and underscore the incompleteness of every meaning and every position," but that situation only reinforces the "felt need for a retheorization of the social" (pp. 74-75).

The crux of Burke's theory of the social seems to lie, according to the author, in his view that "it is precisely the impossibility of closing the gap between self and other that keeps us engaged with one another, talking to one another, courting one another; that forever keeps us 'promoting social cohesion by acting rhetorically upon [our]selves and one another'" (pg. 100). Paradoxically, as Biesecker puts it, "The 'Idea of No' over and against the 'Idea of Nothing' ... is the ontologically secured but resolutely rhetorical, and, hence, irreducibly intersubjective, condition of possibility for transcending social estrangement" (pg. 101). — WEB

Bordo, Susan. *Twilight Zones: The Hidden Life of Cultural Images from Plato to O.J.* Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1997. Pp. x, 279. ISBN 0-520-21101-4 (hb.) $27.50.

The author says that "the essays in this book have grown out of a personal love/hate struggle: my rebellious but often dazzled, beguiled but skeptical, always intimate relation with cultural images" (pg. 1).

Using an adaptation of Plato's allegory of the cave — in which sense knowledge was only shadows cast by the inaccessible reality of the world of ideas — Bordo feels that we in the modern world, too, are seeing only images of reality and are sliding deeper and deeper into the cave and farther from reality, under the influence of an increasingly make-believe culture. Her idea of the "real" is more down-to-earth than Plato's, but the cultural unreality she describes is regarded by her as just as unreal as Plato's:

> That we live in an image-saturated culture has come to seem normal, routine, to us... The images are much more ubiquitous in our lives today than they were just a decade ago. The technology for producing them is far more sophisticated, and those who produce the images seem to have no compunction about using that technology in the service of a deceptive verisimilitude. (pg. 2)

In an earlier book, *Unbearable Weight*, Bordo explored women's preoccupation with their bodily image. In this volume she broadens her attack to include a wider range of the many illusionary images imposed upon us as "reality" by our consumer culture.

Some of the chapter headings suggest, but only suggest, her concerns: "Braveheart, Babe, and the Contemporary Body," "P.C., O.J., and Truth," "Never Just Pictures," "Can a Woman Harass a Man?" "Bringing Body to Theory," "The Feminist as Other," and finally, "Missing Kitchens," co-authored with Bordo's sisters, Binnie Klein and Marilyn K. Silverman.

In "Braveheart, Babe, and the Contemporary Body," the author expresses having little use for the film *Braveheart*," a "success story," in that "Braveheart has his eyes on a prize and his will is so strong, so powerful, that he is able to endure anything to achieve it" (pg. 28).

Babe, in which "a little pig, seemingly destined to be dinner, dreams of becoming a sheepdog — amd je sicceeds!" — is also a "success story," but one very different from *Braveheart*." Bordo says that *"Braveheart*, apparently based on real events, seemed like a slick commercial to me from start to finish, but *Babe*, a fable with talking animals — was for me a moment of reality in a culture dominated by fantasy" (pg. 60).

"Babe's world is the one we live in; heroic moments are temporary and connections with others are finally what sustain us" (pg. 62).

— WEB

Finn, Kathleen E., Abigail J. Sellen, and **Sylvia B. Wilbur** (eds.). *Video-Mediated Communication.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997. Pp. xvii, 570. ISBN 0-8058-2288-7 (hb.) $99.95 (special prepaid price: $49.95).

Video-phones have been around a long time and have gone nowhere. This particular technology has not caught on with consumers. Yet, there is a feeling about the idea that seems to say it is something that will eventually happen.

A considerable body of research has been done on video-mediated communication (VMC), and "about 25 researchers" in the field gathered at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in 1994, "to bring together the principal researchers in the field of VMC to compare their results and methodologies, and to propose a strategy for advancing understanding of the field" (pg. ix).

After another meeting, in 1995, papers were solicited from others who had carried out significant research on VMC. The resulting book has contributors from England, Scotland, Japan, Canada, the Netherlands and the United States. The 25 papers are arranged in four parts: on foundations and background of this line of research, findings of eleven studies, design of practical applications of VMC, and prospects for the future of VMC.

In an introductory chapter, Kathleen E. Finn notes that the heterogeneity of research in this field and its often-conflicting results make comparisons of research findings difficult (pg. 3). For example, "some studies concluded, 'VMC is equivalent to face-to-face communication,' whereas others concluded it is not, or that some research proved the value of adding a video channel [to telephones], whereas other research claimed video has no effect on anything" (pg. 4).

Remaining chapters in this "Foundations" section analyze the role of vision in communication, technology constraints of VMC as they affect different types of transmission, and the development of a common vocabulary about VMC as a basis for theory building.

Among the empirical studies reported on in part two, one is about observations of group work using VMC, another addresses its effect on collaborative problem solving, another develops methods of studying video-based collaboration in context, and another deals with how the complexity, work overload, and resulting pressure might encourage adoption of desk-top video for group work, and four chapters discuss studies of aspects of media space.

The chapters of part three are "each based on a particular view of how video can serve the social and task-related needs of distributed workgroups" (pg. 351).

Various perspectives on the future are taken in the four papers of part four: possibilities for informal communication, use of VMC to enhance teamwork in a neurosurgical team, video-conferencing on the internet, and finally, prospects for videotelephony. Factors affecting adoption of videotelephony which are being addressed include cost of instrumentation, agreements on industry standards, transmission costs, and clarity of the picture. The authors feel that videophones may prove more valuable in homes than in business settings (pp. 451-461).

