

CHAPTER 23

From Mass Media to Mass Consciousness

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In May 1973 the President of Finland, Dr. Urho Kekkonen, spoke on the international flow of television programs at the University of Tampere.* After dealing with national and international communication policies, he concluded his address with the following remarks:

You might ask why I have spent such a long time on communication phenomena. After all, don't economic factors determine a person's life more than communication? I should like to answer by referring to the prerequisites of democracy.

Studies show that the majority of people in countries with high standards of education—Finland, for example—feel alienated from world problems and even from their own society. One study shows the astonishing fact that only half the respondents of voting age knew that in Finland parliament passes the laws. Wide sections of the population are lacking in the most basic social information and do not have sufficient knowledge to form opinions about society and act as democracy would demand. People can of course learn from experience, and their opportunities to obtain information are growing all the time, but the knowledge they have does not form an organized entity. There is a shortage of information which would give them this cohesive whole and the possibility to connect matters with one another.

But a democracy cannot function properly unless there is original, critical thinking among its citizens. The realization of democracy is not possible if only dominant patterns of behavior and the pressure of public opinion offer content to people's views of the world. In such conditions one cannot speak of the will of the people, but of the people merely echoing the message put across by a small privileged group with control of both power and the channels of influence. When this is the case, a so-called free market economy which claims to offer free choice is in no position to point an accusing finger at societies it considers totalitarian.

The conscious channeling of future development towards democracy requires that

*The proceedings of this symposium, including Dr. Kekkonen's speech (slightly abbreviated), are published in Nordenstreng and Varis (15), which also contains results of an international inventory of television program structure and the flow of TV programs between nations.

the vast bulk of the population does not remain in the position of bystanders without initiative. By improving the lot of those in a weaker position, we equalize the opportunities for participation. By directing communication and education to the development of spontaneous thinking and the independent assumption of knowledge we make possible the search for consciousness so much desired for the future.

A careful reading of the points made here by Dr. Kekkonen in fairly general language will reveal that the text implies several significant concepts and approaches that are currently coming to the fore in the communication research being carried out in Scandinavia. In this chapter I make these tendencies explicit by first presenting a few concrete examples of research projects reflecting the new approaches and then listing the central theoretical assumptions that underlie the research orientation, thus summarizing current thinking in Finland and increasingly in the rest of Scandinavia. The features that may be seen to characterize a more global state of the art in the field of mass communication research are listed in the final section of the chapter. Such a worldwide perspective is needed to place the particular Scandinavian phenomena in an appropriate context.

EXAMPLES OF RESEARCH PROJECTS: COMPREHENSION AND EFFECTS OF TELEVISION PROGRAMS, INFORMATIONAL NEEDS AND INFORMATION GAPS IN SOCIETY

A typical feature in Finnish and Swedish broadcasting research since the late-1960s has been an emphasis on comprehension. Several studies have been designed to ascertain the mechanisms by which people receive information or, expressed differently, the degrees and ways of understanding messages used by viewers and listeners (11, p. 261). An example of these studies is the Finnish project that included an intensive analysis of the psychological reception of farmers who viewed a three-part documentary TV program on Soviet collective farming.* The comprehension and influence of the Finnish-produced program "A Collective Farm in Eastern Siberia" was studied jointly by the Finnish Broadcasting Company and University of Tampere, where most of the work has been carried out and reported by a young communication researcher Kauko Pietilä.†

The overall design of the study was quite conventional: a measurement of

*A description of the programs and the research project and its preliminary results are provided in English in Yleisradio (25).

†An important theoretical and empirical report by K. Pietilä (16), presented as an academic thesis, is available only in Finnish. Preliminary results of Pietilä's study are included in the English version of Yleisradio's report (25). A follow-up report by K. Pietilä (17) is available in English.

relevant knowledge and opinions before exposure and an after-exposure registration of how these were touched by the programs in question. Interesting but by no means unique was the fact that the topic of the programs was emotionally and politically loaded and that the prevailing opinions on it among the public were known (also verified by the interviews) to be most negative among practically the whole population.* What makes this study different from many other before-and-after exercises is the theoretical framework generated and, to a certain extent, the in-depth interview technique employed.

