COMMUNICATION CRESEARCH TRENDS

Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture • Saint Louis University

Privacy in International Data Flow

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IN THIS ISSU€

and

Radio: Some Supplementary Remarks

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With a Section on Radio in Latin America, Spain and Portugal

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A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

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COMMUNICATION RESEARCH TRENDS

Published four times a year by the Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture (CSCC). Copyright 1998. ISSN 0144-4646

Interim Publisher: John J. Pauly, PhD Editor: William E. Biernatzki, SJ. PhD

Associate Editor for Latin America, Spain & Portugal: José Martínez de Toda y Terrero, SJ, PhD Assistant Editor/Copy Editor: Marcia W. Deering

Subscription:

Annual Subscription (Vol. 18) US \$ 35 Set of Volumes No. 1-8 US \$ 90 Set of Volumes No. 9-17 US \$165 Complete set and Vol. 18 US \$235

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Communication Research Trends

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Privacy in International Data Flow

I. The Climate of Information Processing

Burkert, Herbert. (1998a). Rights and Responsibilities. Presentation at the International Conference on Internet and Privacy—Which Rules? Given 1998, May 8 and 9. Available at:

http://www.gmd.de/People/Herbert.Berkert/Rom.html (1998, October 18)

Gindlin, Susan E. (1997a). Lost and Found in Cyberspace: Informational Privacy in the Age of the Internet. San Diego Law Review. 34(1153). Available at: http://www.info-law.com/eupriv.html (1998, January 6)

Swire, Peter, & Robert E. Litan. (1998a). None of Your Business: World Data Flows, Electronic Commerce, and the European Privacy Directive. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Swire, Peter. (1996, December 23). Markets, Self-Regulation, and Government Enforcement in the Protection of Personal Information. NTIA Paper. Available at: http://www.osu.edu/units/law/swire1/psntia6.htm (1998, October 17).

You just bought a new music CD with your credit card. The Beatles' White Album. However, three weeks later you begin to get mailings selling products that eerily match your taste. The type of music you like, the type of wines, the type of cars. Then you find out that your credit card company has sold the record of all your card purchases to a third company that does telemarketing. That company then took other data about you that they had bought, joined it to your credit card history, and churned all of this through several computer programs that categorized you as the kind of person who would like this kind of music, this kind of wine, this kind of car. Is this good or bad? Certainly, it is nice to get mailings for things you are interested in.

Then you find out that they have gotten hold of your medical records, added that to the mix, and offered it, along with your credit history, to your employer, and made it available as a service to all potential employers. For a fee, any employer can find out about your bad back, your family's history of diabetes, and the bout of depression you had in college. Such is the age we live in.

During the last decade, computer power has been growing exponentially, spawning one of the most consistent periods of economic growth in this century. Mostly, this information revolution has been positive. Communication networks have become increasingly global, as has trade. It is now possible to speak of news passing from one side of

the earth to the other almost instantaneously. The restrictions of print media are giving way to an explosion of new publication on the Internet. Nevertheless, this revolution has not been completely positive.

Information can now be collected at astonishing rates, organized, processed, sold and resold in ever more complex forms. The computer has replaced a regiment of file clerks, typists, and the like, because its power to process information of any kind far surpasses the amount of work that a legion of humans could accomplish. This newly organized information can then be mined, or reprocessed to produce newer insights about the data, insights that can then be bought and sold again. Information, therefore, has become a world-shaking new commodity.

This has serious implications for liberty and democracy. Organizations often collect personal information without the full knowledge and consent of those to whom the information refers. These same organizations may then create complex dossiers on individuals, or sell the information to other organizations that would in turn create such dossiers. If unscrupulous people or unscrupulous organizations were to get control of this information, they could use it to manipulate the desires of the consumer, undermine free markets, and develop a gravitational center for the gathering of power. It was only a few short decades ago that the Third Reich used such dossiers to terrorize a

continent, and that was done in the age of the fountain pen and the file cabinet. The fear is that with the power of the computer, far more freedoms could be at risk.

One problem mentioned by Swire and Litan (1998a) is that of "over-disclosure" on the part of customers. That is, companies may put private information to more uses than the customer has agreed to. Presently, the activities of an organization concerning its use of personal information have rarely been common knowledge. The amount of money that can be made by collecting and selling personal information creates a serious incentive for companies to make as much use of that information as possible. Often, this is done without much risk to the company, because it is often difficult, or nearly impossible, for a customer to uncover a company's policy on personal information.

Even if the company did disclose its privacy policy, there would still be little risk for the company to break its own stated policy. Recently, for example, a major internet provider decided to sell lists of its subscribers to third parties for telemarketing purposes, despite its own published policy not to do so. Had this not been reported in the press, very few people would have known it had happened.

A heated debate has been rising inside and outside the academy about what would constitute a proper and adequate response to these problems. Many scholars, like Herbert Burkert (1998a) favor a technological solution to privacy concerns. For Burkert, laws are merely the results of the political compromises of a given time, then frozen in legislation, while technology is the embodiment of a society's values and dreams about the way the world ought to be. Technology, then, enhances the power of the individual and of the organization to insure their own rights.

Others, like Peter Swire and Robert Litan (1998a), favor self-regulation through well-wrought contracts as a solution. Swire (1996) argues that there are three components of self-regulation, paralleling the separation of powers. In the first case, i.e. legislation, self-regulation can be established industry-wide through the promulgation of privacy codes, and the like.

The second component, i.e. enforcement, can take place through professional organizations, like

the American Bar Association and the National Bar Association who, to a large degree, influence who practices law and who does not as a matter of the Associations' procedures and regulations.

The third component, adjudication, can likewise be found in such associations' regulatory practices. Self-regulation, therefore, is not always voluntary but can occur through industry-wide decisions to form regulatory bodies.

Another solution, government regulation, is favored by scholars like Susan Gindlin (1997a), who holds a position that calls for government legislation that will be wide enough to protect the privacy of the average citizen. Gindlin's argument is the closest to the intent and purpose of the Directive of the European Union.

This paper is a summary of the Directive of the European Union and an analysis of its implications, comparing this new policy with those held to be inadequate by the Directive. It will therefore contain in an appendix a brief summary of some national privacy policies concerning how they may or may not "stack up" to the ideals set by the European Union. In addition, it will include a quick review of the recent research on this Directive, most of which is quite recent indeed. Because of the nearly exponential increase in computer power in recent years, the central issue addressed in the Directive demonstrates a concern for the ways in which computerized information is being handled. The ease with which computerized data can be collected and processed represents an essential shift in the significance of personal information management. Moreover, these issues have intensified because of the explosive growth of the interconnectivity of computer systems.

The rise of global networks like the Internet provide so many alternate paths through which information can be passed, that unless a global policy were to emerge, privacy protection would be nearly impossible. Therefore, global connectivity has led to a serious concern about the ways in which transactional information that is collected as a byproduct of an individual's activity in the online world is being used. Moreover, other concerns about unsolicited commercial email, the ways in which email privacy and and information security are being protected are at the heart of the European Directive.

One reason for the European Union (EU) to take

such unilateral action to protect privacy is that in the absence of a global policy for the management of data, encroachments on privacy will grow phenomenally in the next few years. There is widespread recognition at the international level of a need for a consensus on the basic principles around which protection of the individual's rights can be built. Such a consensus would help to constitute a next step in the development of more permanent international agreements.

II. The Directive

Davies, Simon. 1998. Europe to U.S.: No privacy, No Trade. *Wired.* 6.05. May. http://www.wired.com/collections/privacy/6.05 euro trade1.html

Europe, P.O. 1995. o. Directive 95/46/EC. Official Journal of the European Communities. Nov., No L. 281. p. 31.

Gellman, R. (1997). Does privacy law work *Technology and Privacy: The New Landscape*. Philip E. Agre and Marc Rotenberg, Eds. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 193-218.

Gindlin, Susan E. (1997b). As the Cyber-World Turns: The European Union's Data Protection Directive and Transborder Flows of Personal Data. *Internet Legal Practice Newsletter*. December. A later version available at http://www.info-law.com/eupriv.html>

Swire, Peter, & Robert E. Litan. (1998a). None of Your Business: World Data Flows, Electronic Commerce, and the European Privacy Directive. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

On November 23rd, 1995, the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union promulgated Directive 95/46/EC, on protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data." This directive obligates member countries to regulate the collection and transmission of personal data not only within their own states, but also to other Member States within the European Union. As such, the Directive sparked an immediate international controversy. The focus of contention was Articles 25 and 26, which regulate the transmission of personal data to non-member nations, a gambit that embodies a sea change in the regulation of global trade. Article 25 sets a new precedent in the international information market. It calls for the limitation of transmission of personal information to any country outside the European Union that does not have an "adequate" policy for the protection of the privacy rights of the individual, even if this call subverts international trade.

In a single stroke, the European Union declared that it would limit certain kinds of trade to those countries that did not meet its standards of privacy protection, a move that, it can be speculated, was intended to force the world's hand into accepting a single global privacy policy. As Simon Davies (1998) puts it: "No privacy, no trade. It's that simple."

This was significant legislation, and represented an international "shot across the bow" to countries that had not yet formulated a general policy for the protection of personal information. Contrary to what might first appear, the Directive was not intended to hinder the flow of information, but to enhance it by setting a uniform privacy standard for all its member nations. Individual countries in the European Union can no longer hinder the flow of information to other European Union nations in a willy-nilly fashion. However, in order to protect its own liberalization efforts, the European Union had to take steps to prevent the establishment of "data havens," (Swire & Litan, 1998a) in non-European Union nations, which would become sources of illegal traffic in European Union information. For this reason, Articles 25 and 26 were written. In making this move, the European Union forced trade to take a back seat to the rights of its citizens.

This being said, however, the Directive did not actually take a stand against trade. It acted to set up a system that would allow for a freer flow of information across the borders of countries within the Union, but did so by first guaranteeing numerous rights to the subjects of that data. The Directive, therefore, promoted two values: the free flow of information as well as the rights of the individual citizen. Often enough, nations have been reluctant to take any serious steps to protect the latter if it would hurt the former, especially if this choice might distort the workings of a free market.

The Directive, however, reversed this trend by actively sending the message to Europe's major trading partners, notably the United States, Japan, Canada, and Australia — none of whom have general privacy policies — that the protection of individual rights would not be permitted to suffer in order to encourage trade, and that the European Union was willing to take steps to insure this (Gindlin, 1997b). As trade in information of all kinds, much of it trade in personal data, continues to increase in importance, a policy shift of this type has serious implications. For one international body to set standards for other bodies to follow, and then to promise action against those bodies that do not meet this standard, is unprecedented.

As might be expected, the European action and the non-European reaction have ossified into fairly well-defined camps, largely centered in Europe and the U.S. (Swire & Litan, 1998a). The European camp has tended to argue that they cannot compromise on the human rights of their citizens. The Europeans see privacy as a human right and not a civil right, and so their case has been largely amplified into one of fundamental principles. They further argue that the companies affected by the Directive will have extensive dealings with European firms, and that they already have the expectation of complying with all types of local laws, from those regulating prices and wages, to environmental protections, and the like.

Also, they argue, no one is keeping these companies from sending information outside of the European Union. All they need is an adequate amount of privacy protection. According to Swire and Litan (1998a), the Directive's Article 26 spells out ways that information can be transferred to third countries, even if those countries have generally inadequate protection, as long as

European regulators approve of Self-Regulatory Mechanisms (SRMs) that those companies establish as part of their daily business with Europe.

The U.S. camp, however, tends to argue that European privacy laws should not hinder U.S. companies in their pursuit of trade. Supporters of the U.S. policy argue for the superiority of the sectoral approach taken by U.S. law, because it supports a free market by not creating a binding bureaucratized global policy that would necessarily be too inflexible to be of any use.

The kind of sweeping restrictions on the transfer of data by member nations of the European Union could therefore have a profound effect on the information industry. Either: 1) the Directive will effectively isolate the European market from the world market in personal information; or 2) the gambit will work and the rest of the world, for fear of losing such a lucrative market, will fall into line and develop a global privacy policy; or 3) the European Parliament and Council will be forced to back away from their commitment to privacy in order to avoid isolation, or 4) a fairly nasty trade war will ensue, or 5) everyone will settle down and begin to negotiate the details. Nations with generally "inadequate" privacy protection will work to fill up the gaps, either through some technological solution, or through contracts, or by a combination of both.

Which one of these five outcomes is most likely remains to be seen. Currently, because of the uncertainty involved, the various camps have become rigid, which could in the end lead to some serious economic consequences. Because personal information includes reports by credit bureaus, profiles collected and mined by the direct-marketing industry, the financial services industry, and numerous other companies whose business depends on the transfer of personal data, the outcome will largely depend on whether such industries believe that they can operate effectively under the new rules.

The Directive went into effect in October 1998, and many of the countries that are noticeably lacking in coherent privacy policies — the United States, Australia, Canada, and Japan — are liable to find that various sectors of their business communities will be considered inadequately protected. They will be forced to make some serious changes in the way they do business or lose

their capacity to make exchanges of personal information with the European Union. This is not to say that these countries have no privacy protections in place. Rather, they have traditionally avoided any attempts at creating general policies, preferring a "sectoral" approach, one that has all too often been constructed only in response to perceived crises. Some scholars (Gellman, 1997; Regan, 1995) have complained that such a sectoral approach has led to a weak response to privacy encroachment, and an even weaker enforcement mechanism for the policies they already have.

This has especially been the case for the United States, which has a plethora of laws protecting privacy already in place, but no coherent general policy, and therefore no unified enforcement procedures.

One controversy, therefore, seems to be over just what constitutes an "adequate" privacy policy. The use of this term within the Directive has the potential to enforce a global standard of adequacy, one which, while arising from the Directive, is still rooted in the principles of fair information practices that have found expression in the policies of a number of countries, both inside and outside of the European Union.

The United States, for example, the largest

nation deemed to have an "inadequate" privacy policy by the standards set by the Directive has good legislation regulating data collection and processing by agencies of the national government. The Privacy Act of 1974 set one of the first standards of Fair Information Practices. Nevertheless, this same country has been slow in developing a comprehensive policy that would regulate those same practices within the private sector, or in state and local governments. Instead, it has fallen back on a policy of self-regulation that has widely been recognized as having failed. Moreover, it was unlikely that the United States or any of the other countries with inadequate policies could have been able to enact legislation suitable to meet the Directive's terms by the time it took effect.

What is more, many other countries (not named in the above list) have even more disorganized privacy protection policies. The use of national ID cards appears to be on the rise in many countries. Therefore, absent any new legislation, or the development of any other appropriate enforcement mechanism, operating in both the public and the private spheres of information processing, the European Union may be forced to ban transfers of personal data with those countries.

III. The Provisions of the Directive

Europe. P.O. (1995). Directive 95/46/EC. Official Journal of the European Communities. Nov., No L. 281. p. 31.

Gellman, R. (1997). Does privacy law work? *Technology and Privacy: The New Landscape*. Philip E. Agre and Marc Rotenberg, Eds. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 193-218.

Directive 95/46/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 1995 concerns the protection of individuals in relation to the processing of their personal data, developed within the context of the free flow of that data. It in many ways embodies the principles of fair information practices, a concept that goes back to the work of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) in the United States as part of and in response to the passage of the Privacy Act of 1974. Of course, these principles have been expressed within a European context within the Directive, and cannot be said to have the same form as those developed by the HEW.

Nevertheless, they are within the same general tradition.