An Afterword strikes an upbeat note about the future of this technology. — WEB

Folsom, W. Davis. *Understanding American Business Jargon: A Dictionary.* Westport, CT/London: Greenwood Press, 1997. Pp. xiv, 235. ISBN 0-313-29991-9 (hb.) $65.00.

Folsom's target audience, as indicated by his Preface, is non-Americans who have to do business with U.S. businessmen and are likely to be confused by the sometimes-colorful, but frequently obscure words in which they express themselves. Many of those words are not in standard dictionaries; so this book addresses a serious need in intercultural communication, as well as providing help for students and others who may not have moved in the right circles to have become familiar with that particular "dialect" of English. Rapid technological change adds to the problem, both by adding its own special words to the vocabulary and by speeding up the pace at which words from other sources are added and old words take on new meanings and connotations.

It is a serious and useful book, but the contents lend themselves to humor. Some of the definitions are just a bit "tongue in cheek," and the quotations — usually from business-related periodicals — used to show how a word might be used in context often have a humorous twist. For example:

> BEAN COUNTER. A low-level clerk; negative reference to an accountant. "In response to *Management Accounting's* January 1995 fax survey, readers responded that they were most interested in the articles titled 'What Corporate America wants in Entry-Level Accountants,' and 'Shedding the Bean Counter Image.' (*Management Accounting*, March 1995, p. 18)"
>
> DILBERT/DILBERT PRINCIPLE. Referring to a popular 1990s cartoon by Scott Adams which finds humor in corporate absurdities. "The Dilbert Principle is adapted from the PETER PRINCIPLE, a popular management aphorism of a few years ago. Mr. Adams observes that the most ineffective workers are systematically moved to the place where they can do the least damage: management." (*Wall Street Journal*, May 30, 1996, p. A11)
>
> ENERGIZING VISION. New idea. See also PARADIGM SHIFT...
>
> PARADIGM SHIFT. A change in focus, or of fundamental assumptions. "In a paradigm shift: a) your company's structure and work will change profoundly, forever altering your career; b) someone in management has been to a seminar — don't worry, it will pass; or c) many people will be fired to convince investors that real change is taking place." (*Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 3, 1995, p. B1)
>
> HEMLINE THEORY. U.S. stock market phenomenon correlating fashions for short skirts with BULLISH markets and longer skirts with BEARISH markets.
>
> W-CUBED. Whatever, wherever, and whenever you want it. To emphasize the importance of customer service, managers will claim their mantra is W-cubed. "So instead of subscribing to some ala carte, 24-hour channel, you'll just get the show you want on demand, whenever you want it. It will be W-cubed, whatever, wherever, and whenever you want it." (*Wall Street Journal,* Feb. 16, 1995, p. A14)
>
> WIDGET. Generic for a firm's product. A favorite term used in economics classes. "a commentary discusses...the notion that government planners, like engineers designing widgets, can build the good society from the top down." (*Forbes*, April 10, 1995, p. 100).
>
> ZILLION. A zillion is an exceedingly large, indeterminate number. See also JILLION. "The idea that there are zillions of Chinese eagerly rushing out to buy anything from an offshore company at fat profits is pure bunk." (*Forbes*, Jan 31, 1994, p. 140)
>
> ZIP. Zero. See also ZILCH.

A nine-page appendix spells out the meaning of commonly-encountered acronyms (PP. 227-235). A brief Bibliography lists mostly other dictionaries on related areas of interest. — WEB

Haslett, Beth Bonniwell, and **Wendy Samter**. *Children Communicating: The First 5 Years*. Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997. Pp. x, 314. ISBN 0-8058-0066-2 (hb.) $69.95 (Special prepaid price: $34.50).

Many studies have been done on child development and particularly on the early development of the ability to communicate, but they have been done in various disciplines, using disparate theories and methodologies, and they often have been published in hard-to-find journals and research reports. The editors claim that this book "synthesizes a more comprehensive array of research than do most investigations of communicative development," and they hope it "is the first of many [books] to integrate diverse bodies of research," such as the sciences of developmental and social psychology, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and communication, on which they have drawn (pg. ix).

In the first chapter, "Basic Concepts: Communication, Cognition, and Language" (pp. 1-19), Beth Bonniwell Haslett begins by expressing wonder at the seemingly mysterious way in which "children acquire the rudiments of communication by age 2 — without being explicitly taught" (pg. 1). In fact, if they do not make definite progress by that age abnormal development often is suspected (*ibid.*). The book is intended to help unravel some of that puzzle.

Haslett wrote five of the book's nine chapters and co-authored two with Wendy Samter, who wrote the remaining two chapters. Both are from the University of Delaware.

Chapters two through five, all by Haslett, deal, respectively, with the origin and development of nonverbal communication, the development of language, developing verbal communication, and developing communicative knowledge.

Co-authored chapter six is on family influences on communicative and social development. Samter's chapters seven and eight deal with a developmental perspective on conceptions of friendship and "doing friendship." the co-authored ninth and final chapter is about the principles and practices of parenting.

The chapter on nonverbal communication (chapter two, pp. 20-56) notes that while nonverbal communication is present from birth verbal communication appears only in the latter part of the infant's first year, and it is integrated with nonverbal communication, although they differ in some respects while being similar in others (pp. 20-21). Similarities include depending on discrete and arbitrary cues or units, "such as gestures or words." Both "appear to follow sequencing rules," and both rely on culture and context for interpretation. Both can be used to deceive or mislead others. Both also have rules about public displays, such as "cursing or the display of intimate touching behaviors" (pg. 21).