Pietilä has articulated the theoretical framework of the study around one central concept: the world-view or *Weltanschauung* of the recipient.† As an individual acquires information, the world-view functions as a system of induction governed by two antagonistic principles. The world-view is influenced by the "pressure of objective facts"—that is, an individual's subjective world-view has an inherent tendency to correspond to the objective state of affairs around him. However, there is a tendency toward "stability of world-view" as a consequence of the individual's need for coherence in his already-established belief system; as the latter has been created by the socializing institutions, this "principle of stability" is seen as an aspect of the unifying and hegemonic influence deriving from the overall social structure. Accordingly, the study was to test to what extent each of these two principles influenced the reception of a documentary that provided objective facts against hegemonically determined and largely ignorant conceptions.

The results showed that the process of receiving documentary messages did follow the model constructed when viewers were relatively well informed about the subject to start with; however, an equally systematic process was not found to operate among the most poorly informed viewers. Yet practically all viewers did learn something from the programs. In spite of a tendency to stability the world-view changed: New empirical evidence was accumulating upon the existing cognitive and evaluative structures, which were found to change in certain respects. The changes were by no means radical, and there were clear indications of the way basic values of the world-view re-

*A similar case study carried out in the United States has been reported by Smith (20). American students sharing the prevailing anticommunist public opinion were confronted with Soviet overseas broadcasts.

†The concept of world-view was first introduced in the Finnish arena of mass communications (research) by the Program Regulations adopted for Finnish broadcasting in 1967 which defined the tasks and aims of broadcasting in terms of offering to the recipient informational building material for the construction of a personal world-view (12, pp. 25-26). A fundamental theoretical analysis of the concept of world-view was provided by Yrjö Ahmavaara (1), a philosopher and communication researcher who at the time was employed by the Finnish Broadcasting Company and helped to define the long-range policies of broadcasting.

mained untouched or were even accentuated. For instance, even if Finnish farmers were convinced by the programs of the effectiveness and rationality of collective farming in the Soviet Union, the farmers maintained their cognitive balance by rejecting absolutely a generalization of this cognition to their own conditions, and they generated several excuses to "prove" how collective farms were impossible in Finland.

Consequently, the programs favorable to the Soviet system of farming were not proved to have brainwashed the Finnish viewers but only increased their knowledge and understanding of the subject. The "pressure of objective facts" did have an impact on certain areas of the world-view, and the "principle of stability" continued to govern others. By and large the study indicated that there is great potential for informational communication in areas where public ignorance and prejudices prevail and that an individual is ready to adopt a new cognitive map if his present one is proven to deviate from the objective state of affairs. However, that an individual does not allow any changes to take place in his world-view as a consequence of only a few pieces of empirical evidence was equally clear. The evaluative and personality levels of the world-view are quite constant and may change only after long-term accumulation of information and its personal application in everyday practice. Accordingly, the study empirically confirmed that a human individual is a relatively independent factor in the process of mass communication. He is certainly influenced by the messages supplied to him, but his terms of acquiring information are determined by his previous experiences and immediate environment—and not by any omnipotent media manipulators.

To expand the focus of attention beyond the media, their messages, and the psychological reception process of the messages to the social and material living conditions of the people is typical of current Scandinavian communication research.* As Nordenstreng (11) expressed it in listing factors that determine the reception of adult education programs:

However good the timing policy, however dominant the channel, however close to real-life experiences the programs may be, however easy the language, and however much promotional information and even organizational mobilization may be exercised, nothing helps if a person is seriously deprived in his objective and physical surroundings, and consequently if he is psychologically so apathetic and alienated that the total motivation for improvement and change in his socioeconomic situation is missing (p. 35).

*First approaches in this line were some internal reports by researchers of the Finnish Broadcasting Company in the late-1960s, based on unsystematic observations and free in-depth interviews among some audience groups (e.g., Margaretha Starck's "Experiences from a Bicycle Ride" and Pekka Peltola's "Report Beyond the Villages"). These reports had far greater impact on both program-makers and researchers themselves than many major projects with representative samples and statistical elaborations.