These principles, plus or minus, can be summarized (Gellman 1997) in this way:

- 1. Transparency principle: Information gathering and processing should not be done in secret.
- Individual participation principle: The subject of the record should have access to the record and have the power to correct false information within it.
- Limit principle: There should be limits on the collection of personal information, i.e., that it should not be a process that goes on without

- end or without boundaries.
- Relevancy principle: The gathering of personal information ought to be relevant to the purpose for which it is being gathered, and it should be accurate, complete, and timely.
- 5. Limits on internal use principle: The record keeper should be limited on the internal use of the records kept. This means that records should not be kept, or used, for just any purpose whatsoever. This principle bans the collection of "dossiers" for unstated political purposes.
- 6. External disclosure principle: Prohibits the external disclosure of personal information without the subject's permission, or without the permission of some legal authority under the strictures of some kind of due process.
- 7. Reasonable security principle: Calls for a reasonable level of security, so that the records collected may not be handed over or stolen by a third party, and used for purposes unstated in the original collection.
- 8. Compliance principle: That record keepers comply with all the other principles.

These eight principles can be seen to be reflected within the European Union's Directive, especially in its call for the subject's right of access, and the subject's right to correct misinformation. All of these principles however, are set within a wider context by the Directive, i.e., a proper relationship between humans and the data-processing systems that they have invented.

Of the 72 separate paragraphs within the recitals, giving the general reasons for the Directive, this overall theory is set forth in the second paragraph:

Whereas data-processing systems are designed to serve man; whereas they must, whatever the nationality or residence of natural persons, respect their fundamental rights and freedoms, notably the right to privacy, and contribute to economic and social progress, trade expansion and the well-being of individuals; ... (Item 2, pg. 1).

Therefore, the Directive was written to reassert the proper relationship between data-processing systems and the humans those systems were meant to serve. The requirements for information trade, while part of this fundamental ordering, are secondary in importance. This corrected ordering was reinforced in the third paragraph, which recognizes the importance of an integrated market as a thing that can only occur through the free flow of information. However, the paragraph then places that recognition within the wider context of the rights of the individual. The "free" flow of information cannot be established at the expense of the rights of the people that this flow was meant to serve. The two values cannot be divorced.

Whereas the establishment and functioning of an integral market in which, in accordance with article 7a of the Treaty, the free movement of goods, persons, services and capital is ensured require not only that personal data should be able to flow freely from one Member State to another, but also that the fundamental rights of individuals should be safeguarded; ... (Item 3, pg. 1)

The wider political and economic context of the Directive, the reason why this Directive was given at this time, is outlined in the seventh paragraph, and continued in the eighth. These two paragraphs outline the particular situation that the European Union finds itself in, in terms of information transfers. As the Union of European nations began to form, the differences in national law concerning privacy and personal information actually impeded the free flow of information. Therefore, in order to promote that same free flow of information, in order to create a positive environment for information trade between the Member States, it became necessary to develop an international policy on privacy rights and personal information transfers.

Given what had been said in the first three paragraphs, however, the only way to solve this dilemma was to offer equal protection of privacy rights to all citizens of the European Union Member States. The only way to solve the practical problem of divergent laws concerning data flows was to reassert the universality of human rights.

Whereas the difference in levels of protection of the rights and freedoms of individuals, notably the right to privacy, with regard to the processing of personal data afforded in the Member States may prevent transmission of such data from the territory of one Member State to that of another Member State; whereas this difference may therefore constitute an obstacle to the pursuit of a number of economic activities at Community level, distort competition and impede authorities in the discharge of their responsibilities under Community law; whereas this difference in levels of protection is due to the existence of a wide variety of national laws, regulations in administrative provisions; ... (Item 7, pg. 2)

Whereas, in order to remove the obstacles to flows of personal data, the level of protection of the rights and freedoms of individuals with regard to the processing of such data must be equivalent in all the Member States; whereas this objective is vital to the internal market but cannot be achieved by Member States alone, especially in view of the scale of the divergences which currently exist between the relevant laws in the Member States and the need to coordinate the laws of the Member States so as to ensure that the cross-border flow of personal data is regulated in a consistent manner that is in keeping with the objective of the internal market as provided for in article 7a of the Treaty; whereas Community action to appropriate flows laws is therefore needed... (Item 8, pg. 2)

The Directive

The body of the Directive is itself divided into seven chapters, with a coda of final provisions, encompassing a total of 34 articles. The first five articles set up the objective, provide definitions of terms, delineate the scope of the Directive, discuss the applicability of national law, and the like. Article 6, however, sets out the relevant principles of fair information practices, stating that information needed to be, a) processed fairly and lawfully, b) collected for specific, explicit, and legitimate reasons, and c) be adequate, relevant and not excessive in relation to those reasons. Immediately afterward, the article provides for a series of exceptions, including proper use by legal authorities, when it is done for the good of the subject of the data, and the like.

Articles 10, 11, and 12 also deal with fair information practices, and outline the rights of the data subject to be informed about the data that is being collected. Article 10 deals with data collection where the data is being obtained from the data subject. It mandates that the Member States will "provide that the controller or his representative must provide a data subject" with information concerning: a) the identity of the controller, b) the purposes for which the data is being collected and processed, and c) other information like the categories of recipients of the data, whether replies to the questions are obligatory, and the possible consequences if the subject fails to reply; d) the existence of the right of access and to rectify data errors.

Article 11 deals with the same material, and outlines the same rights under those cases where the material is not being obtained from the data subject. Article 12 then outlines the right of access, which mandates that controllers shall make available to individuals, without undue delay or expense: a) confirmation whether data concerning that person is indeed being processed, b) communication in intelligible form about the nature of the data being processed, and c) knowledge of the logic involved in the automatic processing of data. Also, the article insures that when it is appropriate, the controller will have to rectify, block, or erase any data that does not comply with the Directive, especially in the case of inaccurate data, and then notify any third parties of this rectification.

Article 14 extends this right of access with a delineation of the subject's right to object to any perceived misuse of personal data. Article 15 further expands these rights by granting persons the right not to be the subject of decisions relating to them (e.g., work performance, creditworthiness, and the like) and that were made automatically through some kind of decision making software. Such decisions, according to the article, will not be permitted to have legal power. Articles 16 and 17 mandate proper security for collected personal data, while articles 22, 23, and 24 outline the legal remedies, liability, and penalties for not complying with the provisions of the Directive.

The celebrated Article 25 has been the sticking point for the entire Directive, since it concerns the transfer of personal data to third countries, i.e., non-Member States.

Member states shall provide that the transfer to a third country of personal data which are undergoing processing or are intended for processing after transfer may take place only if, without prejudice to compliance with the national provisions adopted pursuant to the other provisions of this Directive, the third country in question ensures an adequate level of protection.

The adequacy of the level of protection afforded by a third country shall be assessed in the light of all the circumstances surrounding a data transfer operation or set of data transfer operations; particular consideration shall be given to the nature of the data, the purpose and duration of the proposed processing operation or operations, the country of origin and country of final destination, the rules of law, both general and sectoral, in force in the third country in question and the professional rules and security measures which are complied with in those countries.

It is this article that has spurred most of the opposition to the Directive, and has placed the European Union into an adversarial position with respect to some of its trading partners. It can be safe to say that the Directive has been threatening

to some of those partners, especially those with a strong investment in trading with the European Union.

Finally, Article 26 outlines a series of derogations, or exceptions that would allow information to flow across European Union boundaries in spite of the strictures of Article 25. These would include those times when the data subject gives "unambiguous consent" to the transfer, or if the transfer is necessary for the performance of a contract, or when the transfer is necessary for the public interest, and the like. One exception that many U.S. companies are counting on is found in the second paragraph of the Article, which empowers Member States to authorize a transfer at those times when the controller produces "sufficient guarantees with respect to the protection of the privacy and fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals." This fairly ambiguous provision allows non-European Union nations to create a number of self-regulatory schema that would in turn pass muster with the Directive.

Article 27 deals with codes of conduct, while Article 28 sets up a Supervisory Authority and Articles 29 and 30 a Working Party of experts to be involved in the daily operation of the Directive.

IV. Expected Effects of the Directive on International Trade

Banisar, David. (1998, June 29). The Privacy Threat to Electronic Commerce. Communications Week International. http://www.totaltele.com/cwi/206news13.html (1998, July 19)

Davies, Simon. (1998, May). Europe to US: No Privacy, No Trade. Wired 6.05. Available also: http://www.wired.com/wired/6.05/europe.html (1998, October 24).

Gogan, Janis L. (1998, September 28). Next Up: European Privacy—Oct. 24 Marks the Beginning of Europe's New Rules on Privacy. Is Your Business Ready? *Information Week.* Issue 702. Section: Behind the News. http://www.techweb.com/se/directlink.cgi?IWK19980928S0077> (1998, October 6)

McCullaugh, Declan. (1998, October 22). US Twitchy on European Union Data Privacy. Wired News. http://www.wired.com/news/print_version/business/story/15671.html (1998, October 22).

Swire, Peter, & Robert E. Litan. (1998a). None of Your Business: World Data Flows, Electronic Commerce, and the European Privacy Directive. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.

Swire, Peter, & Robert E. Litan (1998b, February). Avoiding a Showdown Over European Union Privacy Laws. Brookings Institute Policy Brief No. 29.

http://www.brookings.org/ES/POLICY/polbrf29.htm (1998, October 14).

At this writing, the first global debate on the question of privacy is beginning to heat up. The deadline for the Directive, October 24, will have already passed by the time this article goes to press. The two major combatants are Europe and the United States, and a first shot is about to be fired over the Directive's Articles 25 and 26. Any company that trades with other companies in the European Union, and passes data back and forth across the European Union boundary, whether that information is about clients or about employees. will be affected. Moreover, any company with a global intranet, i.e., its own information network, that passes information across that border, will also be affected. For example, American Airlines has already lost a lawsuit, according to Declan McCullaugh (1998), and can no longer transfer information on its customers from Sweden to the United States within its SABRE reservation system, because it was argued, the United States has "inadequate" privacy protection. The question is just how much it will cost for companies to comply with the new regulation As David Banisar (1998) states:

The European Union directive poses the biggest challenge to the United States. The few privacy laws in the United States have been aptly described as a 'patchwork of holes.' There are no national legal protections for medical records and most financial information. Potentially, all flows of personal information could be cut off by Brussels. At a minimum, it will cause disruptions and uncertainty in relations on a variety of levels. This uncertainty will likely cost billions of dollars in lost sales and legal fees. (Introduction)

According to McCullaugh (1998), quoting economist John Calfee speaking at the libertarian Cato Institute, "If we were to sweep away the advances in targeted marketing, we reduce the welfare of consumers," said Calfee. The gist of Calfee's argument is that the European Union Directive is comparable to a protectionist trade barrier. Peter Swire & Robert Litan (1998b), in a Policy Brief put out by the Brookings Institute, claims that the Directive could quite likely set off a trade war between Europe and the United States. The European Union, they claim, will probably not issue any sweeping finding labeling the United States privacy protections to be inadequate en masse. Nevertheless, the European Union is likely to "demonstrate its seriousness about the Directive by initially singling out one or more U.S. companies or sectors as not meeting the adequacy test and thus subject to the data transfer prohibition of the Directive." (What Will the European Union Decide?)

How far this will eventually go is anybody's guess. There is much at risk here. According to Simon Davies (1998), "the future of banking, credit card transactions, electronic commerce, and government business" could all be affected. The future will largely depend on how other countries, especially those with "inadequate" privacy policies react to the Directive. At present, the view does not look too promising. Washington, according to Davies (1998), has decided to stonewall any accommodation with European ideas on privacy, refusing at the same time to allow the Directive to affect trade. However, if the Europeans remain adamant about this policy, the United States may find itself embroiled in a nasty trade war.

V. Potential Responses to the Question of Adequacy

Burkert, Herbert. (1997b). Privacy Enhancing Technologies: Typology, Critique, Vision. *Technology and Privacy: The New Landscape*. Philip E. Agre & Marc Rotenberg (Eds.) Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

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There are several types of alternative self-regulatory schemes currently being bandied about in the debate over the European Union Directive. The question of self-regulation of corporate behavior is at the heart of the entire debate. It remains to be seen whether this "third way" (as opposed to pure market forces or government regulation) will work. The first attempt at market self-regulation, i.e., TrustE, has largely failed, and the second, namely the Platform for Privacy Preferences (P3P) is already coming under fire (Craddock (1998); Oakes (1998a); Oakes (1998b); Electronic Privacy Information Center (1998), Varney (1998)).

One of the chief arguments against any legal scheme is that legislation, always glacial compared to the flash flood of technological development, is poorly equipped by its territorially based responsibilities to regulate a global electronic information infrastructure (Reidenberg, 1997). An alternative solution, understandably in favor with the "ecommerce" community, is the development of what Herbert Burkert (1997) calls "Privacy-Enhancing Technologies (PETs), i.e. technologically-based self-regulatory mechanisms like P3P. [Ed. note: "ecommerce" refers to the exchange of money across an electronic network,

e.g. purchasing books via a website — such as amazon.com or barnes&noble.com.]

In P3P and the earlier TrustE, the scheme turns on a website's stated privacy policy. TrustE, an attempt at industry self-regulation that most observers agree has largely failed, tried to set a standard for internet privacy policies that companies would sign onto, and then would receive the TrusteE seal on their website, much like the Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval for the Internet. Few companies signed on, however, and it has been widely acknowledged that the TrustE's enforcement procedures were inadequate.

The next attempt at technological self-regulation followed quickly after the first, with the development of ICE, the Information Content and Exchange protocol, using the extensible Markup Language to create a new standard of exchange for the business use of personal data. It was followed by the development by the World Wide Web Consortium of P3P, a protocol that gives users some choice as to which information they will divulge to a Web site. (Rein, 1998). According to Chris Oakes' article in *Wired News* (1998c) entitled "Privacy as Computer Language," "a P3P-compatible browser would automatically detect a Web site's privacy policy and release or not release

the user's personal information accordingly." Where P3P has run into a few snags has been in the area of user education. Chris Oakes, in "The Trouble with P3P" (1998a), states that the tricky part of developing privacy software is getting users to understand it without it overwhelming them and souring them on the use of the Web.

The problem with both of these solutions is that once personal information has been given out, and in lieu of government regulation of the type the European Union Directive has tried to establish, there may be nothing keeping a Web site from "over-disclosing" such information. In other words, what's to keep a company from breaking their agreements An individual divulges personal information because a company's privacy policy is strong enough to trust it with it, and then the company surreptitiously sells the information to a third party. Unless there is some kind of legal repercussion for breaking their own policy, there might be enough economic incentive for a company to do so. It may be countered that only a few companies would be so unwise, because to do so would open them up to serious litigation for misrepresentation and unfair practices. Furthermore, it would be in a company's best

interest to be able to advertise its strong privacy policy and its good record of adherence, much like the Swiss banks (Swire & Litan, 1998a).

On the other hand, it would only take a small percentage of rogue companies to spoil the scheme, even with a mechanism like P3P involved, because the whole of ecommerce is built on the trust one can place in invisible entities. Trust is difficult enough among people who live on the same block, but it does happen, certainly enough for trade to occur. Nevertheless, for trust to be given on a large scale to invisible organizations is increasingly difficult as the percentage of trust needed increases.

Certainly, most people are used to using credit cards; some have even shopped the Web, but that is to some degree because credit card companies offer hefty safeguards against theft. If personal information is to be traded back and forth, then people will want strict controls over how this is accomplished. For trust of this level to be built, the market will have to achieve a very high level of compliance. Otherwise, after only a few high-profile corporate cheaters have been caught that trust could evaporate like a morning mist, and would take much of ecommerce along with it.