Chapter nine, on parenting, remarks that contemporary culture and especially business practices are not friendly to parenting: failing to give opportunities for training in parenting and often penalizing new parents for taking excessive time from their jobs, etc. (pg. 236). "Different environments can influence child rearing" in different ways, so the chapter begins "with a brief survey of cultural variations in parenting beliefs and practices. This discussion summarizes some differences in U.S. values on parenting, provides a selective summary of parenting expectations and styles in other countries, and highlights some issues about day care " (pg. 237).

The last section of that chapter, subtitled "Parenting Principles and Practices" (pp. 243-253), tries "to distill from the social science information presented throughout this book a set of principles important for parenting. These principles, in our opinion, promote children's healthy communicative and social development," say the authors (pg. 237).

The references form a substantial bibliography of the field and related topics (pp. 256-297).

— WEB

Katriel, Tamar. *Performing the Past: A Study of Israeli Settlement Museums.* Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997. Pp. xi, 172. ISBN 0-8058-1657-7 (hb.) $45.00; 0-8058-1658-5 (pb.) $17.50.

A museum is a text communicating the past to the present and the future. A local museum may go beyond that: bringing to the people who live here *now* the culture of those who lived here *then*. To outsiders, it speaks for all who live and have lived here, where you have come: "This is us."

Newer places may need local museums more than older, long-settled places, to affirm identity and to link the young with their elders and ancestors. The young and the old have different perspectives. A child may ask, "What's that?" about a hay rake or a grinding stone. But his grandfather, who threw out such things for their modern replacements, might ask, "Why do they want to keep that old junk?"

Museums fill those and other needs in Israel, a young country with a brief recent history but able to jump back, in time, to a much longer history in antiquity.

The two museums picked for this ethnographic study are "pioneer" museums, focussing on the history and culture of founders of the kibbutz settlements which formed such an important element in the early development of the modern state of Israel. Katriel's ethnography covered four years and concentrated on the museum guides, as performers and interpreters of a physical text: the museum's displays. The author's interest focussed on the "interface between verbal and material culture," as the guides told their stories, often in different ways, tailored to different audiences. The best guides are storytellers, able to create a living interaction between their audience, the displays, and the people who inhabited the stories (pg. 2). Katriel tells of the experience which led her to undertake the research:

> It was a weekday and the museum director at the time, an old-timer who introduced himself as Binyamin, took us around and held us in his spell for some 3 hours with tales of pioneering and with stories about the making of the museum. This time, the museum came alive for me in a new way and we all felt we could not disentangle the artifacts on display from the stories Binyamin wove around them. Words and objects became intertwined in a way that both enhanced and constrained our movement within the museum context and our reading of the museum setting. (*ibid.*)

The author sensed a common narrative strategy in much of the guides' "museum discourse." She describes it as a

> concatenation of apparently unrelated stories loosely linked through a common metaphor or overarching theme. ... many of these stories were metonymic in nature, providing narrative anchors that point to some aspect of the Zionist master-narrative that dominates the museum message through the concrete materiality of the items on display. This is, in a way, a poetics of indirection, replacing the pathos of Zionist preaching with the lightheartedness of everyday stories and folkloric tales. I couldn't help thinking that there was an echo of the Jewish sermon (*drasha*) and its use of the parable (*mashal*) about these performances. (pg. 7)

But an even broader "metanarrative" enters into the setting of the museum encounters, a metanarrative [which] can be framed in terms of the tension between the Zionist perspective and promise at Israel's founding and the country's current sociopolitical climate" (pg. 22). Katriel views "settlement museum encounters as cultural sites in and through which this tension is articulated and negotiated" (*ibid.*).

Subsequent chapters discuss narrative trajectories set as "the tools tell the story" (pp. 32-72), "generational styles in settlement museum interpretation" (pp. 73-102), and "museum encounters as potentially contested sites" (pp. 103-143). Such contestation might occur, as the author gently puts it,

> when museum encounters involve visitor groups whose identification with the Socialist Zionist foundation mythology can neither be assumed nor easily induced, given the recognition of cultural distance, an underlying ideological gap, or even political struggle between the visitors' positions and those that underwrite the museum tale. (pg. 103)

One such "gap" recurs in stories of the childrearing practices of the *kibbutz*, in which the children were separated from their mothers in infancy and raised together in a communal nursery, under the sometimes-tyrannical control of a trained "caretaker," so the mothers could do productive work in the fields. The disjunction between this arrangement and not only traditional Jewish and Middle Eastern family-centeredness ensured that the "arrangements of the pioneers, however wonderfully exotic they may sound, did not take root either in *kibbutz* culture or in the wider society" (pg. 110).

The final chapter, "Contextualizing Settlement Museum Discourse," Katriel mentions other disjunctions between the heritage museum discourse and the realities of contemporary Israel. Literary accounts of pioneering days sometimes are bitter. A number of plays have "given voice to a similarly anti-nostalgic attitude." In one play, a "self-described Zionist terrorist" goes around burning heritage museums, and at one point says, "Children, beware of museums, beware of museums depicting the history of the nation" (pg. 159).

As the author says, "the narrative of Jewish settlement, as well as the authorial voice of museum makers, must address a variety of audiences in a culturally and politically shifting environment" (pg. 159). — WEB

Lang, Peter J., Robert F. Simons, and **Marie Balaban** (eds.). *Attention and Orienting: Sensory and Motivational Processes.* Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997. Pp. xxiii, 477. ISBN 0-8058-2089-2 (hb.) $99.95.

This book grew out of a 1994 conference in Atlanta honoring Frances Keesler Graham, a noted research scientist in psychophysiology. It contains work by 43 contributors from seven countries, although most are Americans.

The topic is a technical one in psychophysiology, but it is important for an understanding of affect, motivation and other factors influencing human communication.