Manifestation of concern about this way of thinking is shown by the projects started in the early-1970s and called in Finland "citizens' informational needs" and in Sweden "information gaps in society." Both were initiated and are mainly being carried out within the broadcasting organizations. This is an indication of the social and informational commitment of these mass communication institutions (cf. Chapter 10 in this volume and Nordenstreng, 10).

The points of departure of the Swedish project are stated by the researchers as follows:

Marked differences among social groups with respect to access to and utilization of essential information constitute a problem in our society. ("Essential" information is tentatively defined as information that enables the individual to survey and understand the society he lives in, and allows him to actively influence the conditions of his daily life.) These differences are primarily functions of factors outside the control of mass media, factors such as the structure of society, the social and economic status of various groups and individuals, their personal capabilities, etc. Even so, the roles and potential roles of mass media should not be considered *a priori* to lack significance. Depending on how they are controlled and utilized—in terms of policy, on planning and production levels—the media may doubtless contribute either to the broadening or to the closing of information gaps (21).

The Finnish project on citizens' informational needs shares these points and stresses the socioeconomically determined mechanisms that accumulate material and mental wealth accompanied by informational activity and material and mental poverty accompanied by informational passivity. The theoretical background report of the project* refers to a government committee on the quality of life which found that because of the accumulation process differences in the overall standard of living become greater than differences in any single component of the standard of living. In analyzing mechanism of social inequality, the committee had further pointed out the functions of segregation in society: Minimization of contacts between the privileged and underprivileged reduces the informational and social fields of operation of both groups, leaving the privileged to enjoy their benefits with good conscience and the underprivileged to remain satisfied with their lot. Social studies and official statistics had until recent years largely supported these same overall tendencies.

Empirical results of a nationwide survey carried out for this project further verified the presence of this vicious circle: Those who were already well informed were most open to new knowledge and most capable of finding relevant knowledge, whereas the ill-informed—that is, socioeconomically underprivileged—were passive and unable to tell where to find relevant

*The project, which is still uncompleted, has been reported only in Finnish as a preliminary project plan (22) and a theoretical background report by Elina Suominen (23) in the Finnish Broadcasting Company.

knowledge; furthermore, the latter group did not regard information and knowledge as particularly important. The road towards an informational and social activation of an underprivileged person is both long and complicated, as illustrated in Figure 1 (according to Suominen, 22, p. 30).

An essential theoretical distinction applied in the project is between subjective and objective informational needs. To carry out an opinion survey and register subjectively perceived informational needs and wishes was not found to be sufficient; an all-around picture of the respondent's objective living conditions and his possibilities for social action was also necessary. The aim was to see an individual's informational behavior (subjective needs) as an integral part of his total living conditions and social environment (objective needs). Objective informational needs are least satisfied among the underprivileged sections of the population, and the greatest difference between the subjective and objective levels of informational need is to be found in the same groups that are left outside the positive accumulation of material and informational wealth in society. The "haves" do not objectively have many informational needs unsatisfied and yet they subjectively have more informational hunger than the "have-nots," whose objective informational needs are burning.

Besides the social segregation referred to above, the socioeconomic system is seen to employ various mechanisms that tend to keep the level of subjective informational needs low. One central concept in this connection is the bourgeois hegemony which may be understood as a filter extending to the personal world-view of an individual and biasing or blocking his process of perceiving reality. The *de facto* function of the bulk of mass media is taken to be an overall support of this hegemony—for example, by means of a long-term indoctrination of certain implicit values and a fragmentation of message supply that prevents rather than helps an individual to construct a holistic view of objective reality.