VI. Recent Research

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As stated above, the Directive of the European Union is new enough that academic journals have not had time to catch up. Most of the available research can be found on the World Wide Web, and is limited largely to lawyers and scholars of public policy. Scholars of Communication will note these developments soon enough, I believe, because they could represent an historic turn in the manner in which information practices are carried out, and therefore the manner in which organizations communicate.

Certainly, the Directive is part of a new environment for the discussion of privacy protection. In this writer's opinion, one of the best anthologies that discuss this new environment is Technology and Privacy: The New Landscape, by Philip E. Agre and Marc Rotenberg. A characteristic of this new landscape is that law and technology may actually begin to work together, rather than as adversaries. For example, one of the more interesting ideas to come out of this controversy, certainly as a possible way in which the European Union Directive could more easily be responded to, is the idea of Privacy Enhancing Technologies. Actually, this idea has been around a little while, especially in the theoretical work of David Chaum (1985, 1986, 1990, 1992) that will allow data processing to continue without making personal identifications. That is, information can be gathered, processed, churned, mined, what have you, without the use of universal identifiers, or rather, where those identifiers are held in highly encrypted special files, so that personal identities cannot be connected with the data being processed. There would, of course, be exceptions, but these would occur under conditions of due process.

Herbert Burkert

A major champion of this technological approach is Herbert Burkert (1997a, 1997b, 1998a, 1998b), a lawyer and public policy scholar from Switzerland. For Burkert, the way to protect privacy in the future is marry the idea of privacy with the idea of anonymity. In a computer mediated world, privacy is not necessarily the power to give away or withhold certain information about oneself, but rather the power to give away or withhold the fact that that information indeed refers to you.

Thus, in some ways, the Directive may well serve to spark a new way of thinking in regard to privacy protection, one that marries law with technology. Some of the newer ideas being developed seem to support that notion.

Peter Swire & Robert Litan

Peter Swire (1996, 1997), a law professor at Ohio State University, has written on privacy issues for some time, notably his 1997 critique entitled "The Uses and Limits of Financial Cryptography: A Law Professor's Perspective," which criticized the efficacy of purely

technologically-based privacy schemes that rely on encryption-protected anonymity.

His recent book with economist Robert E. Litan, entitled None of Your Business: World Data Flows, Electronic Commerce, and the European Privacy Directive (1998a), published by the Brookings Institution, analyses the Directive in terms of law and its potential impact on trade, and then proposes what the authors see as a fairly reasonable alternative to global legislation, i.e. the development of self-regulatory mechanisms based on contract law. For Swire and Litan, this approach unites the best of many possible worlds into a workable scheme for self-regulatory protection of privacy, a feature of the social landscape that they find far superior to government

mandates.

Susan Gindlin

Susan Gindlin has written two interesting articles on the issue of international data flow: "Lost and Found in Cyberspace: Informational Privacy in the Age of the Internet" (1997a), and "As the Cyber-World Turns: The European Union's Data Protection Directive and Trans-border Flows of Personal Data" (1997b). Both of these articles summarize the issues and lay out the arguments for a more activist response from government agencies. The author also offers a summary of privacy policies outside the U.S.-E.U. corridor.

VII. Appendix: National Policies Outside the European Union

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The international reaction to the European Union Directive has been varied. Many nations, especially those lacking the infrastructure needed to gather, collect and, most significantly, process personal information through computer systems, have simply not been involved in the controversy. According to the Global Internet Liberty Campaign's recent report *Privacy and Human Rights: An International Survey of Privacy Laws and Practices* (1998), "Nearly every country in the world recognizes privacy as a fundamental human right in their constitution, either explicitly or

implicitly. Most recently drafted constitutions include specific rights to access and control one's personal information." (Executive Summary).

For many countries, privacy issues are raised at a more fundamental level. In those countries where search and seizure laws are routinely ignored by the government, or where the rights of the individual are not recognized, the question of fair information practices is not often raised. Those countries where electronic commerce is either already a dominant force, or is a growing force, as in the United States, have responded with varying

degrees of resistance. For those countries that believe that a general privacy policy is against free trade, the European Union's Directive has become a sore point.

Argentine Republic

According to the report by the Global Internet Liberty Campaign, in December of 1996, The Argentine Congress passed a law that protected personal information "recorded in data files, registers, banks or other electronic or manual technical means of data treatment, in order to guarantee the honor and privacy of persons, as well as the access to the information that may be recorded about such persons." (Argentine Republic). The law was duly passed but then was vetoed by the President upon intervention by the Central Bank.

In general, the Argentine Republic has been plagued by wiretapping scandals throughout the transition to democratic rule. The President's switchboard was widely bugged, as was the office of the Archdiocese of Formosa. Local politics has been rife with accusations and counter-accusations of illegal wiretapping.

Australia

Australia has traditionally taken a mid-way course between the type of policy espoused by the United States and the type of policy espoused by the European Union. During the middle 1990's, most participants, both privacy advocates and industry representatives, promoted a policy they labeled "co-regulatory," which was a mix between government regulation and industry self-regulation. Whether this midway position would ever pass muster with the European Union Directive remains to be seen. Most participants at this time held that privacy regulation had to go beyond the regulation of possible government abuses to include the private sector as well.

Their plan for accomplishing this, the policy of "co-regulation," as Roger Clarke (1998) pointed out, began with "industry codes of practice that were developed in consultation with the Privacy Commissioner and administered by the industry, supervised by the privacy Commissioner, and subject to statutory backing."

This approach, according to Clarke, had the support of both major parties, which adopted it as part of their respective platforms. In September 1996, the Attorney General issued a white paper, outlining the initiative. Then, on March 1, 1997, the Prime Minister reversed the policy in a simple, four paragraph press release, announcing that there would be no regulation of the private sector in the near future, and citing the cost of compliance as his reason for backing off of the legislation. This announcement was made without consultation with his Cabinet, or with the Attorney General or the Privacy Commissioner. According to Clarke "It would appear that the Prime Minister was captured by a narrow and uninformed lobby group, most likely the major banks."

Currently a meeting of privacy groups is being held to try to get the legislation moving again.

Brazil

In 1996, the Brazilian Senate proposed a bill on data privacy that would conform to the OECD guidelines and the principles of the European Union. The bill states that: "No personal data nor information shall be disclosed, communicated, or transmitted for purposes different than those that led to structuring such data registry or database, without express authorization of the owner." Furthermore, "It is forbidden to gather, register, archive, process, and transmit personal data referring to: ethnic origin, political or religious beliefs, physical or mental health, sexual life, police or penal records, family issues, except family relationship, civil status, and marriage system."

Once more: "Every citizen is entitled to, without any charge, access his/her personal data, stored in data registries or databases, and correct, supplement, or eliminate such data, and be informed by data registry or database managers of the existence of data regarding his/her person." (Global Internet Liberty Campaign, 1998). This law would affect both government and private sectors, but this bill has yet to be voted on.

Brazil does have the 1990 Code of consumer Protection and Defense already in place, which protects many of the rights protected in the new law. It also has a 1996 bill regulating wiretapping, allowing official wiretaps for 15 days, but a number of wiretapping scandals over the illegitimate use of this technology have also occurred.

Canada

As with the United States, the Canadian constitution has no explicit right to privacy, except by way of a right to be free from unreasonable search and seizure. However, since 1983, the Canadian Parliament has passed the Privacy Act and the Access to Information Act, the first regulating the collection, correction, disclosure, retention, and use of personal information, the second giving individuals the right of access to personal and non-personal information. These laws apply to the public sector, but the government has promised to pass a new privacy act that will cover issues in the private sector by 2000. This bill was expected to be proposed by October, 1998, the same month that the European Union Directive went into effect.

China

According to the Country Reports on Human Rights, published by the United States' State Department (1997), and excerpted by Privacy International, China's attempts at economic liberalization have created a number of paradoxes for itself. While the government is actively promoting the growth of Internet access (there are almost 10,000 users in Beijing) it also seeks to restrict access of its citizens to certain sites that have been deemed to be against the security interests of the nation. These sites would mostly include those for western news organizations and various advocacy groups.

The 1982 Chinese Constitution guaranteed freedom and privacy of correspondence to its citizens, but nevertheless the government regularly taps the telephones, fax transmissions, email, and Internet communications of foreigners, including diplomats, journalists, and businessmen. Certainly, in such a situation, the application of fair information practices in any real way, and not just on paper, is some time away.

India

No explicit right of privacy exists in the Indian

Constitution of 1950, although the Supreme Court in 1966 has ruled that the right does exist in implicit form. There are also no general privacy laws in India, according to the Global Internet Liberty Campaign.

On the other hand, a National Taskforce on IT (Information Technology) and Software Development, which was established in May of 1998, has called for an action plan in order to create a new national policy on the security of information and on data protection. A new law is expected to be drafted by the last part of 1998.

Israel

Israel has already passed the Protection of Privacy Law of 1981 which regulates personal information collection and processing into data banks by ordering the registration of all data banks. This Act is in turn enforced by a government agency, the Registrar of Databases, which exists as part of the Ministry of Justice. This Registrar has the power to deny registration to any database that it suspects is collecting and using information illegally.

Japan

The Japanese government passed the 1988 Act for the Protection of Computer Processed Personal Data Held by Administrative Organs. This law regulates the use of personal information held in government databases, and is built along the OECD guidelines.

In June 1998, the Prime Minster signed an agreement with the United States to establish self-regulation mechanisms for privacy protection in the private sector. In this way, the Japanese government has opted for the American sectoral model, with the exception of industries that deal in highly confidential material.

New Zealand

New Zealand has taken a position much like that of the United States and Australia. That is to say, attempts to create a general privacy policy like that being promulgated by the European Union have been patchy at best. Barry Wilson's (1992) report on privacy law in New Zealand outlined a controversy that was beginning over the introduction of national, compulsory "kiwi" cards, partly to be used for health care.

The concern in New Zealand was over the use of information matching practices, and over the internal transfer of data from one government office to another. In fact, much of this concern has been confirmed through scandal, when a government official was caught selling information.

United States

Perhaps the most powerful opposition to the Directive has come from the United States. As David Banisar (1998) has said, since the 1970's, the U.S. government's privacy policy has "fallen into a coma." In a very real way, the United States has been the poster child for the idea of self-regulation in the information industry.

However, to date, only 112 companies have taken out licenses with TrustE, a highly promoted organization for self-regulation on the Web. On the other hand, information scandals follow one another like storm cells. TRW and Equifax credit bureaus have been sued for passing on erroneous data. Pharmacy chains have been caught selling medical records to pharmaceutical companies. American Express was caught selling lists of its card users to telemarketers.

All the while, the United States government has initiated a lobbying campaign aimed at European Union officials, trying to force them to step back from the Directive's stated policy. According to David Banisar (1998), "the White House has sent envoys around the world to push other countries, such as Japan, to not adopt privacy laws. They have threatened to take the European Union to the World Trade Organization, even though GATT specifically exempts privacy laws."

In the end, the opposition of the Unites States may have deleterious effects on electronic trade, a result which the US, in its self-regulatory policy, has been specifically trying to avoid. Paradoxically, the more that this conflict affects trade the greater the likelihood that a global information policy will eventually be adopted, because it will become apparent to all that differences in privacy policy may in fact be more harmful to trade than anything else.

Perspective

Many interpretations of the actions taken by the European Union come down to a difference of opinion over government regulation versus self-regulation. These discussions while interesting often seem to miss a point somewhere. Self-regulatory schemes, for example, can only work when sitting before a horizon of law, tort law if nothing else. Self-regulation can never be free of legal constraints because those very constraints form the context within which the schemes are free to act. If I make an agreement with someone else, and there are no laws out there to give structure to that agreement, then I have no recourse beyond violence if my partner breaks our agreement. Moreover, when we take off beyond the boundaries of any one nation and fly into the stratosphere of international trade, the social context in which we operate exists at the level of rather than individuals or corporations. Unless there can be some kind of global agreement over privacy rights, then any

self-regulatory scheme, no matter how comprehensive, may prove inadequate to the task.

In essence, for all their flaws, international legal agreements may be the only viable context for selfregulation, and the kind of government regulation that the European Union has put into effect may be the only live option. So far, the track record for self-regulation in Internet industries has been dismal, to the point that even some of the most avid supporters of such schemes have begun to question their efficacy. These schemes are most often well intentioned, and in a perfect world, the business world could run in greased grooves, and every agreement would be upheld, and there would be no need for government regulation. Sadly, however, the payoff for cheating, for finding creative workarounds for any contractual agreement is simply too high. What is more, no selfregulatory scheme could ever comprehensive enough, global enough, adequately protect the rights of citizens. In a global economy, anything less than global law may fall short of the mark.

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Acknowledgements: "Privacy..."

Richard Joseph (Murdoch, W. Australia)

Afterword

By W. E. Biernatzki, SJ, Editor, Communication Research Trends

Marshall McLuhan once said that we live in a "global village," a world made small by the proliferation of electronic communications media, in which neighbors half a world away may be just as involved in our lives as those in the house next door to ours. Many have felt that McLuhan's description has to be taken "with a grain of salt," since electronic communication is not the same as the face-to-face communication of our daily lives in our local communities.

One trait of a "village," often overlooked by those who might want to idealize small-town life, is that everybody knows everybody else's business. There is little privacy in a village, compared to that in an anonymous city; and a villager who tries to seek refuge from prying neighbors often is stigmatized as a "recluse," or at least a little bit "strange," by other members of the community.

The electronic threats to privacy described in the materials reviewed by Dr. Connor and anticipated by the European Privacy Directive may, in spite of McLuhan's critics, be bringing at least this one negative aspect of village life into actuality on a global scale. They constitute one among many byproducts of the globalization accompanying the growth of communication and transportation

technologies which threaten serious disruption to privacy and other human values. Furthermore, lack of worldwide control mechanisms has created sanctuaries from which such threats can operate around the world with relative impunity.

Despite the good example shown by the European Union, governments cannot always be counted on to limit those threats because the governments, themselves, often are controlled by economic interests whose only value is the "bottom line," regardless of how much damage those interests' greed causes to human well-being. Certainly, private businesses cannot be expected to control themselves when controls would restrict their profits. Even if their executive officers recognize moral deficiencies in lucrative company policies they see their primary responsibility as earning the highest possible profit for their stockholders, who can fire them at will. In most cases businesses, such as banks, credit agencies, merchandisers, and others who make the greatest use of data transfers, and make the greatest profits from them, must be forced by some supervening authority or by external economic coercion to respect the right to privacy, along with other fundamental human rights.

The burden for developing a moral consensus in this area therefore devolves upon church people, academics, and other disinterested individuals and groups, which have both the freedom and a special obligation to speak up for what is right, not merely for what is lucrative. Religious communicators and other religious authorities share in this responsibility in a special way, and should do everything in their power, first to bring their own data practices into line with the just demands of

individual human rights, and then to support the development of international mechanisms that will help protect individual privacy and personal integrity and dignity, from threats posed to them by private enterprises as well as by government agencies. Concerted, consistent pressure from the non-governmental, non-profit sector is essential to herd governments and business in the right direction regarding this and other issues affecting human rights and human dignity.

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Radio: Some Supplementary Remarks

By W. E. Biernatzki, SJ

With a section on Iberoamerica by Daniel E. Jones, PhD

Due to deadline pressures, the last issue of *Trends* (Vol. 17, No. 4), on "Radio," did not contain a "Current Research" section. In an effort to make up for that deficiency, some additional comments about radio, including a bit on the relatively small amount of research currently in progress, seems necessary.