"Orienting" is a concept developed from I. P. Pavlov's research in the 1920s. As Pavlov described it,

> It is the reflex [OR] which brings about the immediate response in men and animals to the slightest changes in the world around them, so that they immediately orient their appropriate receptor organ [towards the stimulus]... (I. P. Pavlov, *Conditioned Reflexes* [New York 1927], as quoted by E. N. Sokolov and John T. Cacioppo on pg. 1).

In contrast to the orienting response (OR), which directs receptor organs towards the stimulus, Pavlov's concept of the "defense response" (DR) elicits a movement away from the stimulus. Sokolov, of Moscow State University, and Cacioppo, of Ohio State University, apply this model to their study of autonomic cardiac responses (pp. 1-22).

The chapter by Sokolov and Cacioppo is one of two in Section One, "Current Investigations of the Classical Theory of Orienting and Defense," the other chapter being on "Orienting, Habituation, and Information Processing: The Effects of Omission, the Role of Expectancy, and the Problem of Dishabituation," by David A. T. Siddle and Ottmar V. Lipp, of the University of Queensland.

Part Two, "Biological and Evolutionary Foundations of Orienting, Startle, and Defense: Motivational and Emotional Factors that Modulate Attention," contains five chapters on topics such as an evolutionary perspective on orienting and defensive responses, fear motivation, motivated attention, the role of affect in the three responses (orienting, startle, and defense), and "evolutionary preparedness for preattentive processing of threat."

Part Three, "Startle Reflex and Electro-Cortical Studies of Attention and Stimulus Gating," contains six chapters: on attention factors in the startle reaction, startling effects of weak prestimulation, "prepulse inhibition and orienting," implications of startle modification, "gating in readiness," and "Magnetoencephalography in Studies of Attention," the latter by Helsinki researchers Risto Näätänen, Risto J Ilmoniemi, and Kimmo Alho.

Part Four, "Studies of Attention, Affect, and Action in Child Development," has four chapters titled, "Functions of Orienting in Early Infancy," "Attention Across Time in Infant Development," "Attention, Emotion, and Reactivity in Infancy and Early Childhood," and "Activity, Attention and Developmental Transitions."

An "Afterword" (pp. 417-452) by Frances K. Graham, in whose honor the conference was held, is on "Pre-Attentive Processing and Passive and Active Attention." In it, she compares and integrates the findings of the book's individual chapters, to illustrate "how a biocognitive approach contributes to understanding information processing, specifically, to understanding the processing of sensory input" (pg. 417). Graham concludes, relating the research findings reported in this book to the larger fields of information and communication studies, that

> ...biocognitive research extends information processing theory along two main lines. First, it shows that information processing is not only carried out pre-attentively and under controlled attention, but also that one or the other of two arousal systems may be activated under special conditions — the occurrence of a novel, unexpected stimulus or of an aversive stimulus. Second, it suggests that the filtering properties of the nervous system determine major pathways along which parallel processing occurs. (pg. 448) — WEB

McCombs, Maxwell, Donald L. Shaw, and **David Weaver** (eds.). *Communication and Democracy: Exploring the Intellectual Frontiers in Agenda-Setting Theory.* Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997. Pp. xiii, 272. ISBN 0-8058-2554-1 (hb.) $59.95; 0-8058-2555-X (pb.) $27.50.

In a Prologue, the editors take the unusual step of warning away potential readers with insufficient background:

> ...this is not the first book that anyone should read about the agenda-setting role of mass communication. This is a book for those who already are reasonably well read in the research literature that has accumulated in the 25 years since publication of McCombs and Shaw's original 1972 *Public Opinion Quarterly* article, a literature documenting the influence of the news media agenda on the public agenda in a wide variety of geographic and social settings, elaborating the characteristics of audiences and media that enhance those agenda-setting effects, and cataloging those exogenous factors explaining who sets the media's agenda. For those acquainted with that literature, this is the book to read. An exciting set of maps for explicating new levels of agenda-setting theory have been sketched here by a new generation of young scholars, launching an enterprise that has significant implications both for theoretical research and for the day-to-day role of mass communication in democratic societies. (pg. ix)

Towards the end of their Prologue, the editors stress the political importance of their topic:

> Communication is central to democracy. ...there has been a revolution in the techniques of politics and political communication in the latter half of this century.... Summing up this situation... Swanson and Mancini (1996) noted: "In many countries, the presumed importance of mass media...has led to a struggle between politicians and a more or less independent media establishment over who shall control the agendas of campaigns. ..."
>
> In short, understanding the dynamics of agenda setting is central to understanding the dynamics of contemporary democracy. (pp. xii-xiii)

The book's fifteen chapters are by twenty-two authors, representing seven countries: the United States, China (Hong Kong), Israel, Taiwan, Italy, the Netherlands, and Japan.

The papers are distributed among the book's three parts: "The Pictures in Our Heads," "The Agenda-Setting Process," and "News Agendas and Social Systems."

Leading the five chapters in Part One, Salma Ghanem cites the underlying assumption of two decades of research on agenda setting, "that what is covered in the media affects what the public thinks about" (pg. 3). That having been adequately established, research has now moved to a second level of agenda setting, that "deals with the specific attributes of a topic and how this agenda of attributes also influences public opinion." This second level of effects "examines how media coverage affects both what the public thinks about and how the public thinks about it" (*ibid.*).