This project—as well as the corresponding Swedish one—could be classi-

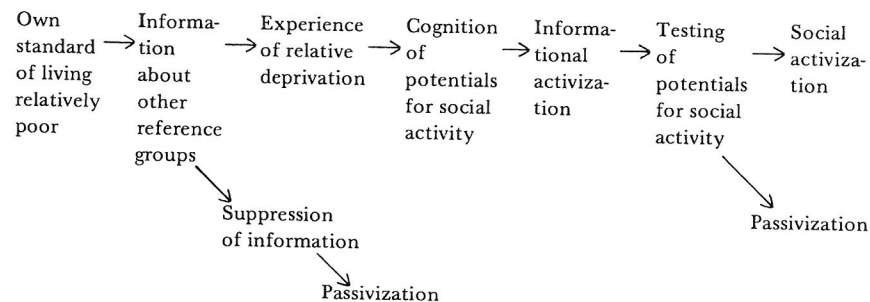


Figure 1 The process of activation of a relatively underprivileged group.

fied as an exercise in political science as easily as a piece of communication research. The problem is to study the actual and potential conditions for social equality and participatory democracy.* In fact, avoidance of a narrow communicologist's point of view is a typical feature of current thinking in Scandinavia. Instead, the perspective is made fairly broad to include a wide range of socioeconomic (objective) factors as well as (subjective) communication phenomena. That the behavior of the receiver is seen to be determined by the material and social conditions of his overall life situation rather than by the messages of mass communication is also characteristic of the present orientation.

CENTRAL THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

The essentials of the kind of thinking exemplified above may be condensed into four categories of conceptual elements and two basic theoretical propositions. These are briefly outlined below to give an analytical account of the current approaches. Naturally these features are not manifest throughout current research, and some of them may not even be implicit in many studies. Much Scandinavian research does not follow this kind of thinking at all but continues to represent the more traditional concepts and theoretical assumptions.†

The first category of conceptual elements characteristic of current thinking is related to the concept of *consciousness*. A derivative of this is the concept of world-view that was found to be central in comprehension studies. As is well known, the concept of consciousness has a long philosophical tradition, including the famous Cartesian reasoning, "*Cogito, ergo sum!*" However, because of the dominant positivist tradition and the consequent behavioral approach such "mentalistic" concepts have not enjoyed a legitimate status in Anglo-Saxon communicology any more than in the Western social sciences in general. Consequently, one may say that the reintroduction of consciousness implies a kind of humanization of the fairly mechanical view of man offered by the behavioral-positivist tradition.

The second category of conceptual elements has a social dimension. The

*The conditions of democracy in Finland (called "Tandem"), including the communication component, are being investigated in a project sponsored by the Academy of Finland and led by Juha Partanen.

†In Scandinavia, as elsewhere, a battle between scientific camps, not unrelated to politics within the countries, is a well-known phenomenon. The field of communication research has so far enjoyed a relatively peaceful time in this respect, particularly outside Finland where many kinds of social conflicts tend to become more prominent than in the rest of Scandinavia. These problems of power relations between the current thinking described here and all other orientations have been left completely outside the scope of this chapter.

terms *ideology*, *hegemony*, *manipulation*, and so on raise the perspective above the individual consciousness (micro level) to more general cultural phenomena of clearly supra-individual character (macro level). What is involved here is reference to the social institutions that produce and distribute information in society and to a kind of collective consciousness composed of a number of relatively similar units of individual consciousness. The latter is also called "mass consciousness"—a term indicating both the social and the human aspects involved.

Accordingly, the title of this chapter is intended to point out how the perspective of mass communication research in Scandinavia is changing from a narrow and "mechanistic" approach centered around the media (as separated from society) to a wider and "humanistic" approach with the media as no more than integral parts of an overall ideological machinery in society. This machinery, which is an integrated function of all social and cultural institutions with potential effects on peoples' consciousness, is usually understood to have a hegemonistic character—that is, it introduces elements into the individual consciousness that would not spontaneously appear there, but will not be rejected by consciousness because they are so commonly shared in the cultural community.* Thus the term *mass consciousness* is seen not only as a sum or average of a number of individual pieces of consciousness but also as a social phenomenon relatively independent of individuals.

The third category of conceptual elements (clearly seen in the informational needs project) refers to the *material conditions of the individual*. They are seen as critical to determine the individual consciousness. Thus individual consciousness is not understood as a loose intuition but rather as an internal correlate of the material circumstances encountered by the individual—that is, a subjective reflection of an objective state. The term *social position*, which is also used in this connection, implies that an individual has a certain location within the material world and the social relations concretely operating in it. In brief, there is an objective reality seen to extend beyond the individual consciousness.