Latin America, Spain and Portugal

Daniel E. Jones of the Department of Journalism, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain, has contributed the following article on the development of radio in Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula with an extensive bibliography on the subject. The English translation is by the editor. Unfortunately, space limitations permit the inclusion of only the most recent of the bibliographic references, which will be incorporated into the "Bibliography" section, below.

Studies About Iberoamerican Radio in the 90s By Daniel E. Jones

The first radio broadcasts in the Iberoamerican region began in the same period as in the United

States and Europe. Some of the oldest that still exist today are the following: "Club de Pernambuco" (Pernambuco [Brazil], "Chilena" (Santiago [Chile], 1921). Espectador" (Montevideo, 1923), "Radio Barcelona" (Barcelona, 1924), "Broadcasting National Hits" (Santo Domingo, 1924), Province of Buenos Aires (La Plata [Argentina], 1925), "El Prado" (Riobamba [Ecuador], 1925), El Salvador (San Salvador, 1926), "Chuquisaca" (La Paz, 1928), "Monumental" (San José, Costa Rica, 1929), and "Progreso" (Havana, 1929).

The appearance of this new medium of communication was marked by the entrance of and domination by North American or European models and capital, adapted to Latin America or the Iberian Peninsula. In effect, for thirty years, Latin American radio received major investments from the great networks of the United States: ABC, NBC, and CBS. And that tendency was accentuted and consolidated in the seventies with the general spread of television channels, above all in the great markets such as Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina.

So, the organization of radio and television in Latin America copies the privatization model almost completely established in the United States. And the majority of the available resources, as much on the side of investment and advertising as on that of the products (programs, scripts, news, music, etc.), came from North American enterprises. The dependency of the media and information of the whole region with respect to the United States has been reaffirmed with the exchanges of the most recent decades. In Spain and Portugal, on the contrary, and due above all to the Franco and Salazar dictatorships, the model implanted was a mixture (public and private), of a commercial character although with a very important weighting for the party in power and the Catholic Church.

During the eighties, the expansion of radio was very notable, both in Latin America and in the Iberian Peninsula. Radio has practically total and continuous coverage, being the medium with the largest audience — with television — especially thanks to the introduction of low-cost transistors from Japan, at the start of the seventies.

Radio has exercised a proper and popular role in many of the large rural areas. For example, in the last twenty years, according to UNESCO and EFE data, the number of Latin American radio stations went from 4,000 in 1975 to 7,500 at present, and the index of receivers per thousand inhabitants rose from 180 to 350, although with great differences among the different countries.

The great majority of the stations are local or regional, and nearly all private property. Music, radio dramas dominate and programming, and radio information is of variable quality and objectivity. Information production tends to be highly centralized, with local bulletins which frequently are a reworking of the national bulletins. Community radio also is regaining an important role: ALER, established with the support of the Catholic Church in 1972, forms one group of sixty local community radio stations, which have opted for programs of popular education, professional formation and agricultural extension.

In contrast, in Spain and in Portugal private initiative every time has acquired a very significant role — mediating the forms of the great national networks — and radio with a commercial character has the most acceptance among the audience. In the same way, stations with a public, regional and local character have arisen which have an important weight, especially in Catalonia.

Iberoamerican scholars have been interested in the analysis of radio broadcasting since its beginning, and they published books about the media in the twenties and thirties, especially in Spain and in Argentina. In this sense, [one can] cite the Spanish technical manuals published in the twenties by Balsera, Escanciano, Mata Lloret, Manuel Ortega y Gasset, Palacios, Riñón Melgar, Riu, Roa Sáenz, Rodríguez Guerra and Yesares Blanco, and the first books of historical, political, and cultural analysis: The Radio in Our House, by Alexandre Forcades (Barcelona, 1933); The Triumph of Radio in Catalonia, by Ramon Pérez i Vilar (Barcelona 1933); and The History of Radio Broadcasting in Spain by Virgilio Soria (Madrid 1935).

It is certain that the number of books, doctoral theses or academic articles on radio is much fewer than those on the press, television, or cinema, owing above all to [the fact that] it is very difficult to gather together primary documentation. In the most recent years there have been many studies of a historical and local character (above all in Spain) and, in smaller number studies of an economic, political, structural and international character. In Latin America, too, analyses of popular, alternative, and educational broadcasts stand out.

Following is a selection of books, doctoral theses, and academic articles published between 1990 and 1998 on Iberoamerican radio broad-casting, although with a clear Spanish dominance. When it is possible, the professional orientation or specialization of the author, or editorial directions as to where the doctoral thesis can be consulted or the book or journal acquired are respectively included.

[Editor's Note: Several recent titles from the bibliography are included in the listings below. The full, 26-page list, in the original languages can be obtained by writing to *Trends*. If you have email, we can send it free; but if you want hard copy please include US\$5.00 for postage and handling (Visa or MasterCard preferred: be sure to include card number, expiration date, and your name, address and signature.)]

The Survival of Radio

Although radio seems threatened with extinction due to competition from several new technologies — including television for nearly half a century, and more recently the Internet — it remains the medium with the most universal coverage. It is especially important at the local level, with a

perspective which no centralized or network broadcasting can equal. Bruce Girard, writing from a Latin American point of view, notes that

while only a very few television stations produce even 20% of their own programmes, most radio production has tended to be created locally and live. Radio, more than any other mass communication medium, speaks in the language and with the accent of its community" (Girard 1998: 3).

The same author goes on to describe ways in which the Internet can be used to enhance local radio programming, rather than threatening it. For example, programming in Quechua, the language of 10 million South Americans, is being produced and distributed by Internet to local stations in Quechua-speaking areas at minimal cost. This application of new technologies, rather than homogenizing media content in ways damaging to local cultures, "shows us that this homogenised world doesn't have to be the only option. There are still possibilities for pluralism and difference" (Girard 1998: 5).

United States

Audience 98

One of the biggest research projects on radio currently underway in the United States is "Audience 98," which has been described as "the most comprehensive study ever conducted with reference to public radio." The principal researcher for Audience 98 is David Giovannoni, of the firm, Audience Research Analysis, which is producing a year-long series of national reports about public radio. Abundant information on Audience 98 is available at http://www.aranet.com. Audience 98 research reports for local stations are being produced by Walrus Research, under the direction of Professor George Bailey, of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. Information on that phase can be obtained from

<walrusresearch@compuserve.com>.

An Overview

Perspectives on Radio and Television: Telecommunication in the United States — Fourth Edition, by F. Leslie Smith, John W. Wright II, and David H. Ostroff. Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998. Pp. xix, 735. ISBN 0-8058-2092-2 (hb.) \$49.95.

The fourth edition of this introductory textbook was received after our "radio" issue of *Trends* was published but its comprehensive treatment of the subject urges us to call it to the attention of *Trends*' readers. The three authors all are at the University of Florida, Gainesville, and can be reached through their respective e-mail addresses: LeSmith@ufl.edu JWright@jou.ufl.edu and DOstroff@jou.ufl.edu.

Portions of the book specifically on radio include chapter 2 (history), and chapters 10 and 11 (physics and technology), but many other portions integrate their discussion of radio with that of television. Chapter 11 includes a brief discussion of the prospect of digital audio radio broadcasting, noting that digital broadcasting is well suited to direct-broadcast satellite transmission, and a 30 channel nationwide system has been proposed, but that existing American broadcasters are opposed to the authorization of such a system. Instead, "they favor a system known as in-band on-channel (IBOC), in which broadcasters will use a portion of their allocated channel to transmit a digital signal," or IBAC (in-band adjacent channel), "which would allow stations to use vacant frequencies next to their own." But the authors doubt the feasibility of the last two alternatives (pg. 343).

Part II, "Creative and Informational Perspectives," discusses production, programming, news, and commercials. Part IV, "Legal and Ethical Perspectives," concentrates on United States communication law. For example, chapter 15 is on "Electronic Mass Media and the First Amendment." Chapter 16, on ethics and self-regulation, contains more generally applicable principles, but also is heavily geared to the American context (pp. 455-468).

Part V, "Economic Perspectives" (pp. 471-579), also deals primarily with factors characterizing American commercial broadcasting. Table 17.1 (pg. 472) compares advertising expenditures for different U.S. media in 1994. While \$24,612,000,000 was spent on broadcast television advertising, and \$11,744.600,000 on newspaper advertising, only \$1,872,100,000 was spent on radio advertising, with less than one-third of that

going for network radio advertising.

Part VI, "Comparative Perspective," includes chapters devoted to noncommercial broadcasting (pp. 583-601) and "Foreign National and International Radio and Television" (pp. 602-632). The latter examination of "electronic mass media outside the United States" (pg. 602) first presents an analytical model of "five key requirements ... [or] dimensions, that are shared by all national systems of mass communication": control, finance, programming goals, target audiences, and feedback mechanisms (pp. 602-603). Then it looks at domestic broadcasting systems - using the United Kingdom, China, India, and the Netherlands as examples. "These systems do not represent the total spectrum of options across each dimension. They do, however, show how four quite different countries use electronic media to serve specific needs" (pg. 604).

Then, in the same chapter, the authors discuss the roles and influence of international organizations, international program markets, multinational media ownership, and international broadcasts. Figure 23.2 (pp. 626-627) lists worldwide assets of two multi-national media conglomerates: Time Warner and that controlled by Rupert Murdoch, including real estate, airlines, theme parks and sports teams, as well as print and electronic media companies.

Part VII gives a "Sociopsychological Perspective," that concentrates almost exclusively on television, implying that radio has a comparatively small impact on audiences, compared with television (pp. 653-688).

Community Radio

CNIRD. 1998. How to Start your Community Radio Station: A Manual on Setting up a Community Radio Station in the Caribbean. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: The Caribbean Network for Integrated Rural Development (CNIRD), 1998. Pp. 117. ISBN 9976-8105-05-4 US\$30.00.

Mediaforum (Aachen: CAMECO, 3/1998, pg. 11) described this book as follows:

This manual gives a profound and serious introduction on how to establish and run a community radio station, also for those starting

from zero. It tackles principal aspects such as main characteristics and the possible benefits of a community radio, helping to clarify the foundations of a future project. At the same time it orientates the reader in very concrete questions. To mention some examples as to what kind of information you can find in this extremely useful manual: ownership models and possible organizational structures, components of the feasibility and the technical study, details on the necessary infrastructure from premises up to details like the studio-transmitter descriptions of the different tasks to run the station, or finally, budgeting and financing strategies.

The manual is written with a Caribbean background for projects in the region, meaning that there are some chapters which specifically refer to the English-speaking Caribbean, e.g. concerning license requirements. But the larger part of the publication is valuable also for other contexts. ... (Frank, 1998).

ITU

One correspondent found deficiencies in our treatment of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), in our issue on "radio." The following, from more recent sources, is hoped to compensate for that lapse.

As was said in the previous issue, the ITU traces its ancestry back to the International Telegraphic Union, founded in 1865. In 1947, it became an agency of the United Nations. It is now one of five UN agencies concerned with specialized aspects of communication. The others are the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), the Universal Postal Union (UPU), the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), and the International Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) (Mowlana 1989: 334). In addition to its General Secretariat, the ITU has three permanent sectors for: Radiocommunications, Telecommunication Standardization, and Telecommunication Development. It also holds a Plenipotentiary Conference every four years, its executive council annually, and it sponsors administrative conferences according to technical need. One crucial function of the Radio Communications Sector is the assignment of segments of the electromagnetic spectrum to each country and for particular uses. A forum for this activity is the World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC) (Britannica 1998: 354).

The growing complexity of telecommunication technologies has greatly complicated the work of the ITU and has led to the establishment of a wide range of organizations to deal with particular questions, including many arising from the use of communication satellites. The ITU nevertheless remains central. In a 1998 conference report alluding to the complex problems it faces, the organization reminded its critics: "As part of the United Nations systems, the ITU is the only existing telecoms institution that has some form of universal, legitimate representation as well as the mandate to address some of these dilemmas" (ITU 1998: 633).

The commercial dimension of electronic

communications is receiving increasing attention from world economic bodies, such as the World Trade Organization, especially in their efforts to negotiate such treaties as the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) (Fredebeul-Krein and Freytag 1997; Tuthill 1997; and Drake and Noam 1997; see also Hudson 1997).

Currently, discussion and debate on such issues has been carried on in an atmosphere of liberalization, privatization, and competition among communications enterprises which was described in positive terms by the ITU Secretary General, in a report to the 1997 World Telecommunication Policy Forum, as central to the promotion of development in many other sectors of the world's economies (Oberst 1998: 740-741).

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Acknowledgements - Radio and General

George Bailey (Milwaukee)
Daniel E. Jones (Barcelona)

Gerhardt Lehmkuhl, SJ (St. Louis)

ΩΩΩΩΩ

Book Reviews

Asamen, Joy Keiko, and Gordon L. Berry (eds.). Research Paradigms, Television, and Social Behavior. Thousand Oaks/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1998. Pp. x, 430. ISBN 0-7619-0654-1 (hb.) \$59.95; 0-7619-0655-X (pb.) \$25.95.

The goal of the editors of this book is to develop ways of integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches in a smoothly articulated approach to doing well-rounded research on television's influence on social behavior — especially that of children. They were motivated to develop the book "out of a recognition that research efforts designed to study the effects of television needed to be bold enough to use a number of models or paradigms in a variety of settings and in a number of creative ways" (pg. ix). They felt that openness to using a range of different research models was necessary to "ascertain the sociopsychological impact that the content, structure, and forms of television are having on viewers" (ibid.). At the same time, they are conscious of the need to maintain a close connection between the theoretical and the practical aspects of both quantitative qualitative methodologies (pg. x).

Most of the seventeen authors of the book's ten chapters, epilogue, and two-part introduction are psychologists or communications scholars from, with one Canadian exception, United States institutions.

The first part of the introduction, by Gordon L. Berry, addresses some of the complexities of studying television, which is, in itself, a highly complex medium (pp. 3-9). In the second section of the introduction, George Comstock reviews the history of television and research about it, highlighting some of the "past problems and present issues" that characterize that research (pp. 11-65). He notes that television in modern Western societies has four attributes that "make it problematic as a focus of the social and behavioral sciences. They are its ubiquity, popularity, cradleto-grave presence, and innovative persons" — the latter trait focusing on the continual innovation and change that typify the medium (pp. 12-17).

The four chapters in Part I discuss quantitative research paradigms, including experimental and quasi-experimental research, with one chapter, by Richard L. Allen, on African-American self-identity (pp. 153-202). He reports on his research, "an exercise in theory construction rather than theory testing," that takes exception to much past theorizing on the subject, which "operated from inappropriate assumptions" (pg. 167).

Part II, on qualitative research paradigms, consists of chapters on "theory and methods of hermeneutic empiricism," and "taking the interpretive turn" of ethnological analysis of the

ways television — and other media — are present and active in people's lives.

The four chapters of Part III, "The Integration of Ouantitative and Qualitative Research Paradigms in the Study of Television," address "the analysis of television content," the implications of the "intersection of instructional television and instruction" for research computer-assisted quality and "evaluating the paradigms, effectiveness of a television series for preschool children," and "studying television violence: a research agenda for the 21st century."

Finally, in her epilogue, Joy Keiko Asamen, remarks on the integral role social scientists who study television have played in the formation of U.S. communication policy, and how they will inevitably continue to act as agents of change.

— WEB

Baugh, Lloyd. Imaging the Divine: Jesus and Christ-Figures in Film. Kansas City, MO: Sheed and Ward, 1997. Pp. x, 337. ISBN 1-55612-863-0 (pb.) \$24.95.