Toshio Takeshita then explores the media's roles in defining reality, citing relevant research done in Japan and Western countries. "Pseudo-Environment Theory," proposed by I. Shimizu in 1951, helped prepare the way for agenda setting research by stressing that "the media's portrayal of reality" is only a copy of reality, but

> in a modern society, people have to depend on the copy provided by the media so that they can adapt to the enlarged environment. It is almost impossible for ordinary people to check the copy against the reality, but they are forced to depend on the copy... If the copy reflects the original with complete fidelity, there would be no problem, however, it is unlikely, Shimizu said. (pp. 17-18)

Pu-tsung King, having studied "The Press, Candidate Images, and Voter Perceptions" in Taiwan election campaigns, found a serious disjunction between the candidates' presentation of their positions and the way the media reinterpreted them. "The press failed to emphasize each candidate's issue and policy stands in the election, and as a result, the voters did not perceive them as an important criterion for their evaluation of these candidates" (pg. 40).

Rounding out the first part, Anat First addressed television's construction of social reality in Israel, and Lars Willnat compares agenda setting with "cognitive priming," placing stress on the "cognitive mechanisms involved" (pg. 51).

In regard to the agenda setting process, stressed in part two, chapters explore susceptibility to agenda setting, political advertising's influence on news and the public, the effect of economic headlines on the agenda, a methodological analysis of agenda setting, and differences across news media. In discussing the different impacts of different media, Wayne Wanta concludes, for example, that "broadcast media produce agenda-setting effects earlier than the print media. Agenda-setting effects, however, decay much more slowly for newspapers than for newscasts" (pg. 151). He says, however, that the research does not show clearly the magnitude of the agenda-setting effect across media (*ibid.*).

Part three's five papers on "News Agendas and Social Systems"contains five chapters, titled, "Media Agenda Setting and Press Performance: A Social System Approach for Building Theory," "An Agenda-Setting Perspective on Historical Public Opinion," "Cultural Agendas: The Case of Latino-Oriented U.S. Media," "Setting the Agenda for Cross-National Research: Bringing Values Into the Concept," and "Agendas for a Public Union or for Private Communities? How Individuals are Using Media to Reshape American Society."

References, collected at the end of the book for all chapters, constitute a substantial bibliography of this and tangential topics (pp. 231-253). — WEB

Meyer, Manfred (ed.). *Educational Television: What Do People Want? Proceedings of a European Conference.* Luton, UK/Munich: John Libbey Media/ Univ. of Luton Press/Internationales Zentralinstitut für das Jugen- und Bildungsfernsehn (IZI), 1997. Pp. vi, 246. ISBN 1 86020 528 3 (pb.) £20.00; $32.00.

The conference on which this volume is based was held at the Bayerischer Rundfunk (Bavarian Broadcasting Co.), Munich, in April 1996. Invited researchers were asked to focus on the following aspects of educational television:

> •viewers' attitudes towards television and their expectations of it as a medium for education and learning;
>
> •programme interests and preferences that go beyond entertainment, sports or news programmes;
>
> •image and acceptance of educational programmes;
>
> •types of viewers and users, differences in information processing and learning styles and their influence on television viewing behavior.
>
> The overall objective of the project, however, was to stimulate and expand the ongoing discussion about the future and the functions of public service broadcasting in a competitive media environment. (pg. viii)

Twenty-four chapters are grouped into six sections, and an additional section is devoted to statements on the relevance of educational broadcasting by the members of a discussion panel on that topic. The other six sections are titled, "Educational Programmes on TV - Which Audiences?" "Success Stories of Educational Programming," "Television and Learning: Aspects of a Problematic Interrelation," "Viewers' Interests and Expectations," "Science and Technology as the Subject of Popular Programmes," and "Televiksion and Continuing Education: A Look into the Future." The contributors represent ten European countries, with the largest numbers from Germany and the U.K.

Manfred Meyer points out, in asking, "What are the odds?" for educational programs on television, that many viewers say that one reason they watch television is that they think they can learn something from it, but, "There are quite a few indication than an enormous scattering range of different ideas of learning are hidden behind the statement that you can learn something from television" (pg. 12).

Jane Quinn, of BBC Education, emphasizes that the future of television is "audience led." "The audience is king or queen. We build our programmes around our knowledge of how they talk about different subjects, what they would like to see more of, and — with regard to educational radio and television — what they are most likely to learn from" (pg. 13).

In her discussion of the European versions of the very successful American cable channels, *Discovery* and *TLC* (The Learning Channel), Joyce Taylor notes that a global survey sponsored by the Discovery Channel and the United Nations indicated that people feel that among "the most important attributes of television programmes they watched... 'educational' was the second most important description after 'interesting'. Other attributes like 'relaxing' and 'exciting' came well down the list" (pg. 56).

Among categories of programs they would like to see more of, "movies came first, but home-produced news and informational programming came second and third. There were some interesting regional variations which seemed to indicate that there was a sort of 'hierarchy of needs'" (*ibid.*). For example, in former dictatorships, which had had only limited availability of television, the desire for entertainment was greatest, and often, "informational programmes had a negative connotation because they were associated with dull state fare or propaganda films." More "mature" markets, however, wanted more factual and informational programming (pg. 56).

In his consideration of humanistic cultural programming on RAI, the Italian network, Markus Nikel suggests that a multimedia approach may make even the treatment of philosophical questions possible, using combinations of television or radio and interactive media (pp. 178-186).

An appendix listing the meaning of a large number of abbreviations is an essential component of the book, but it has no index.

— WEB

Puijk, Roel (ed.). *Global Spotlights on Lillehammer: How the World Viewed Norway during the 1994 Winter Olympics.* Luton, UK: John Libbey Media/University of Luton Press, 1997. Pp. x, 285. ISBN 1-86020-520-8 (pb.) £25.00, $40.00.