Consequently, in addition to being humanistic in its approach, the current thinking is at the same time materialistic. It does not elevate the concept of consciousness to such a dominating position that the whole conceptual machinery would be composed of immaterial psychic and social elements. On the contrary, even consciousness itself is understood to be composed of material processes, although most complicated.† Like behaviorism, this mode of

*The term *indoctrination* has been suggested by Hemánus (7) and others to denote an influence of the media of which a recipient is not (by definition) conscious; *propaganda* would be a term for such influence taking place when the recipient is conscious about attempts to influence.

†According to materialistic philosophy, human consciousness is the property of a highly differentiated material. An example of a materialistic model of consciousness constructed in the tradition of behaviorism is provided in Nordenstreng (10, pp. 26–27).

thought only approves the existence of biologically determined human phenomena, including a purely materialistic process of communication between individuals; but unlike behaviorism, it does accept the reality of an individual consciousness "inside the black box," including spontaneous thought processes. Yet to call this approach "mentalistic" may not be correct because in many cases the latter term is used to refer to the opposite of materialist approaches, which is certainly not the case here.

The fourth central category also acknowledges material elements, but instead of concepts relating to the individual broader *socioeconomic structures* may be seen to constitute a material correlate to the concepts of social consciousness (the second category). These structures are composed of the material arrangements of production in society—that is, the productive forces and the relations of production, with the corresponding social and economic institutions determining relations between individuals (e.g., ownership conditions). The nature of these structures is materialistic, although in practice they may operate by means of symbolic (and in that sense immaterial) communication.

Consequently, social relations between men are not understood as a communication network operating at the level of consciousness; they are seen to be based on material conditions determining a person's location in the physical reality (mainly process of production). This eliminates, among other things, a conceptual confusion between power relations and the relations of communication—so popular in dominant Western thinking—which tends to reduce the objective power antagonisms to plain linguistic complications (e.g., references to "semantic noise" in industrial relations as an excuse not to further real industrial democracy).* Similarly, the current view does not see political democracy in a typical Western manner as an optimally operating democratic system, because in practice it does not extend to the economic power relations imposed by ownership conditions. In fact, political democracy is understood mainly as a phenomenon to be placed at the ideological level. Politics is being played usually in the consciousness of the masses and only exceptionally—in revolutionary situations—in the real power relations of society.†

Not only are material conditions introduced in addition to phenomena of individual and mass consciousness, they are taken as primary factors in explaining individual and social behavior. Yet the approach is not mechanistically materialistic, because the concepts of individual consciousness and so-

*Several Western communication researchers (e.g., Colin Cherry) have such an outlook on social relations as revealed by Jung *et al.* (8).

†The relations of socio-politico-economic power with information and communication phenomena have been studied in Sweden particularly by Cheesman and Hvitfelt (2), Cheesman and Kyhn (3) and Ekecrantz (4, 5). The latter has introduced the concept of "planned ignorance."

cial ideology expand the theoretical framework far beyond what is offered by the conventional behavioristic approach.

Naturally the various concepts listed above are closely interrelated so that what is essential is not the individual conceptual elements involved but the overall theoretical framework or approach provided jointly by all of them. It is not difficult to see how such an overall thinking is perfectly compatible with many modern conceptions of Western communication research, including the idea of media as an integral part of the social system and the new conceptions of the effects of communications as a long-term and often covertly indoctrinating influence. In fact these kinds of "new looks," including a view of the mass media as a dependent rather than an independent variable, are not difficult lessons for current Scandinavian thinking because they already are essential and natural features of it (cf. 18).

The above characterization of the emerging Scandinavian thinking may be further condensed into two basic theoretical propositions: a theory of knowledge and a theory of society. The former starts with the fundamental distinction between objective reality and subjective consciousness and states that subjective consciousness is a reflection of objective reality and that an individual bearing this consciousness is interacting with objective reality through practice.* The latter theoretical proposition places economic production as the primary determinant of social relations between individuals; this theory of society may also be seen to include a historical dimension with consecutive stages of forms of production and the corresponding social structures (cf. Nordenstreng and Varis, 14, pp. 395–398). The two theories are illustrated in Figure 2.