Christ has been represented in art since early in the history of Christianity, and that imaging continues in our own times, most notably in that quintessentially twentieth century art medium, the moving image. Cinema has been the most characteristic manifestation of that art, and is even now unchallenged by television, which can be considered as a broadcasted form of cinema.

Lloyd Baugh, a Jesuit priest and associate professor of film studies and theology at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome, suggests in his "General Introduction" how the representation of Christ has varied in different periods and regions — from the stern "Pancrator" of Byzantium to the often-saccharine statues and pictures of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (pp. vii-viii).

Variety and innovation have become dominating values in the whole range of contemporary art forms, and they are essential to the art of cinema. Films about Christ, "Jesus-films," are no exception to this imperative, and he has been pictured in many ways in the "more than one hundred fifteen films that have treated his life" since the first appearance of the motion picture in the 1890s (pg.

viii). In addition, countless other films have used metaphors of Christ, "Christ-figures," basing characters and plots on gospel stories and themes without explicitly saying so (pp. viii-ix).

Baugh is interested in both these traditions, as well as in full-scale "lives" of Christ, such as DeMille's The King of Kings, Pasolini's The Gospel According to Saint Matthew or Zeffirelli's Jesus of Nazareth. In part one of the book he concentrates on films referring directly to Jesus from passion plays and Biblical epics to offbeat treatments such as Monty Python's The Life of Brian, Jesus Christ Superstar and Martin Scorsese's controversial The Last Temptation of Christ (pg. ix). Part two, with its own set of numbered chapters (1-7, pp. 109-237), "is dedicated to the filmic Christ-figure" (ibid.). Among the films in which Baugh finds Christfigures are productions as varied as Jesus of Montreal, Babette's Feast, La Strada, Nights of Cabiria, Shane, and Dead Man Walking (pp. ix-x).

Those making films directly about Jesus must assume at the outset an attitude vis-a-vis their subject that is determined by the film-maker's own state of belief or non-belief, as well as by nuances of theology and other influences affecting him or her on either side of the faith divide. That attitude, in turn, will affect both the product and the ways different audiences receive it (pp. 3-4). Although comparable predispositions affect cinematic treatments of any subject-matter, the special religious and historical character of Jesus give them special urgency in films about him.

The film-maker's own background is particularly evident in the case of Pier Paolo Pasolini's *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, which "in the minds of most serious critics is still the greatest, the most authentic and 'the most religious film on Jesus ever made'," according to Baugh (pg. 94) quoting Maurizio Viano. Pasolini, a former Communist, was absorbed by his view of Jesus as a revolutionary, and he followed Matthew word for word, as the "most revolutionary" of the evangelists (pg. 95).

The pitfalls in the way of even the bestintentioned serious and innovative film portrayals of Jesus are well exemplified in Scorsese's *Last Temptation of Christ*, which Baugh analyzes at length (pp. 51-71).

Baugh uses his discussion of Jesus of Montreal, which has elements of both the Jesus-film and the

Christ-figure film, "as a bridge between the investigation" of the two genres (pg. 235, referring to pp. 113-129).

Some film characters require considerable analysis to reveal the full significance of their status as "Christ-figures." Among these are two victimized women in Fellini films: Gelsomina, in *La Strada*, and Cabiria, in *Nights of Cabiria* (pp. 130-137).

The author's preference seems to be for film-makers to adopt the Christ-figure mode and for researchers to devote more attention to the rich subject-matter already available in the vast numbers of films that have used Christ-figures in one form or another, some of them not very evident to the casual viewer (pg. 234). Nevertheless, he notes that "there are still a number of Jesus-films that might be researched fruitfully" (*ibid.*). In addition, explicitly Christian Jesus-films might productively be compared with those that see Jesus only as an historical figure, as well as with the "fundamentally inadequate, and at times invalid" Christ-figures of "superheroes," such as Superman and Batman (pg. 235).

References are extensive, but grouped by chapters (pp. 309-330). There are indexes of film-makers (p. 331-333) and film titles (pp. 334-337), but no general index. — WEB

Berger, Arthur Asa. Postmortem for a Postmodernist. Walnut Creek, CA/London/New Delhi: AltaMira (Sage), 1997. Pp. 176. ISBN 0-7619-8910-0 (pb.) \$17.95.

This either is a textbook on postmodernism disguised as a mystery novel or a mystery novel disguised as a textbook on postmodernism. The fact that you can choose to take it as one or the other reflects something of the idea of postmodernism that Berger is trying to put across.

The novel begins with the death of Professor Ettore Gnocchi, a professor at the University of California at Berkeley and "America's most famous postmodernist thinker," during a brief power failure at a dinner party in his home. He seems to have been killed by four different methods at the same time. The suspects are his guests at the dinner table — authorities on various aspects of postmodernism whom he had assembled to help him organize a conference on

postmodernism at the university.

While solving the crime, Police Inspector Solomon Hunter proceeds step-by-step through the maze of postmodern theory, as represented by each fictional suspect and by the ideas of leading reallife postmodernists — introduced by direct quotations from the postmodernists and their commentators and by such mechanisms as letters purportedly written to the real post-modernists by the deceased professor. The direct quotations head each of the twenty-two chapters, which also are enlivened by cartoons drawn by the author. The postmodernists or commentators postmodernism featured include Jean-François Lyotard, Jean Baudrillard, Jürgen Habermas, Fredric Jameson, and Michel Foucault.

The author has the Inspector lead the reader—presumably a student who has been assigned the book to read for an introductory class in postmodernism—through the main post—modern theories as the Inspector himself tries to unravel both the theories and the murder mystery.

Berger denies at the outset that he translated the book from the Bulgarian, or some other original language: "I wrote this book. It is an original work and not a translation. It is a book only I could have written. It is a book, some would suggest, that only I would have wanted to write" (pg. 8).

Perhaps it is no accident that Berger, recently retired from his professorship at San Francisco State University, has centered the book's action at UC-Berkeley.

— WEB

Borden, Diane L., and Kerric Harvey (eds.). The Electronic Grapevine: Rumor, Reputation, and Reporting in the New On-Line Environment. Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998. Pp. vi, 199. ISBN 0-8058-2171-6 (hb.) \$49.95; 0-8058-2172-4 (pb.) \$29.95.

In the past decade the Internet has revolutionized interpersonal distance communication for many. It can provide instant contact and instant information reaching to the furthest corners of the earth. At the same time, the quality of information being communicated is often doubtful, and the potential is high for on-line deception.

In their Preface, the editors introduce some of the special problems use of the Internet poses for

journalists. They review how hard it has been "to do journalism well" even under conditions that have prevailed in the past,

when you can actually get your hands on what it takes to do so, when you can read and re-read that press release, or sense that your interview subject is lying... Imagine the quantum leap when, suddenly everything physical goes out of it. When information stops being concrete; when you're not even sure, in fact, that the people with whom you're communicating are really who they say they are while you are in the act of communicating with them! And when all of this occurs within a transmission medium that carries with it the implicit credibility of computer technology... the most uncertain of informationgathering techniques becomes linked to the most authoritative of linking media — the computer. (pp. 2-3)

The intent of the book is not to divorce the American press from its on-line sources, but it does seek to explore the implications on-line news gathering has for journalism.

The fourteen authors are mostly academics at U.S. universities, but many have past or concurrent journalistic experience. They have contributed twelve papers, which the editors have grouped under three section headings: "Rumor," "Reputation," and "Reporting."

Under "Rumor," John E. Newhagen and Mark R. Levy speculate about the future of journalism in a changed media architecture in which journalists have lost their formerly nearly exclusive power to filter the news and present it according to professional criteria. They now face a situation in which almost everyone can disseminate news or pseudo-news with or without professional training, news sense, or ethical standards.

In the same section, Susanna Horning Priest points out the inadequacy of using the Internet either to sample public opinion or to solicit expert opinions. She advocates the promotion of "computer literacy," parallel to "media literacy," in an effort to "maintain the integrity of our information system" (pp. 28-29).

Advertising on-line is addressed by Wendy S. Williams, who is concerned about "the blurring of the line between advertising and journalism" (pp. 31-41), and by Patricia Aufderheide, who discusses

the effect of niche marketing, both on-line and offline, on public culture (pp. 43-57).

In the "Reputation" section, Jason Primuth calls cyberspace "a consensual illusion" that creates new situations which "will alter radically our notion of community" (pg. 64). Constitutional questions relating to "gender divisions in the cultural context of the first amendment," are probed by Kerric Harvey, who brings up such questions as demographic — especially gender — differences in computer usage, continuing concentration of media ownership and control, pornography, and the fact that more women than men are victims of "on-line stalking" (pp. 67-90). Diane L. Borden then discusses legal implications of "cyberlibel," citing several court cases that focus on "reputational harm and the truth or falsity of the defamatory statement" (pg. 108).

Under "Reporting," Bruce Henderson and Jay Fernback examine aspects of the on-line publishing of student newspapers on the World Wide Web (WWW). L. Carol Christopher then looks at the social and organizational implications of new technologies for relationships within the newsroom and their implications for the broader society, since "news is a social construction rooted in journalistic routines and practices, and newspapers are central tools we use to construct our own individual and collective senses of reality" (pg. 137). Steven S. Ross then reports on a survey of 751 newspapers and magazines concerning their "use of on-line technology and sources" (pp. 143-160). William Evans sees an increasing value in content analysis to help us document and understand the role of media texts and images in a changing twenty-first century culture (pp. 161-171). Finally, Kevin Kawamoto takes a broad perspective aimed at "making sense of the new on-line environment in the context of traditional mass communication study" (pp. 173-188). --- WEB

Brown, Claire Damken, Charlotte Snedeker, and Beate Sykes (eds.). Conflict and Diversity. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 1997. Pp. xii, 308. ISBN 1-57273-070-6 (hb.) \$65.00; 1-57273-071-4 (pb.) \$24.95.

The editors remark at the beginning of their "Introduction," that diversity in an enterprise can be an asset, if managed properly, but "conflicts

related to managing diversity in the United States are numerous" (pg. 2). Many of the book's chapters started as papers delivered at one or other of two conferences on diversity, at Temple University, in 1992, and at the 1994 convention of the Speech Communication Association (now the National Communication Association), but others were specially commissioned for the book (pg. vi).

The sixteen chapters are grouped into three sections. Part one includes chapters on the general concept of diversity, recommendations for its management, ethical issues, and a conceptual framework for "auditing the organizational culture for diversity" (pp. 13-15). The five chapters in part two examine conflict and diversity in terms of rhetorical analysis and research, with attention to "American deaf culture," diversity assessment procedures, differences in work values, gender perception, and "students' perceptions of racial tensions" (pp. 85-87). Part three features case studies and essays by practitioners in the field of managing diversity. Its eight chapters discuss identity crises in a community leadership development program, barriers to diversity management, "a campus diversity initiative," stereotyping of "White males," "training to prevent sexual harassment," conflicts during diversity training, and gender-awareness workshops (pp. 197-200).

In his chapter, "Diversity: Importance, Ironies, and Pathways," Thomas E. Harris comments that some in the United States feel "that the melting pot has now begun to reach a boiling point," not only from immigration but also in terms of business travel which involves people from practically every nation and culture. Although a positive approach to diversity can give a company advantages in such a context, he notes that laws, diversity training and other efforts to build positive attitudes have not been very effective, if, in fact, they have not proven counterproductive (pp. 19-24).

Lea P. Stewart calls for developing an "ethics of diversity." To do so, "an organization that values ethics should aspire to become a multi-cultural organization" through encouraging "diverse cultural modes of being and interacting," "dialogue in which no one cultural perspective is privileged over other perspectives," and includes "all cultural voices" in decision-making (pg. 57).

Heidi Brinkman's assessment index (pp. 117-138), applied empirically to a multi-racial sample of 2,115 respondents indicates that they perceived

reverse discrimination to be on the rise. It supports a view prevailing in the literature that, "if any group or groups have an advantage, serious tensions will continue to persist (Rich and Ogawa, 1982)" (pg. 136).

Tricia S. Jones and Martin S. Remland, in chapter 14, "'An Ounce of Prevention': Suggestions for Training to Prevent Sexual Harassment," define sexual harassment, from an organizational perspective, as "unwelcome behavior of a sexual nature that affects the target's working conditions" (pg. 251). Training, in the authors' view should involve increasing people's sensitivity to the organization's context and culture as well as to both women's and men's perspectives and perceptions of harassment. It also should include clarification of legal rights and responsibilities of ways of "communicating unwelcomeness" and of taking action against persistent offenders (pp. 251-266). --- WEB

Casmir, Fred L. (ed.). Ethics in Intercultural and International Communication. Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997. Pp. xi, 296. ISBN 0-8058-2352-2 (hb.) \$69.95; 0-8058-2353-0 (pb.) \$34.50.

Ethical questions are difficult enough to deal with in a single, more-or-less homogeneous community, but the difficulties are multiplied when two or more cultures with differing values, morals and ethics are involved. The editor points out the role of these three factors in providing a basis for predictability in social behavior and "atmosphere of stability" that goes far to facilitate smooth interactions among the members of a culturally homogeneous society. When there is no such consensus, due either to encounters of different cultures or to changes in part or all of the culture of one society, problems arise and ethnic clashes - sometimes reaching the scale of genocide - can result (pg. ix).

In his "Introductory Thoughts," Casmir stresses that cultures are always changing, sometimes chaotically, and so they must be continually monitored and constantly reevaluated by those who are concerned with maintaining smooth intercultural dialog. At the same time, he does "not want to be understood as advocating some sort of oversimplified and apparently easy situational

ethic, and I certainly do not advocate change for the sake of change" (pg. 4).

The book's seven chapters plus one case study, by eleven authors, are grouped into two sections: "Ethics and Intercultural Communication" and "Ethics and International Communication." The title of section two by no means bans intercultural communication from its contents. As Casmir points out, all international communication involves intercultural communication, but intercultural communication can take place — often intensively — within one country (pp. 7-9).

The first chapter, by Bradford J. Hall, defines and relates the concepts of ethics, culture and communication. It is followed by Deni Elliott's case study of conflicting cultural interpretations of foreign assistance efforts after Japan's great Hanshin earthquake, in 1995. Japanese officials tended to regard foreign offers of aid as "condescending or unjustifiably paternalistic," and even rejected some offers despite obvious need. The foreign aid givers interpreted Japanese responses to the crisis as inadequate and the Japanese rebuffs to their assistance as "ungrateful." Later reflection by the Japanese government acknowledged that some emergencies require both volunteer responses and international assistance.

In the other chapters of section one, Linda Steiner presents "a feminist schema for analysis of ethical dilemmas" (pp. 59-88), and Fred Casmir applies the "Third-Culture Building Model" to ethical aspects of international and intercultural communication (pp. 89-118).

In the second section, Scott R. Olson first discusses "ethics and the role of media in international and intercultural communication. He acknowledges that "there is some truth to the assertion that ethical behavior is the road not taken in the global media marketplace" (pg. 123), but he sees some hope of a new ethics emerging out of the Modernist-Postmodernist dialectic that may have international and intercultural applications (pg. 148).

Cornelius B. Pratt and Folu Ogundimu examine the proto-norms that "undergird the ethics of the mass media in developing nations," and using classical moral theories they hold to be global universals, they propose "a preliminary model for ethical communications about developing nations in the international mass media and for cross-cultural communication within such nations" (pg. 153).

In chapter six, Stanley Deetz, Deborah Cohen and Paige B. Edley take steps "toward a dialogic ethic in the context of international business organization."