The Olympic Games are not only an international event, they are a national event, and — most intensively — a local event. The town of Lillehammer, with a population in normal times of 23,000, spent six years preparing to host the Winter Olympics of 1994, as did all of Norway. So both the town and the nation were anxious to know what the world thought about their Games and most especially about themselves in the light of the accompanying worldwide media exposure.

Accordingly, the Eastern Norway Research Institute and Lillehammer Regional College, in collaboration with the University of Oslo, prepared a project to study the cultural dimensions of the 1994 Winter Games. They recruited colleagues from various countries to contribute their perspectives. Although some were unable to complete the project, papers from the United States, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, the Netherlands, France, Italy and Lithuania found their way into the book.

Puijk notes in his first chapter, "Opening," that countries seeking international prestige from media coverage of the Games they host often are not successful in projecting the image they desire. For example, "the Los Angeles Games [Summer, 1984], by some called the Hamburger Olympics, reinforced the stereotype of Disney-America" (pg. 3).

The Games are complex. Norway or any other country also is complex — with potential images at "several layers — some may be supporting each other, while others may contradict" (pg. 4). Finally, the media themselves are complex, and they choose what to report and what not to report on the basis of any number and combinations of motives.

Norwegians, themselves, expressed some misgivings about hosting the Games in a series of four annual surveys prior to the event (1991-1994), but these diminished as the event came closer. "After the Games were over, as many as 82 per cent were positive, while less than 10 per cent were negative" (pg. 50). Women were more skeptical than men at first, but were almost as favorable at the end; while residents of Lillehammer were more negative in 1991, but more positive than the national sample by 1994 (pp. 51-52).

Sale of the American TV rights is an initial indicator of anticipated U.S. interest in any Olympics. The $300 million paid by CBS for rights to the Lillehammer Games had, up until then, been surpassed for Winter Games only by

Calgary, in 1988 (pg. 63).

A content analysis and interviews reported by Lauren Danner showed a generally positive image of Norway remaining with Americans after the Olympics' media coverage. Beautiful scenery and happy people were frequently mentioned (pp. 59-94). This effect was credited to the way CBS oriented its coverage:

> In February 1994, CBS chose to show Norway as a wondrous place filled with enthusiastic, friendly, sportsmanlike people. While this image is not, perhaps, as detailed or in-depth as Norwegian organizers of the Games might have wished, it is nonetheless extremely favourable. (pg. 92)

Hugh O'Donnell and Raymond Boyle remarked that the BBC's coverage "was very much an English affair," with only one Scot to break England's and London's dominance of its presenters and with no opportunities for regional commentaries (pg. 95). Also, "presenting an image of Norway ... was very much a low-priority consideration" in the BBC coverage (pg. 107).

Dutch viewers were positively impressed and expressed a sense of kinship with the Norwegians (pp. 167-187).

According to Françoise Papa, French coverage developed reference to the previous Winter Olympics, at Albertville, France, in 1992, and to France's allegedly lackadaisical preparation for the Lillehammer competition. According to the drift of journalistic views in France, "the Lillehammer Games were thus to be the beginning of a process in which the whole of the sports policy implemented by the French Ski Federation was called into question..." (pg. 197). Other French reporting stressed the cold weather (pp. 206-209) and Norwegians' traditionalism (pp. 209-212), but also their personal warmth and friendliness (pp. 212-213).

Mia Finrud Di Tota saw Italian newspaper coverage containing references to the North/South division of European culture as reflected in a North/South division of Italian domestic politics — with a positive image of the North, in both cases (pp. 223-238).

Lithuanian press and TV coverage of the Games was generally not good enough to carry much of an image of Norway to Lithuanians, according to Vilija Gudonienė (pp. 239-255).

An appendix contains the text of the original research project proposal. There is no index.

— WEB

Roberts, Carl W. (ed.). *Text Analysis for the Social Sciences: Methods for Drawing Statistical Inferences from Texts and Transcripts.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997. Pp. ix, 316. ISBN 0-8058-1734-4 (hb.) $74.50; 0-8058-1735-2 (pb.) $39.95.

The first two paragraphs of Roberts' Introduction describe the book's intended objectives in some detail:

> This book is for social science researchers with research questions applicable to relatively well-defined populations of texts. Although the book is accessible to readers having no experience with content analysis, the text analysis expert will find much new in its pages. ...this book's purpose is as an aid in answering the question, "Which text analysis method best affords answers to what research questions?"
>
> Shapiro and Markoff's chapter introduces the reader to classical issues in content analysis methodology...thatencompassesmethodologies far beyond the purview of this text. Whereas text analyses are only of texts or transcripts, content analyses can be performed on any symbolic material, be it visual, acoustic, tactile, or whatever. Beyond its limitation to texts, the domain of this book is also restricted to quantitative text analysis methods. (pg. 1)

That being the case, it is necessary have a "litmus test" to distinguish quantitative from qualitative analyses. Roberts says that "If the method yields data matrices from which probabilistic inferences (i.e., P-values) can legitimately be drawn, the method is quantitative. Otherwise, it is qualitative" (pg. 2). He notes that while this book offers "little guidance regarding the qualitative analysis of texts," many other books have been published recently on that form of analysis, while few books exist which attempt, like this one, to be "useful to researchers who wish to test theory-driven hypotheses by drawing probabilistic inferences from samples to populations of texts" (pg. 3).

After Roberts' Introduction and Shapiro and Markoff's chapter, the book is divided into three parts: "Methodologies," containing three chapters, "Applications," with eight chapters, and "Prospects," with four.