The theoretical assumptions in the kind of thinking described here are in all essential respects identical to the theory of dialectical materialism. Whether the current Scandinavian thinking really represents Marxism-Leninism is a difficult question, because individual researchers—even if they may operate within a common overall framework—usually have different variations in their approaches. Furthermore, there is ground for doubts concerning even the theoretical possibility of generating a Marxist tradition of research in a capitalist society and its institutionally bourgeois climate; the latter may be

*A description of such a dialectical materialist theory of knowledge is to be found, for example, in Mao Tso-Tung's essay "Where do correct ideas come from?" (9, pp. 134–144): "At first, knowledge is perceptual. The leap to conceptual knowledge, i.e., to ideas, occurs when sufficient perceptual knowledge is accumulated. This is one process in cognition. It is the first stage in the whole process on cognition, the stage leading from objective matter to subjective consciousness, from existence to ideas. . . . Man's knowledge makes another leap through the test of practice. This leap is more important than the previous one for it is this alone that can prove the correctness or incorrectness of the first leap, i.e., of the ideas, theories, policies, plans or measures formulated in the course of reflecting the objective external world."

For a more comprehensive presentation, see *Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy* (6).

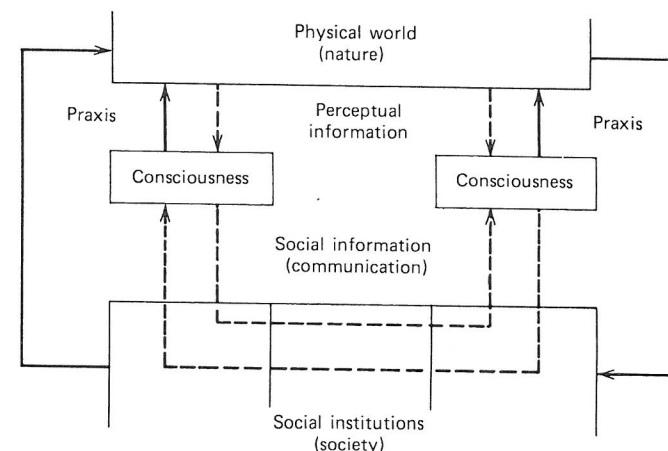


Figure 2 Human information activities within the framework of basic theoretical propositions: the acquisition of knowledge from the physical world (perceptual information—vertical) accompanied by related physical interaction with the objective reality (praxis), and the exchange of experiences between units of individual consciousness (social information or communication proper—horizontal). Objective reality = Nature + Society.

seen to eliminate objectively all significant social influence of revolutionary science no matter how serious the individual (Marxist) researchers might subjectively be. Consequently, the Scandinavian thinking referred to in this chapter is dialectico-materialistically oriented.

GLOBAL TRENDS IN COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

What has been presented on Scandinavian thinking is not unrelated to what is happening on the wider world scene. The reorientation taking place in the field of mass communication research more or less everywhere in the Western (capitalist) world is characterized by precisely the same tendencies as the current Scandinavian thinking. Significant global tendencies may indeed become more visible in Scandinavian circumstances, which provide a kind of laboratory situation purified from any single dominant cultural tradition and world-political power commitment, for social developments of advanced capitalism to appear. Consequently, the difference between Scandinavia and the rest of the Western world may be seen as a matter of degree rather than of quality. Therefore the global trends reviewed below may be understood as a "mild version" of Scandinavian thinking.*

*The following paragraphs are based on a paper "Normative Directions for Mass Communication Research" presented at the first Nordic conference of mass communication research in Oslo, June 1973, published in the proceedings of the conference (mimeo in Swedish by the Press Research Institute of the University of Oslo; also in Polish in *Zeszyty Prasoznawcze*, 1974).