In chapter seven, Getinet Belay looks at ethics in diplomacy and negotiation, noting that "it is no longer realistic to view the world in terms of a pre-Leviathan anarchy, in which nation-states are trapped in a 'prisoners' dilemma'." Intensified international interaction in recent years has, instead, created a climate in which "growing recognition of common human and ecological concerns has also opened the way to processes for construction of global ethics" (pg. 260).

In his "Conclusion" Casmir says that thinking about the contents of the book has led him to two conclusions:

The first is that I believe ethics should not merely be a subject matter to be studied, but rather that values and ethics require a response from us — even if it is the rejection of a specific instance or concept... Secondly, I have tried to make clear that the engagement of ideas requires thinking about the matters that are brought to our attention" (pp. 269-270) — WEB

du Pré, Athena. Humor and the Healing Arts: A Multimethod Analysis of Humor Use in Health Care. Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998. Pp. xi, 228. ISBN 0-8058-2647-5 (hb.) \$55.00; 0-8058-2648-3 (pb.) \$29.95.

The author says at the beginning of her Preface: "With dozens of actual examples collected in seven health care settings, this volume shows the ways that humor is used in times of embarrassment, camaraderie, anxiety, pain, and uncertainty" (pg. ix). She says that she does not wish either "to advocate or discourage the use of humor in medical settings..." but "only to understand humor better and to help others understand it" (pg. 6).

Du Pré feels that multiple methodological approaches to the analysis of humor in health care settings are needed to provide an adequate description of the interactions that take place in this subtly complex situation. Accordingly, she "examines the data from several perspectives: phenomenology, ethnography, ethnomethodology,

and conversation analysis" (pp. 37-38). Each of these methods has its advantages and limitations, and so they should complement each other to yield a more thorough analysis than one could give by itself.

The first five chapters form a section on "Background," including a survey of the literature. Section II, "The Nature of Funny," embodies the phenomenological approach to penetrate to the intersubjective experience of humor and how that experience relates to health care. Section III consists of five chapters describing and using the ethnographic approach in cases taken from a physical therapy department, a breast care center, and a doctor's office, with an overview probing the significance of humor in medical settings.

The chapters in Section IV discuss the delicate question of the appropriateness of humor in medical settings, with stress on "the code of dignity" and "the code of compassion." Section V uses the ethnomethodological approach to examine how people deal with dilemmas in health-related encounters. Chapter 21, the last chapter in Section V, first describes conversation analysis, which is based on the fact that "conversation requires one to display understandings and expectations. The displays made available to conversational partners are consequently available to the researcher as well" (pg. 167). Breast center dialogue was then examined to study "laughter-coated complaints" -"statements of apparent disgruntlement that include and/or are followed by laughter" (pg. 168).

In Section VI, "Conclusions," after a summary chapter, brief chapters are devoted to "Cautions," "Limitations and Strengths," "Suggestions for Application," and some "Parting Observations." The latter include the view that medical communication should be approached as a collaborative process between caregiver and patient, that an "interactive loop" fostered between researchers and practitioners can benefit both, and "finally, ... it is risky to impose external value judgments on medical phenomena," such as the complex, bureaucratic organization of large hospitals which may limit the degree to which caregivers can deal with patients as individuals (pp. 199-200).

Appendixes A through D discuss, respectively, "The Relationship Between Conversational Context and Structure," a "Transcription Guide" to the ways conversations were recorded in the research, a "Discovery Model," and a "Philosophy Statement."

The references constitute a substantial bibliography (pp. 212-221). — WEB

Friedenberg, Robert V. Communication Consultants in Political Campaigns: Ballot Box Warriors. Westport, CT/London: Praeger (Greenwood Publ. Gp.), 1997. Pp. xii, 221. ISBN 0-275-95206-1 (hb.) \$59.95; 0-275-95207-X (pb.) \$19.95.

Political campaigning in the thirteen American colonies began in the early eighteenth century. George Washington, running for the Virginia Assembly in 1758, spent 39 pounds for "160 gallons of beverages for his constituents" and won the election (pg. 1). But political campaigns and the consultancy — formal or informal — that inevitably accompanies them came into their own only after the American Revolution — the controversy over whether the new republic should have a federal or confederated system of central government being one of the first political issues to be vigorously debated (pg. 3). By the middle of the nineteenth century, the shape of political realities in a winner-take-all democratic system had become clear enough to prompt Abraham Lincoln to say, "public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed" (pg. 210). The task of political consultants in the United States is to mold public political sentiments (ibid.).

In chapter one, Friedenberg traces the history of political consulting through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, down to the period in which "Bill Clinton presides over the most poll-driven, public-opinion-conscious administration in national history." In 1996, after Republican victories in congressional elections, "Clinton prepared for his re-election campaign by shifting his position on a host of issues ... based on the polls he received" illustrates the latest trend, wherein political consultants have come to depend heavily on their ability to analyze poll results to shape their advice to politicians, not only in campaigning but even in the everyday business of governing (pg. 19).

After the historical sketch, the author first describes the work of the polling consultants, whom he regards as "the intelligence service of the ballot box wars" (pp. 31-68). A different specialty, speech and debate consultants, discussed in chapter

three, are called "the infantry of the ballot box wars" (pp. 69-93). Successive chapters deal with narrowcast media consultants — "the submarine service" — (pp. 95-126), newspaper and radio consultants — "the artillery corps" — (pp. 127-152), and television consultants — "the air force" — (pp. 153-198). Finally, chapter seven describes some recurring themes in discussions of the future of political consulting by leaders in the field, even though "it is impossible to predict precisely what the future has in store for an industry as volatile as this one" (pp. 199-212).

Friedenberg outlines some of those themes as follows:

...First, political consulting will continue to be a growth field. Second, that growth will be driven in part by increasing geographic specialization. Third, the growth of political consulting will be driven in part by increasing issue and corporate advocacy. Fourth, the growth of political consulting will be driven in part by increasingly sophisticated communications technology. Fifth, political consultants will continue to produce negative messages. Sixth, the culture of the political consulting field will cause discord. Seventh, political consulting is currently operating under the threat of regulatory change. It is a field that could be sharply impacted in the immediate future by regulation (pg. 199).

A select list of additional readings is appended.

--- WEB

Friedenberg, Robert V. (ed.). Rhetorical Studies of National Political Debates—1996. Praeger Series in Political Communication. Westport, CT/London: Praeger (Greenwood Publishing Group), 1997. Pp. xiv, 102. ISBN 0-275-95738-1 (pb.), ISSN 1062-5623, \$17.95.

Theodore Roosevelt described the American presidency as "a bully pulpit." Probably second only to the presidency as a "bully pulpit" for politicians in the late twentieth century, and far surpassing anything Roosevelt could have dreamed of in size of audience, have been the presidential campaign debates on nationwide, or even worldwide, television. Since the debates began, in 1960,

only seventeen speakers have had the opportunity to share this "pulpit." Whether or not they were "great" speakers may be in itself debatable, but, as Friedenberg points out in his Introduction, there is no question that they were among "the most widely seen and heard speakers in history" (pg. xi).

Friedenberg, Professor of Communication at Miami University, in Oxford, Ohio, notes that, after the Kennedy-Nixon debate of 1960, it was sixteen years before two more presidential candidates were willing to confront each other on live television. In 1976, the Carter-Ford debate was paralleled by one between their vice-presidential running mates, Walter Mondale and Robert Dole (pg. xii).

This book focuses on the 1996 debates, with Kathleen E. Kendall and Gaut Ragsdale analyzing, respectively, the Clinton-Dole presidential debates and the Gore-Kemp vice-presidential debates of that year. Both analyses look at "(1) the factors motivating the candidates to debate, (2) the goals of each candidate in debating, (3) the rhetorical strategies utilized by each candidate, and (4) the effects of the debate" (pg. xiii).

Kendall approached the debates as they were filtered through the media, noting, for example, that people exposed to post-debate news commentary tended to agree with the "news verdict." Since the debates are so widely televised, the commentary has concentrated on "the personalities of the candidates and the process by which they make the decision to debate, prepare to debate, and 'spin' the stories about expectations for and effects of the debate," rather than the content of the debate itself (pg. 1). She also comments that, "a peculiar omission in network coverage of the debates was their failure to consider the role of the moderator" (pg. 25). Since, in recent debates, the moderator has asked the questions and guided the agenda his or her role has been crucial.

Like much American rhetoric, debates depend heavily on colorful metaphors and similes. Ragsdale recounts how Kemp refuted Democratic charges that Republican economic policies were designed only to "trickle down" wealth to the poor by saying that, instead, they were like "Niagara Falls." To that, Gore countered that the policies of Republicans Dole and Kemp would "put the economy in a barrel and send it over the falls'" (pg. 31).

Friedenberg, in the final chapter distinguishes

some "patterns and trends" in the development of the debates from 1960 to 1996. Agreement about the ground rules of the debates is necessarily arrived at by compromise, since "the basic motivation of each candidate is incompatible with the basic motivation of the opponent" (pg. 86). Future debates, therefore, will take forms dictated by this need to compromise. In any event, in recent years, as we have seen, public pressure for debate has largely eliminated the once viable option that national candidates had of refusing to seriously consider debating" (pg. 87).

An appendix consists of a "Select Bibliography on Political Campaign Debating" (pp. 91-95).

— WEB

Greene, John O. (ed.). Message Production: Advances in Communication Theory. Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997. Pp. x, 357. ISBN 0-8058-2323-9 (hb.) \$69.95; 0-8058-2324-7 (pb.) \$34.50.

This book grew out of a special panel coordinated by the editor at the 1995 Speech Communication Association meeting in New Orleans, one of whose distinguishing features, in the words of Glenn G. Sparks in his Foreword, was that,

... instead of focusing on the past literature pertaining to message production processes, the following chapters look to the future and attempt to chart new theoretical ground. ... [to promote] our understanding of the processes of behavioral production that are central to communication behavior (pg. ix).

Greene, Professor of Communication at Purdue University, says that early neglect of the phenomena of message production in favor of input processing gave way, in the late 1970s and into the 1990s, to the rapid development of "a number of models that sought to explicate various message-production phenomena by recourse to intraindividual states and processes" (pg. 4). Now, a "new wave of theories of verbal and nonverbal message production" is developing, which it is the editor's purpose to survey in this volume (*ibid.*).

He notes that "theories of message production

can be seen to make use of three broad types of explanatory constructs": physiological, psychological and social (pg. 5). He says that the book's chapters "reflect a broad spectrum of approaches to problems of interpersonal message production," some more general and others more narrowly focused, and invoking "various combinations of physiological, psychological, and social constructs in developing their positions" (pg. 6).

The book's thirteen chapters are grouped into three parts: "Theories of Message Production: Historical Context, Future Prospects," "Intraindividual Coherence and Coordination," and "Interindividual Coherence and Coordination."

Greene, himself, has contributed a chapter outlining "a second generation action assembly theory," building upon the original version of an action assembly theory, which he had introduced in 1984 (pp. 151-170).

Steven R. Wilson comments that message production is now "a widely recognized area of communication research," but that "this was not the case even 20 years ago" (pg. 15). In his chapter, "Developing Theories of Persuasive Message Production: The Next Generation," Wilson focuses on "the past, present, and potential future" of theories of the production of interpersonal influence messages" (pg. 16).

James Price Dillard asks, "Why do people produce messages?" He says that recognition of this as a key question has led to "a landslide of work attesting to the importance of the goal construct in theories of communication" during the past decade (pg. 47). He calls for even greater use of the goal concept in theories of message production to move "the explanatory mechanism closer to the phenomenon of interest, ... to provide a parsimonious means for summarizing social reality..." and to encourage "a dynamic approach to the study of communication" (pg. 65).

In an effort to supply a perceived lack of viable theory on deceptive communication, Steven A. McCornack notes that although "deception can be considered a particular communicative class of problem-solving activities," it nevertheless "is not without cognitive costs" (pg. 111). He calls for more research attention to naturalistic, rather than experimentally constructed deception. New theories also "must account for the apparently paradoxical characteristics of everyday interpersonal deception" (pg. 123). Previous theories of deception have been based on what he sees as questionable assumptions

about cognitive processes (*ibid.*). He feels that those interested in deception theory will have to turn to the study of cognitive processes to answer many questions about deception (*ibid.*).

In his chapter, "Framing Message Production Research with Field Theory," Dale Hample builds on the theories of Kurt Lewin, whom some authorities have ranked with Freud as one of the outstanding theorists of twentieth century psychology (pg. 171).

Charles R. Berger has contributed a chapter on "Producing Messages Under Uncertainty" (pp. 221-244). Judee K. Burgoon and Cindy H. White are concerned with "Researching Nonverbal Message Production: A View from Interaction Adaptation Theory" (pp. 279-3-12). In the last chapter, "From DNA to MTV:...," Ross Buck "defines formally spontaneous communication, outlines its characteristics, describes its relationship with symbolic communication, and discusses aspects of its influences upon human behavior" (pg. 313).

All the authors are based at universities in the United States.

— WEB

Gregory, Chris. Be Seeing You...: Decoding The Prisoner. Luton, UK: University of Luton Press/John Libbey Media, 1997. Pp. vii, 228. ISBN 1-86020-521-6 (pb.) £15.00, \$24.00.

The Prisoner was an enigmatic seventeen-episode series first shown on British Independent Television (ITC) from October 1, 1967, to February 4, 1968. It starred Patrick McGoohan, who also was its executive producer and wrote and/or directed several of the episodes.

The central character, played by McGoohan and always identified as "The Prisoner" or "Number 6," not by name, resigns from an unidentified British government security service and is immediately kidnapped and imprisoned in a seaside village, with fanciful and eclectic architecture, in an unidentified location. The filming actually took place in the resort of Portmeirion on the coast of Wales, but various false clues in the stories suggested locations ranging from Estonia to Morocco (pg. 31).

The Prisoner's interrogations by his unidentified captors dwell on the theme, "Why did you resign?" The captors may be from the East or the West, or

from a third force implicitly seeking world domination (pg. 12). The interrogators use various ingenious methods — drugs, hallucinations, deceptive "escapes," etc. — to break the Prisoner's will and get him to surrender his individuality; while he employs equally ingenious means to frustrate them and maintain his personal integrity and sense of self-identity, although inevitably being frustrated in his own escape attempts.

The Prisoner was daringly innovative television for its time, and it prefigured such postmodern efforts as Twin Peaks, some Star Trek episodes, and X-files in its ambiguity and psychological puzzles.

Gregory classifies *The Prisoner* as a "genre" production, which seems to group it with westerns, spy stories, detective stories, etc., but he has to explain this classification, since it uses various genres to accomplish un-genre-like purposes. He says that, "in *The Prisoner*, the audience is presented with all the outward appearances of the genre product. The secret agent genre is most prominent" (pg. 11). But the predictability of the genre production is violated, especially by the outcome of the final episode, in which "the audience were given an answer that completely violated their generic expectations" (pg. 13).

Generic codes are deliberately used in *The Prisoner* to "tease" the audience, to draw them into the kind of philosophical debates which normally have no place within the confines of generic structures. As the viewer's involvement is achieved, the signifying elements of the codes shift or "slide," ... causing the viewer to experience the mixture of confusion and fascination so typical of popular responses to the series. (*ibid.*)

The author uses Umberto Eco's distinction between closed texts, "which use predictable narrative structures, and which are full of the commonplace conventions of the particular generic forms," such as Superman comics and James Bond novels, and open texts, which are "works in which the 'reader' is called upon to 'deconstruct' the message of the story; and for which no one interpretation will ever completely suffice" (pg. 13). He places *The Prisoner* with (quintessentially) James Joyce's Finnegan's Wake, as an "open text," although, "in The Prisoner, McGoohan disguises his open text as a closed text by building up audience expectations towards a conventional ending and then conspicuously failing to provide the expected closure, thus leaving the answers to the series open" (ibid.).