The three methodology chapters are, respectively, on thematic, semantic, and network text analysis. Topics addressed as "applications" include 100 years of *New York Times* front-page content, unobtrusive measurement of psychological states and traits, Italian service sector labor unrest, the Ethiopian famine of 1984-1985, the portrayal of science in high school biology textbooks, computer-aided analysis of literary and nonliterary texts, economic discourse in the Dutch press, and computer programs for the analysis of texts and transcripts. "Prospects" are concerned with the future of human coders, computer science developments with application to text analysis, natural language database systems, and a theoretical map for selecting among text analysis methods.

The references constitute an extensive bibliography (pp. 285-302). — WEB

Sabia, Debra. *Contradiction and Conflict: The Popular Church in Nicaragua.* Tuscaloosa/London: University of Alabama Press, 1997. Pp. x, 239. ISBN 0-8173-0873-3 (hb.) $34.95.

Several related factors have worked together to give a particular character to the role of the Christian community in the political life of Nicaragua during the past thirty years. With empirical data from her field research in three "base communities" (*comunidades eclesiales de base* [CEBs]) in Managua, Sabia found three developments to have had special influence: the Second Vatican Council, liberation theology, and the base communities.

Drawing on her ethnographic data, and following the heuristic methodology of Max Weber, the author develops a model of four ideal types of orientations within the "popular Church." She cautions that the existence of the "people's Church" does not imply a sharp dichotomy within Nicaraguan Catholicism:

> We shall see that in Nicaragua the notion of a breakaway church remains highly dubious. We shall also see that while there has existed a generalized conception of a separate people's church there exists a number of distinct trends and ideological differences in it. This study will examine these differences and ultimately suggest that one universal (Catholic) church still exists in Nicaragua. Within this institution, however, we shall see that several competing tendencies and internal divisions are clearly evident. (pg. 3)

Sabia first reviews, in chapters 2-5, the background of structures and events that most proximately created the context in which her ethnographic data are situated: "...an introductory review of Latin American Catholicism, the birth of the popular church, the growth and maturation of the Christian base communities, and finally the conditions that led to the fragmentation of the Catholic coalition" (pg. 4).

Then, in chapters 6-9, she describes the four ideal types which characterize the main tendencies present in the popular Church.

The first, a "Marxist type," includes those who have accepted Marxism and abandoned their practice of Catholicism. "Although some still consider themselves members of the base communities, they no longer consider themselves Catholics or, in the traditional sense, Christian" (pg. 97).

The second, "Revolutionary Christian" type consists of those who still support the Sandinista revolutionaries, but,

> What is strikingly different about the Revolutionary Christian type is the centrality of the spiritual dimension of their experience. Contrary to the Marxist position ... Revolutionary Christians speak of their political commitment to social justice as a consequence of their faith, a new Catholic faith, one that continues to motivate their political activbity.
>
> ...At the same time they have also suggested that Marxism provided them with a theoretical framework for reading social and historical events relevant to Nicaragua...[and] believe Marxist theory to be compatible with liberation theology's evangelication inspiration. (pp. 115-116)

The third, "Reformist Christian" type is like the Revolutionary Christians in speaking of a vision of the Kingdom of God as "a world where social justice reigns." They

> argue that during the 1970s the church's prophetic ministry was aimed at removing the apparent root of injustice, that of the Somoza dictatorship. But unlike members of the two types already discussed, the challenge for them was to reform or change the political institutions of Nicaragua, not to achieve liberation from capitalist development. (pp. 144-145)

Sabia feels that the Reformists "appear to represent the majority within the grass-roots church" (pg. 145).

The fourth group, the "Alienated Christian" type, are "critics of the traditional as well as the popular church, and opponents of the Sandinista Party," although "most were early supporters of the Sandinista regime" (pg. 173). "Today they understand the revolutionary experiment as a failure and the popular church's involvement in that project a mistake" (pg. 174). Religiously, all have left the popular church, and most have left the Catholic Church — many to become fundamentalist Protestants — and a subgroup remains as very conservative Catholics (pp. 174-175).

In the final chapter, the author reviews and comments on several other works that have dealt with the Church in the Nicaraguan revolution. She criticizes some who espouse "the myth that the popular church is a leftist organization," a fiew that "fails to explain why it is that in Nicaragua the progressive church continues to express itself as a religious organization, not a political one" (pg. 212). She also thinks "it is a fallacy to conceive of the poor in Nicaragua as a group of dangerous political radicals" (pp. 212-213).

For several reasons, including criticisms of the popular church by the bishops, which is said to have confused some of the laity, "dissensus rather than consensus more adequately characterizes the contemporary climate within the CEBs ... in a changing political landscape the spiritual cement that unified the popular sector is not likely to be reconstituted.

The decline of the basic communities seems inevitable due to many factors, but Sabia sees positive changes in a more fundamental evaluation by many of what it means to be "Catholic" and "Christian," and in a deep commitment to the work of social justice by those who remain active in the base communities. She concludes,

> just as it is possible to suggest that the liberation movement will quietly die out, it is just as likely that the liberation movement will quietly resurrect itself in the collective spirit of a people who recognize the need for a stronger, more compassionate, and more democratic civic culture. (pg. 220)

— WEB

Servaes, Jan, and **Rico Lie** (eds.). *Media and Politics in Transition: Cultural Identity in the Age of Globalization.* Leuven, Belgium/ Amersfoort, Netherlands: Uitgeverij Acco, 1997. Pp. 240. ISBN 90-334-3835-6 (pb.) n.p.