The global trends in the field of mass communication research can be expressed in terms of two interrelated tendencies on change: a tendency toward a more *holistic framework* and a tendency toward *policy orientation*. The holistic approach, for its part, may be seen to imply two subaspects: a stressing of the *processual approach* covering simultaneously various stages of the communication process and a stressing of the *contextual approach* tying the particular communication phenomena into wider socio-politico-economic settings.

A rebellion against the positivist-behaviorist tradition is not difficult to trace in these tendencies. In terms of the philosophy of science, this shift from positivism towards antipositivism may be seen as crucial in the present reorientation of communication research as well as in the so-called crisis of Western social sciences in general.

The implications of positivism for policy considerations are particularly important in the present context. The crucial notion of positivism argues that one cannot infer from "how things are," "how they should be." Goals of social activity are understood as something voluntary and subjective; value-bound choices are placed by definition outside the scope of objective knowledge. Consequently, research and politics are sharply separated from each other, and there prevails a relativism of values. Antipositivism, for its part, claims that a study of the objective laws of social processes, in their widest sense, can be derived from social goals grounded on objective facts. This social goal—the "how things should be"—can be inferred, at least to a great extent, from the laws followed by goal-directed social processes, once the latter have been discovered. Consequently, research and politics cannot and should not be sharply separated. As Ahmavaara (1, p. 14) puts it, research into social laws and political decision-making processes "are parts of a unified organism simply violently separated from each other by the Humean guillotine."

At this point one might ask why such a reorientation in the social sciences in general and mass communication research in particular has begun to take place. What are the cultural and social determinants behind this "movement?" In the present analysis only one overall factor will be singled out that seems to be of crucial importance (in analysis of the situation it alone certainly accounts for over 50 percent of the total explanation).

The suggested significant factor is the historical development in Western industrialized societies that has made ideological control over the mass consciousness become increasingly difficult—and hence ever more vital for the socioeconomic system to handle. In spite of the indoctrination influencing individuals throughout all established institutions in society—not least by the mechanism of fragmentation in education and mass communication—large segments of the population remain dissatisfied. Also significant is that new

segments, such as students, have become involved in this refusal to digest what is centrally fed to them through socializing institutions, including the mass media.

Accordingly, because the traditional methods of ideological control have proved inadequate, one has been urged forward to search for more effective means to touch the minds of the masses. This is why so much is said today of "comprehension of messages," "audience passivity," and so on; these kinds of new looks into the mass communication process (including the "citizen participation") activists are a must for the established social order if it is going to maintain its mental and material control over the bulk of the population. Similarly, at the level of the social sciences social forces have needed to turn the positivistic tradition into a more holistic approach. It was no longer sufficient to contribute to the manipulative mechanisms by piecemeal studies and theories that bypass many significant features in social developments, particularly those generating dissonance and revolutionary potential.

A more honest assessment of the social reality, including the process of mass communication, in a macroperspective simply became vitally important. This assessment was not to be made for academic convenience but for an emerging socially determined concern for communication policies.* As is well known, systematic policies and long-range planning are another vital response to the objective development of the socioeconomic system ("state-monopoly capitalism"). Consequently, a need for policies and planning in the communication field of society derives from the motives for ideological control and also from a general tendency toward more coherent socioeconomic processes.

In terms of the present analysis, then, the new approach in communication research is no more of a happy chance than boosting interest in communication policies is a social luxury. Both can be seen to reflect the same basic tendency of having the mechanism of the prevailing social order brought up to date and thus supporting the basic tendencies of the status quo. Accordingly, a "progressive" communication researcher finds himself in a paradoxical situation.

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*For the concept of communication policies, see for example, UNESCO (24) and Pool (19).

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Mass Media Policies in Changing Cultures

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Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

Mass media policies in changing cultures.

"A Wiley-Interscience publication."

Includes bibliographies and index.

1. Mass media—Addresses, essays, lectures.
2. Intercultural communication—Addresses, essays,
lectures. I. Gerbner, George.

P91.M343 301.16'1 77-2399

ISBN 0-471-01514-8

Printed in the United States of America

1 0 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

A WILEY-INTERSCIENCE PUBLICATION

JOHN WILEY & SONS, New York • London • Sydney • Toronto

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