Part one, "The Prisoner as Television Text," goes on from "the uses of genre in The Prisoner," in chapter one, to discuss "the production and screening" of the series and its "theatrical and cinematic qualities," in chapters two and three. Part two views "The Prisoner as Allegory," finding allegories of "separation" in episodes 1-7, in chapter four, of "initiation" in episodes 8-12, in chapter five, and of "return" in episodes 13-17, in chapter six.

In part three, "The Prisoner Today," the series is weighed against the cultures of today's audiences in comparison with those of 1967, and further implications of its message are explored, under the headings, "'The People Who Are Watching' The Prisoner in the Video Age," "'Many Happy Returns' The Prisoner as Cult," "Never Trust a Woman' Sexuality and Gender Relations in The Prisoner," and "'The Whole Earth As The Village' The Prisoner as Prophecy." In definite contrast to present-day television, is a quotation from McGoohan, himself, describing the views on sex and violence that guided production of the series: "I abhor violence and cheap sex we need moral heroes. Every real hero since Jesus Christ has been moral" (pg. 202). Any "violence" The Prisoner might elicit was intended to be the constructive violence of intellectual questioning:

I wanted to have controversy, arguments, fights, discussions; people in anger waving fists in my face ... has one the right to be an individual? ... I wanted to make people talk about the series. I wanted to make them ask questions, argue and think. More than anything, I believe in the freedom of the individual. The loss of one's individuality is a nightmare. Just watch and you'll find out. (Pg. 181, citing McGoohan as quoted by Max Hora, in *The Prisoner of Portmeirion*, 1985, pg. 57.)

The Prisoner is a classic of the earlier days of television, and its survival is in part due to its being made by ITC with a view to future syndication, outside Britain, at a time when live TV, without repeats, was seen as an ideal. Gregory records the sad effects on TV history of that attitude, as follows:

As time passes and The Prisoner continues to

accrue "classic" status, it becomes harder and harder for contemporary viewers to comprehend the nature of its impact on its original audience. TV has moved a long way from the immediacy and "trash culture" of the 1960s which led the BBC to "wipe" what would now be regarded as priceless footage of The Beatles, Bob Dylan and the Rolling Stones, little imagining that anything as "trivial" as pop music could be of interest to future generations. Similarly, at this time the BBC also destroyed many episodes of the cult series Dr. Who (which has now become a highly popular product on video) due merely to a lack of storage space. ... Today we live in a different age, in which popular culture is no longer so undervalued and in which those who grew up with television culture are now coming to dominate the media itself. But it is important when considering such artifacts of that earlier "era" to bear in mind that, whilst we as modern viewers may be viewing what we perceive as "art," the great majority of the original audience regarded what they saw ... purely as "entertainment". The same might be said for Elizabethan drama or the Victorian novel. (pg. 187)

Appendix A lists the seventeen episodes of *The Prisoner*, with episode titles, original transmission dates, writers, directors, and principal actors (pp. 215-217). Appendix B consists of bibliography and filmography (pp. 219-224). — WEB

Gunter, Barrie. Measuring Bias on Television. Luton: University of Luton Press/John Libbey Media, 1997. Pp. v, 186. ISBN 1 86020 526 7 (pb.) £14.95.

Efforts to evaluate bias on television that depend only on quantitative methods are bound to be inadequate, according to Gunter. He says that "the quantitative analysis of programme content in terms of stopwatch-based measures of time allocation to different parties or viewpoints reveals little about the subtle effects style of coverage may have upon viewers, understanding or impression formation" (pg. 5). But qualitative methods also have their limitations, and "thus, the concept of bias is difficult to pin down and virtually impossible to operationally define in any single fashion" (*ibid.*). A key set of factors determining

television bias, "are the values and intentions of those involved in its production" (ibid.).

Defining "bias" or "impartiality," not to mention "truthfulness," can be a problematic but essential task, which Gunter confronts in his opening chapter, "Defining the Issue." Some partiality may be endemic in news reporting, insofar as it has to reflect "the basic values and actual sympathies of the population," as Karl Rosengren pointed out in 1977 with regard to the Swedish media (pg. 13). In continuing discussion of the question in Sweden, J. Westerhahl developed a model in which

... "impartiality" was identified as a component of "objectivity", along with another factor, "factuality". Both factuality and impartiality were conceived to have two major sub-components each. In the case of factuality, these two aspects were labelled "truth" and "relevance". In the case of impartiality, which was regarded as a complex mixture of ingredients, two sub-components were "balance" and "neutrality" (pg. 14).

Later, in the Netherlands, Dennis McQuail suggested that factualness, accuracy and completeness are "distinctive and measurable criteria which underpin the truthfulness of news accounts" (pg. 15). Gunter also stresses "relevance," in that "the news must be of value to audiences and reflect matters which are of current concern" (*ibid.*).

Chapter two outlines some of the possible approaches to determining impartiality, such as those that concentrate on output criteria, such as content analysis of various kinds, those that stress external source criteria, comparing the contents of news reports with "a set of independent, external criteria relating to that same matter" (pp. 28-29), professional or journalistic criteria, and audience criteria - "whatever affects and interests the public" (pg. 31). Subsequent chapters discuss "cognitive aspects of bias" and "evaluative aspects of bias," in part II, "The Output of Bias," and "subjective audience perspectives" and "objective audience perspectives" — both as cognitive aspects - audience perspectives as evaluative aspects of bias, and, finally, "television, the future and bias," all in part III, "The Audience and Bias."

Gunter concludes that, "In the future, the real problem of bias is as likely to take the form of a bias against proper understanding as the provision

of news which is impartial in its substance, if technological and economic imperatives give rise to production practices which are geared more to the cosmetics of news that the effective communication of meaning" (pg. 164).

A substantial list of references is appended (pp. 165-183), as well as a brief index. — WEB

Lee, Paul S. N. Telecommunications and Development in China. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 1997. Pp. xi, 333. ISBN 1-57273-060-9 (hb.) \$69.50; 1-57273-061-7 (pb.) \$27.50.

The first two chapters of Lee's book set the stage for considering the main theme by first considering and evaluating theories that have been developed concerning the relationship between telecommunications and development and then outlining the way telecommunications have evolved in the industrially developed world to gain insights that can be applied to the Chinese situation.

In the first chapter, the editor agrees with E. B. Parker's rejection of "trickle-down" assumptions and with his views that "the foremost priority of a country is to create wealth" and that mere redistribution of wealth in a poor country will do nothing but make everyone poor (pg. 9). Lee notes that although "telecommunications is assumed to have beneficial effects on development," the existing literature "shows that empirical studies are few and the findings are far from conclusive (pg. 10).

Four criticisms can be directed at empirical studies that show a causal relation between telecommunications and economic growth, according to Lee: they "tend to ignore the negative impact of telecommunications development," they fail "to examine the mechanism through which telecommunications effects work," they "seldom examine the relative priorities of telecommunications investment vis-a-vis other infrastructural developments such as electricity, transportation, water, and health," and they "fall short in examining the conditions under which developing countries should invest in telecom-munications" (pp. 15-16). The papers in the present volume attempt "to provide a basic understanding of China's telecommunications" and its role in the country's development, while avoiding the deficiencies in the earlier studies (pg. 17).

In the process of learning from the evolution of

telecommunications in North America and Europe. in chapter two, Benjamin J. Bates draws from that experience several lessons for future planning. "The basic lesson to be learned is that ... long-term benefits are maximized when the full potential of universal service is realized. ... from the use of the system, not merely from construction of the network" (pg. 49). In considering the pros and cons of monopoly versus competition, Bates sees advantages in both, with monopolies ensuring ease of inter-connection but often retarding growth and technological development. He also notes that "tariffs and pricing policy can have a significant impact in promoting or retarding system expansion, the achievement of high penetration rates, and the goal of universal service" (pp. 49-50).

In chapter three, Zhou He, a professor at San Jose State University, reviews the development and policy implications of the "long and rough process" in the history of China's telecommunications development from the mid 1870s to the early 1990s. Significant factors in that history included the struggle for sovereignty over telecommunications of successive Chinese governments against foreign interests, lack of funding, the tradition of monopolistic control by central authorities, and the elite orientation of the industry (pp. 55-56).

Leonard L. Chu, of Hong Kong Baptist University, then describes the political economy of the communication system in China, which "remains underdeveloped and tightly controlled" by the Communist Party, although the "adoption of modern communication technologies is making this control increasingly difficult" (pg. 104). The underdevelopment, up till now, may actually be an advantage, since "China can consider adopting the latest communication technologies without having to worry about phasing out 'usable technologies,' because in many cases they simply do not exist" (*ibid.*).

Beginning Part II, a "survey of telecommunications in China," Paul S. N. Lee notes the uneven development of telecommunications, especially citing a serious urban-rural disparity in services (pp. 113-129). In subsequent chapters, Jianguo Zhu provides a case study of telecommunications and development in Shanghai (pp. 131-147); Bryce T. McIntyre considers China's use of the Internet and reasons why that use is lagging, at least in terms of international connections (pp. 149-169); Junhao Hong describes developments, policies, and applications in China's satellite program (pp. 171-

199): Michael Zhaoxu Yan explores relationship between China and Hong Kong in telecommunications. noting that "technologically, China and Hong Kong do not have much direct influence on each other," Hong Kong has immense economic significance for telecommunications development in China, and China has acquired nearly absolute political and policy-making power over Hong Kong (pp. 201-223). Georgette Wang and Fan-Tung Tseng then shift the focus to the privatization of Taiwan's telecommunications (pp. 225-241).

"Prospects" are considered in Part III. John Ure, of the University of Hong Kong, notes the increasingly favorable climate for foreign investment in China's telecommunications, but cautions "that doing business in China is a process of patience and commitment to a long-term arrangement of mutual benefit" (pp. 245-262). Zixiang (Alex) Tan then discusses "the impact of foreign linkages on telecommunications and development in China," which have been stimulated by China's open door policies, but which thus far have had both positive and negative effects (pp. 263-280). Finally, Milton Mueller explores the possibility of "creating a telecommunications free trade zone in Greater China," that would include capitalist Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan with the socialist People's Republic.

A Glossary consists mainly of acronyms and computer terms (pp. 301-308). — WEB

Morgan, David. Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1998. Pp. xviii, 265. ISBN 0-520-20978-8 (hb.) \$35.00 (£27.50).

In contrast to the "conventional wisdom," according to which, "either art is the handmaiden of religion, or the artist is an autonomous agent working out his or her own inspiration," Morgan adopts the perspective of "visual piety... the set of practices, attitudes, and ideas invested in images that structure the experience of the sacred" (pp. 2-3). The images in which he is interested are not necessarily "high art," but are characteristically mass produced pictures of Christ and other religious figures. The research on which much of this book is based consisted of an ad the author placed in "devotional magazines" asking "readers to indicate what they thought about the work of Warner Sallman, in particular his *Head of Christ*. The resulting 531 letters provide much of the data for the analyses that make up this book" (pp. 3-4).

Morgan emphasizes that the practices of visual piety are found in a wide variety of forms, as determined "by the history of theology, cultural politics, and ritual use of the image, all of which are in turn keyed to the image's style and the iconography and the historical circumstances of its production and reception" (pg. 4). These practices and the images they employ contribute to both the social construction of reality and to the individual's sense of his or her own identity (pp. 5-7 and 17).

Critics of popular religious art often fail to recognize the need people have for "tenderness, sympathy, or accessibility" in their relations with God that "high art" and "the sublime and sovereign Deity" of theology do not provide (pp. 23-24).

The letters elicited by Morgan's advertisement indicated that Sallman's painting of Jesus "is powerful for many people precisely because it seems to condense many Jesuses into one" (pg. 48). Thus it is useful in the practical, everyday piety of many people from varied backgrounds and in varied circumstances.

Chapter two, "Empathy and Sympathy in the History of Visual Piety," traces the evolution of the role of the body in Christian visual piety — from its absence in the iconography of the early Church to the graphic depiction of the crucified and resurrected Christ in the Middle Ages, and to Protestant suspicion of images while visual piety flourished as never before in post-Reformation Catholicism. A cautious revival in Protestants' use of religious pictures stressing empathy and sympathy occurred in nineteenth-century America (pp. 78-96).

Sallman's paintings of Christ, especially the *Head of Christ*, painted in 1940, were done in a context of ambiguity about how Christ could be depicted both as thoroughly masculine and at the same time as spiritual and gentle (pg. 119ff.).

Chapter 5, "Reading the Face of Jesus," relates how people may read different things into the same picture, depending on their own backgrounds.

Chapter 6 explores "domestic devotion and ritual," stressing that, contrary to stereotypes, many American Protestants make considerable use of

religious imagery in their homes; although various other studies have yielded varying conclusions about their practices (pg. 153). Morgan senses a tendency towards convergence in American Catholics' and Protestants' uses of religious images in their homes (pg. 154).

In chapter six, the author also discusses the relationship between "memory and the sacred." He says that "memory functions in three discrete ways in conservative Protestant uses of imagery... to articulate the sacred in temporal rather than spatial terms... to help store information in the memory and to apply that information to the interpretation of the Bible. Finally, images have helped many Christians assemble from memory their sense of who they are, and to tell this story to others" (pg. 183).

He concludes the book with the "hope that this study has demonstrated above all that popular religious images need to be understood as historical traces of the worlds they helped to construct" (pg. 208).

An appendix, "Letters and Demographics," describes the author's research. In 1993, he placed an ad with a small reproduction of Saliman's *Head of Christ* in twenty religious publications of many denominations (out of 73 publications originally contacted) plus five other sources that ran it on their own initiative. Open-ended responses were solicited on the role that picture and similar religious imagery played in the readers' lives. Demographic details of the respondents are summarized. Of 531 who responded, 128 were Methodists, 99 Lutherans, 20 Catholics, 14 Baptists, and the rest from a wide range of other denominations (pg. 211).

A "select bibliography" also is appended (pp. 253-258), as is a detailed index. — WEB

Noor Al-Deen, Hana S. (ed.). Cross Cultural Communication and Aging in the United States. Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997. Pp. xxii, 257. ISBN 0-8058-2294-1 (hb.) \$49.95; 0-8058-2295-X (pb.) \$29.95.

A major demographic shift in the United States in recent decades has been the increase in the proportion of the population in the older age brackets. The editor acknowledges that communication scholars have devoted considerable

research attention to the communication implications of this change, but she feels that they have neglected the vital dimension of culture (pg. xi). In attempting to remedy that deficiency this book concentrates on older Americans in various communicative contexts within the framework of their cultures (*ibid.*).

In his Foreword, Jennings Bryant sees "the beauty of the present volume" in its focus "on the union of these two cultural dimensions [aging and diversity] and does so from a communication perspective" (pg. xv).

The book consists of thirteen chapters, plus Preface, Foreword and Epilog. The chapters are grouped into four sections: "Perspectives in Cross-Cultural Aging," "Cross-Generational Communication in Aging," "Cross-Cultural Communication and Aging within Organizational Settings," and "Popular Culture and Aging."

The perspectives represented in the three chapters of section one are the role of the elders themselves, older women as cultural figures, and aging and "infotainment technologies."

The three papers of section two deal with pidgin as "a bridge toward satisfying cross-generational communication among the Hawaiians," with "cross-generational communication among Arab Americans," and "culture, family and mentoring relationships."