Recent developments in both communication and transportation technologies have caused both an acceleration and convergence in cultural and social change unmatched in earlier periods of history. Concepts which formerly had stable meanings have become fluid, and identities based on those meanings have become uncertain, causing identity crises and turmoil in both individuals and societies. Servaes says "there is a need for a new understanding of issues like (cultural) identity, nationalism, human rights, media and politics. It is the aim of this book to assess this interrelationship and to contribute to a discussion of its assumptions" (pg. 7).

The papers in this book were selected from among those presented at a conference on "Media and Politics," at the Catholic University of Brussels, in collaboration with the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR), in early 1997. They are divided into sections dealing with global, theoretical and regional perspectives.

Addressing one pressing global issue, George Gerbner characterizes the violence so often seen to dominate the visual mass media: "Media violence is a symbolic show of force. It shows who can get away with what against whom. It cultivates a sense of power and a calculus of vulnerability. It shapes society's pecking order" (pg. 13). Television violence, in particular, has been found to generate an "unequal sense of danger, vulnerability and general unease, combined with reduced sensitivity, [which] invites not only aggression but also exploitation and repression" (pg. 16).

Cees Hamelink explores the culpability the media can contract in situations of ethnic conflict. The key role played by the Rwandan radio station RTLM in the genocide against the Tutsis, in 1994, is cited as one recent example of such culpability (Hamelink 1997: 31-32). He insists that the international community needs not only to develop mechanisms to punish such crimes — which are too late to help their victims — but must also develop ways to deal with the propagation of "eliminationist ideology," so that it cannot be put into practice. He suggests that "An International Media Alert System [IMAS] is needed that monitors mass media contents in areas of conflict. This system would provide an 'early warning' where and when media set the climate for crimes against humanity and begin to motivate people to kill others" (pg. 38)

In other contributions, Shalini Venturelli discusses the "prospects for human rights in the political and regulatory design of the information society" (pp. 61-74), and Jan Servaes addresses the role of the mass media in the context of the "fragmented identities" so common in contemporary Europe and worldwide (pp. 77-88). David Paletz then explores the difficult question of how to accurately analyze the political contents and political effects of the mass media. He notes that different researchers have interpreted "Hollywood" films as both conservative and radical, or perhaps both at different periods. Understanding the effects of the newer communication technologies is even more daunting.

> All of which leads to paradoxical conclusions about the political effects of the new information technology. It can inspire populism, but one based on ignorance; it can facilitate the expression of public opinion, but one aroused by demagoguery; it can engender community, but of ethnic and single-issue groups. (pg. 93)

In another contribution, Slavko Splichal criticizes Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann's public opinion model, the "spiral of silence." He says that "the fundamental assumption — the only explicit assumption related to the societal rather than individual level in the model — is that 'society threatens deviant individuals with isolation'" (pg. 112). Splichal feels that "the basic fallacy of Noelle-Neumann's model is that it generalises a marginal case discussed already by Festinger (1957) — the case of individuals who are relatively isolated socially and who do not talk readily about some subjects of (public) discussion (e.g., political issues). Or that it "overstates considerably the breadth of social conformity and the scope of majority power" (pg. 116).

The regionally-focussed papers deal with Europe, Britain, Africa and Russia.

A consolidated bibliography (pp. 223-234) provides access to a substantial collection of sources on the topic. — WEB

Street, Richard L., Jr., William R. Gold, and **Timothy Manning** (eds.). *Health Promotion and Interactive Technology: Theoretical Applications and Future Directions.* Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997. Pp. xxiv, 249. ISBN 0-8058-2204-6 (hb.) $55.00; 0-8058-2205-4 (pb.) $29.95.

New technologies can improve health care, as previous innovations often have done, but they must be used correctly, or they can also cause harm. Correct use involves knowing contexts and interactions between the particular technologies, patients, caregivers and the many factors of those contexts.

In the Preface, the editors compare the use of the new technologies to childhood experimentation with chemicals or cooking. The results may fall short of expectations without "a well-designed plan" and "an adequate understanding of how the parts we mixed together interacted with and affected one another" (pg. xi).

In examining "how interactive technology is and can be used for health promotion and patient education," the book follows three themes:

1) a "new orientation toward health" emphasizing disease prevention, "psychological aspects of

well-being," and information and motivation that will lead people to make healthy choices;

2) the view that "interactive technology is perhaps the most promising medium for achieving health promotion initiatives"; and

3) changes in health care markets — especially towards prevention and away from treatment — "offer new opportunities for using information and communication technology" (pp. xii-xiii).

The three themes run through each of the book's three parts: "Theoretical Perspectives," "Using Interactive Technology to Improve Health," and "The Future of Interactive Technology for the Promotion of Health."

In a chapter on the conceptual foundation of the use of interactive technology in health promotion, Richard L. Street and Rajiv N. Rimal stress that success depends on "a host of processes that operate at many different levels," but little effect will be realized until more such programs are available (pg. 16).

Chapter two, on interactive technology attributes, argues that the interactive technologies themselves, if properly designed, "can move individuals toward healthier lifestyles" (pg. 34).

Celette Sugg Skinner and Matthew W. Kreuter describe the ways theories should be used in planning interactive computer programs.

Rounding out Part I, chapter four emphasizes the advantages of "conceptualizing computing as a medium (instead of a tool)," thereby promoting its use by facilitating patient initiative (cf., pp. 76-77).

The six chapters in part two describe the Comprehensive Health Enhancement Support System (CHESS) project, the effects of interactive video games when they are used for health promotion, information environments for breast cancer education, patient-specific interfaces, social support, and creating illness-related communities in cyberspace.

The three chapters in part three are, respectively, about digital interactive media and decision-making power, facilitating the adoption of new health promotion technology, and reflections on health promotion and interactive technology (pp. 221f.). — WEB

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