Section three's three chapters discuss "cultural views and stereotypes of aging in American organizations," nursing homes and retirement communities, and "the dilemma of Oklahoma Native American women elders" in balancing traditional roles and sociocultural roles.

Part four's four papers on popular culture look at "images of elders in traditional literature," models of aging in self-help literature, "the older person on daytime serial drama," and "the image of aging in television commercials" — an image "that is largely white, predominately male, void of ethnic distinction and not especially old" (pg. 231).

The editor's "Epilog" criticizes the American culture, and particularly the mass media for overlooking "the neglect, abuse, and ridicule of elders" and for passing along such attitudes "to the younger generations." Considering the upcoming massive generation of elders — baby-boomers — it is essential that we rethink our perspectives about elders and aging" (pg. 245). — WEB

Phillips, Michael J. Ethics and Manipulation in Advertising: Answering a Flawed Indictment. Westport, CT/London: Quorum Books, 1997. Pp. x, 207. ISBN 1-56720-063-X (hb.) \$55.00.

Phillips does not say that all advertising is ethical, but he finds fault with the logic of many intellectual critics who would incline towards the opposite view: that all advertising is strongly manipulative and therefore unethical. He is especially concerned to refute the use of the charge of "manipulation" to justify corrective political action (pg. vii).

The author, Professor of Business Law at Indiana University's School of Business, says that early attacks on advertising stressed its manipulative character, but they lacked the moral theory that would have given their arguments credibility (pp. 28-29). In his view, in order to justify its political suppression the critics also would have to prove not only that advertising is seriously manipulative—"by stimulating the propensity to consume and by dictating consumers' choice of particular products and services" (pg. 28)—but also that such manipulation is immoral (*ibid.*).

Assuming "that advertising manipulates as well as its critics believe," Phillips examines the arguments of later critics who have attacked advertising "under three well-known ethical theories (utilitarianism, Kant's categorical imperative, and virtue ethics) and one widely accepted ethical value (autonomy)" (pg. viii). Chapter 2 deals with utilitarian arguments based on the principle that greater utility is morally better. Utilitarian opposition to manipulative advertising usually argues that it "yields relatively little utility when it stimulates consumption and, worse yet, that it deflects human energies away from alternative activities which would produce greater happiness." Furthermore it is said to have excessive power to distort competition and reduces satisfaction "by making consumers buy products and services relatively unsuited to their needs." In addition, the author says that it "causes additional utility losses by helping business keep prices above free market levels" (pg. 45). After reviewing the pros and cons of the utilitarian arguments, the author concludes that "the losses [of utility] in question hardly seem sizable enough to outweigh the economic abundance, scale economies, and resulting utility gains that flow from advertising's stimulation of the propensity to consume" (pg. 68).

Chapter 3 confronts three other ethical criticisms: that advertising is unethical because it uses other people for one's own ends, that it violates personal autonomy, and that "it undermines traditional virtues and prevents people from living the best life of which they are capable" (pg. 77). Phillips finds more grounds for condemning manipulative advertising in these three approaches than he did in utilitarianism (pp. 100-101).

Nevertheless those arguments are held to be convincing only if advertising is strongly manipulative. Chapters 4 and 5 — on consumer choice and the propensity to consume, respectively — examine "a sampling of the relevant research on advertising's effectiveness" to determine whether advertising is really as powerful as both its critics and the advertising industry say it is (pg. 108). "Although chapters 4 and 5 cannot and do not consider every relevant source, most of the materials they do examine support the same conclusion: advertising's foes overestimate its power ... 'strong' views about advertising's power are dubious" (ibid.).

In the sixth and final chapter, the author discusses what he sees as the failure "of the vision that seems to unite advertising's critics" (pg. 173). Although each of the ethical theories "should strike some chord with morally reflective people," none of them is satisfactory standing alone, and "the other three theories raise possible objections to our virtue-based argument for a significant transformation of American life" (pg. 185). "When they do work," however, "individual manipulative ads seem quite wrong indeed," and may justify some regulation. But Phillips doubts "whether these considerations justify extensive regulation of manipulative (as opposed to deceptive) advertising" (pg. 186).

The author sums up his nuanced "antivision" of advertising in six points (pp. 187-192): "1. Much advertising aspires to manipulate consumers." "2. When manipulative advertising actually manipulates, it probably is unethical." "3. Manipulative advertising does not significantly competition." "4. Advertising is only one force behind the propensity to consume." "5. Manipulative advertising's modest impact on competition and on the propensity to consume significantly weakens the ethical case against it." "6. The more sweeping portions of the political agenda propounded by advertising's critics have virtually nothing to support them; however, this does not preclude piecemeal attempts to regulate especially effective and harmful forms of manipulative advertising."

The book includes a selected bibliography (pp. 197-203). — WEB

Regli, Brian J. W. Wireless: Strategically Liberalizing the Telecommunications Market. Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997. Pp. viii, 287. ISBN 0-8058-2581-9 (hb.) \$59.95; 0-8058-2582-7 (pb.) \$29.95.

The author describes the book succinctly in the first paragraph of the Preface, as follows:

This is a book about how to use wireless access as a tool to further competition and sustainable development in the telecommunications sector. The focus of the book is mainly on the potential impact of two-way wireless communications through existing service models such as cellular, personal communications services/networks (PCS/PCN), and emerging applications such as wireless local loop. At the same time, the discussion also includes other important forms of wireless access, such as satellite, enhanced specialized mobile radio (ESMR), and paging systems. (pg. vii)

In the first line of chapter one, "Competition and Development in the Telecommunications Sector," he sketches the context of today's global telecoms industries in more graphic terms: "It's a jungle out there."

Formerly, governments either owned or tightly regulated the telecommunications services; but now competition is rampant and structural relationships change constantly, through takeovers, mergers, alliances, and internal reorganizations. Technologies and types of services also are diversifying with breathtaking rapidity (pg. 1). At the same time, "wireless access has remained largely an appendage to the existing wireline telecommunications network" (pg. 2). Anomalies accordingly abound, leading to unnecessarily high costs and inefficiencies (ibid.).

Regli "suggests one possible alternative... a policy called strategic liberalization...[which] is defined as the implementation of specific policy

measures to increase competition in the market for wireless access services" (pg. 3). He thinks that focusing on wireless communications will help the telecommunications sector grow and will promote "the successful introduction of new products and services in an environment of facilities-based competition" (*ibid.*).

Having described regulation, competition and development factors in the industry and the theory of strategic liberalization, in chapter one, the author goes on to describe the ongoing transformation of the industry, in chapter two, the argument for viewing wireless access as "a foundation for competition and development," in chapter three, and "strategic liberalization in the U.S. context," in chapter four. Chapter five discusses "strategic liberalization in the U.K.," chapter six views the challenge the creation of an open communication environment poses for strategic liberalization in Russia, and chapter seven uses the example of Brazil to illustrate some of the challenges a strategic liberalization policy would face in developing countries.

Chapter eight sums up the author's argument. He says that "when combined with specific policies, we have seen that wireless access provides the best hope for the development of stronger national information infrastructures through competition. On a global scale, wireless access is likely to provide international players more flexibility and capability to compete and meet customer needs" (pg. 272).

The references provide a sizeable bibliography (pp. 273-281). — WEB

Rosston, Gregory L., and David Waterman (eds.). Interconnection and the Internet: Selected Papers from the 1996 Telecommunications Policy Research Conference. Mahwah, NJ/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997. Pp. xxi, 347. ISBN 0-8058-2847-8 (hb.) \$89.95; 0-8058-2848-6 (pb.) \$55.00.

The 1996 Telecommunications Policy Research Conference (TPRC) was the 24th annual TPRC. The Conference "is an annual forum for dialogue among scholars and the policymaking community on a wide range of telecommunications issues. ... The TPRC is widely regarded to be the premier telecommunications policy research event in the United States" (pg. xi). This book is the third in

the series of TPRC proceedings published as part of the Lawrence Erlbaum Associates' series, "Telecommunications," edited by Christopher H. Sterling.

The 1996 TPRC took place at a time of significant changes in the U.S. telecommunications environment, including the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which extensively revised the previous Telecommunications Act that had been in effect for 62 years. As David Waterman puts it in his Preface:

It would be hard to imagine a more interesting and exciting time to hold the TPRC than October 1996, when the meeting from which the papers in this book are selected took place. The February passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, and the Federal Communication Commission's subsequent implementation orders inspired two plenary sessions and a preconference tutorial... Another plenary session involved Internet censorship issues in the wake of the District Court's overturning of Title V (the Communications Decency Act) of the 1996 Act. (pg. xi).

The fifteen papers selected for the book are classified under four headings: "Interconnection and Competition," "Internet Growth and Commerce," "Internet Regulation and Control," and "Telecommunications and Politics." The twenty authors and two editors are from various American universities, corporations, and "think-tanks."

A U.S. District Court's declaration that the Communications Decency Act was unconstitutional was sustained by the Supreme Court in June 1997. Another hitch in the implementation of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 was an Appeals Court order staying the FCC's Local Competition Order and "leaving interconnection policy hanging in the balance" (pg. xiii).

About half the book (sections II and III, pp. 79-242) is devoted to questions arising from the rapid growth of the Internet, which has continued to raise issues policy makers had not previously encountered. Of special interest is Jonathan Weinberg's chapter, "Rating the Net," in which he discusses legal and other implications of "blocking software," such as that designed to protect children from sexually-explicit or violent material. But its applications are not limited to children. "In sum,

we may see home computers blocked for reasons of convenience, library computers blocked for reasons of politics, and workplace computers blocked for reasons of profit. ... The result may be that large amounts of content may end up off-limits to a substantial fraction of the adult population. (pp. 240-241).

Ratings are seen as an alternative, but the author fears that they, too, can be manipulated by "political choices" (pg. 242).

In section IV, Susan Dente Ross describes what she calls the Bell System's use of "the First Amendment to beat down entry barriers" to new markets (pp. 245-273). Then, Gerald R. Faulhaber presents a heavily statistical discussion of "the political economy of regulation" (pp. 275-300). Of broader geographical interest is Heather E. chapter, Hudson's "Restructuring Telecommunications Sector in Developing Regions: Lessons from Southeast Asia." She surveys Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia, the **Philippines** and Vietnam, five countries representing, in the study period of 1993-1996, a wide range of levels of economic development and a wide variety of telecommunications policies. She concludes that "their experiences to date point out both the promise of increasing access to telecommunications and the pitfalls of policies that may turn out to be inequitable to new competitors or to users, or may actually serve to limit access to information" (pg. 314). --- WEB

Rushton, Dave. Creating Local Television: Local and Community Television Under the Restricted Services License. Sheffield/Luton/ Edinburgh: Community Radio Association/John Libbey Media/Institute of Local Television, 1997. Pp. xvi, 78. ISBN 1-899405-01-1 (pb.) £9.95.

Steve Buckley, in his Foreword, notes that the United Kingdom is "one of the few European states which has not seen a real opening up of the airwaves during the 1980s and 1990s." He feels that British "regulators have, in the main, endeavored to protect the interests of the existing major broadcasters at the expense of real diversity." One of the few exceptions to this has been the "Restricted Services Licences" for radio, "though nearly all have been limited to a maximum 28 days broadcasting at very low power" (pg. vii).

Rushton, in this book, presents an approach to exploiting an equivalently cautious opening for similar Restricted Services Licences (RSLs) for local television, as authorized by the UK Broadcasting Act of 1996 (ibid.), and "introduced by the Independent Television Commission (ITC) in June 1997" (pg. xi). The author is a lecturer in Media Production and Media Management at Queen Margaret College, Edinburgh, and has had a longstanding interest in promoting community broadcasting, most recently through Community Radio Association. His "Introduction" (pp. xi-xvi) is a personal history, designed "not as a history of local television but as explanation for doggedly pursuing local television for several years" (pg. xii).

Part One (pp. 1-15) describes the history of largely frustrated attempts to establish possibilities for public participation in British television broadcasting, heretofore entirely controlled by "a relatively small elite" (pg. 1).

Part Two presents practical approaches for "making local work." The procedures for "preparing an RSL proposal" are discussed in the first chapter of part two. Two kinds of RSL licenses are available: for 56 day event based broadcasts and for two year location based services. The former are "intended for festivals and sporting events" (pg. 19), but even "the two year RSL license does not enable a viable commercial stand-alone operation to get going" (pg. 24). Consequently, much of the discussion has to do with the ways established broadcasters could be/might be/should **not** be involved in RSL broadcasting (pp. 24-25).

Chapter 2 (pp. 33-43) warns those wishing to begin local broadcasting: "You should undertake some preliminary frequency planning work before making an application to the ITC for a Restricted Services License" (pg. 33). Limited availability of frequencies seems to be a major problem inhibiting a more open government attitude towards local broadcasting, with preference given to the existing services.

Chapter 3, "Blueprint for a TV RSL" (pp. 44-54), notes four alternatives in ITC guidelines for TV RSLs: 1) text only, 2) text and audio, 3) full motion TV, and 4) a mixture of the above. Rushton notes that "text and audio are conceived as offering a commercially viable service in their own right, contributing unique local services while helping finance the broadcasting infrastructure

which is necessary to carry conventional programming" (pg. 44). He warns against haste in developing conventional TV programming: "Over ambitious proposals risk early failure. If poorly financed, a conventional service could rapidly become imitative of other services or fall victim to better established media in the course of license renewals" (*ibid.*).

Chapter 4, "Organising a TV RSL" (pp. 55-69), explores "the infrastructure required to broadcast the service," including equipment, site, and other station requirements, as well as organizational support that might be established in the local community to ensure the success of local broadcasting.

Appendix One lists "some useful contacts" — addresses for various kinds of information, equipment and services that would be needed to start a station — and Appendix Two, "A Model Trust," gives the full text of a sample "declaration of trust" needed to incorporate a local station as a charitable trust (or nonprofit corporation) under the laws of Scotland, and implicitly adaptable to other parts of the UK. There is no Index. — WEB

World Council of Churches. A Moment to Choose: Risking to be with Uprooted People: A Resource Book. Geneva: World Council of Churches Refugee and Migration Service, 1996. Pp. 90. (No ISBN) (pb.) \$15.00/ Sfr21.-.

A cover letter, from Patrick A. Taran, Secretary for Migration of the World Council of Churches, that accompanied this volume, describes its aims as follows:

This Resource Book is intended to serve as a guide to understanding and action in solidarity with uprooted people: refugees, migrants, asylum-seekers and internally displaced persons. While directed to churches, it is presented to serve all of those concerned with people forced to leave their homes and homelands. It presents a wide variety of examples and options for action from around the world, as well as Christian theological reflections and the Call to Action from the policy Statement on Uprooted People adopted by the World Council of Churches in 1995.

After an Introduction defining and describing the problem of refugees and migrants, the book continues with a section on "Theological Reflection" (pp. 15-19), and subsequent sections on "Causes of Forced Displacement Today" (pp. 20-53), "The Consequences of Forced Migration" (pp. 54-69), and some "Signs of Hope" (pp. 70-83). It concludes with the text of the WCC's 1995 "Call to Action" (pp. 84-87). Appendix 1 quotes three international and regional refugee definitions; Appendix 2 provides a table of numbers of refugees and other persons of concern to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, as of 1995; and Appendix 3 gives the numbers of civilian and military deaths in the current phase of major armed conflicts, affecting 39 countries, that - WEB were going on in 1994.

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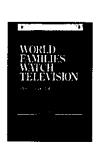
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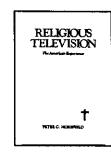
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