TELECOMMUNICATIONS IN

TRANSCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Papers delivered at the Conference on Television in the Developing World March 29, 1980 —

University of Winnipeg, Canada

Edited by

Jack Steinbring

and
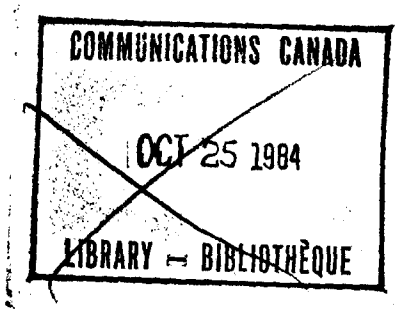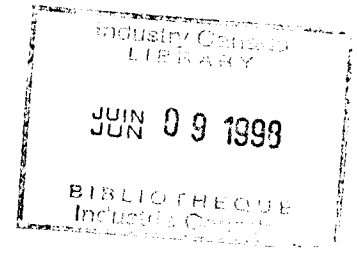
Gary Granzberg

University of Winnipeg
Canada
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/Conference on Television in the Developing
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University of Winnipeg

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PREFACE

The papers which make up this volume were presented at

the Conference on Television in the Developing World held in

March, 1980 at the University of Winnipeg, Canada. The Con-

ference was sponsored by the Canada Department of Communica-

tions and constituted a kind of "final act" of a long term

social impact study funded largely by the Department. That

study, now called the "Cross-Cultural Communications Program",

was commenced in 1972 as an examination into the ways in

which Algonkian speaking communities of Northern Manitoba

were being influenced by television. A summary of the

findings of that program in included in these papers. It

is by the project Co-Director, Dr. Gary Granzberg, and was

presented to the Conference.

Our primary aim in putting this Conference on was to

assemble a strong body of professional opinion about the

"cross-cultural" impact of telecommunications. The highest

possible expectations were met, and with a diversity of

expertise very possibly unmatched in similar conferences of

the past. Cultural and Psychological Anthropology, Sociology,

Psychology, Journalism, and a wide sampling of Communications

specialties are represented in these contributions. Yet,

there are themes continuous throughout them that, because

of this cross-fertilization, gather strength to the point

(i)

of universality. The very first statement in the very first

paper by Stephen Rada of The University of Texas at Tyler,

established one principle, consistently repeated in differ-

ent ways by many of his followers. Rada described his wit-

nessing the funeral of a 15-year-old Navaho boy. At the

conclusion of the ceremony, the parents placed the boy's

transistor radio and cassette player in the coffin to accomp-

any this youngster, as had the worldly paraphernalia of

countless generations before him. To Rada and to all of us

today it is a symbol of integration, and it demonstrates, at

least for a time, that the Navaho in that reservation looked

upon those electronic devices as theirs. This becomes a

central factor in our assessments of many cultural situations.

Will people internalize and make their own of externally

inspired phenomena, or will they be overwhelmed and simply

consume without reference to identity and a resulting capa-

city to discriminate?

An important point made by Edmond Rogoff from the Uni-

versity of Ottawa was referred to many times throughout sub-

sequent discussion. In some parts of Latin America, says

Rogoff, non-Western programming is still Western programming.

"Only the names are changed" so to speak, with Brazilian

versions of Tele Savalas, etc. Others, like F. Gerald Kline

of the University of Minnesota, School of Journalism, proceed

from this point to caution us about the total conceptualiza-

tion of the media and its relationship to commercial industrial

imperialism. While he is greatly concerned about this
'imperialism', and appears to seek a new order to contain
the media, he does not favour control. He admits, however,
that he cannot offer concrete solutions to the problems
which arise. Few, in fact, offer specific formulas to re-
solve difficulties brought on by the social use of telecomm-
unications. Rose Goldsen ("the Margaret Meade of Communica-
tions") concluded the conference with a provocative address
which produced her approach to a solutions. She likened the
whole issue to a snake. "Stomp on it", she said, "and then
let's discuss it."

Several papers of varying clinical design produce the
most up-to-date scientific control over media influence in
several non-Western settings. Besides the ones mentioned
above, there is Janet Bauer's report on her 1978-79 Iranian
fieldwork, Leonard Lee's comparisons between Lebanon and
Egypt, and Kay Beck's presentation on southeast Asia. North
American research, in addition to that reported by Granzberg
is represented by Hamer's theoretical paper on the Sub-Arctic,
and the work of Tannis Williams and Forbes and Lonner, in
Western Canadian and Alaskan settings respectively. All of
this work is based upon extensive residential experience,
large statistical populations, and a very high level of modern
research standards.

The concluding paper of the conference was delivered by Caren Deming of San Francisco State University. This paper brings together extensive clinical research by Deming with the psychophysiological responses to television. In it she makes wide comparisons and consults much of the contemporary literature. In its specialization it is surely the most advanced statement at this writing. It looke with hope to the enhancement of right-brain, alpha state activity as basic in human creativity. It is an intriguing hypothesis, one of several that asked that a positive direction at least partly condition our opinions about television impact. None-the-less she opens the way for alternate views along the line of "mind control" - one of the critics' most compelling fears.

In Rose Goldsen's guest address, also published herein, she plays the various interwoven conference themes to their philosophical summit. Her title seems positive, "After All Television Is An Appropriate Technology", but is the context in which it thrives actually most appropriate to basic human aims? If this context changed, would this medium (now linked to consumerism) still be appropriate? Can this context change? And, does "Television Imperialism" so reinforce that context that telecommunications content must change first? Nothing was answered on these issues, but throughout this conference one thing was certainly demonstrated.

People, culturally, sociologically, psychologically (and even possibly physically) are changed by telecommunications content. Arising from this is the desirability of control and participation in decisions on content. Native programming per se is not covered among the technical papers, but it was touched upon in the report on SITE by Basrai and Mody, and was covered in a special audio-visual session. In this Nick Ketchum of the Northern Services Division of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation related the difficulties he encount ered in developing Native programming in the North-West Terr itories. He made an ardent appeal for government help "before it is too late", and his hopes were shared by many. Programs recommended by Ketchum appear at present to act as the world precedent for actual personal and group participation in telecommunication content decisions.

The publication of these papers is due to the generosity of the Canada Department of Communications, and especially to the concern of its social policy people over culturally in-appropriate telecommunications experience. This compilation of current opinion will unquestionably influence political and administrative decisions on impact and content problems, not just in Canada, but in the world at large.

For the successful conduct of the conference which as-sembled these contributions, I am owing to many. As confer-

ence Chairman, my job was made easy by the unstinting help

of my project Co-Director, Dr. Gary Granzberg, Project

Researchers, Chris and Nancy Hanks, and the almost magical

co-ordinating talents of our Executive Secretary, Mrs. Janet

Cameron. Aiding them was a small corps of fine University

of Winnipeg Anthropology students to include Marie-Ange

Beaudry, Linda Blachford, Michael Daly, and David Simpson.

Special thanks are due to Rose Goldsen for a memorable guest

lecture, and to all of the delegates whose presentations were

often the culmination of years of research. Finally, it is

appropriate to name the person who long ago started the

processes which now have brought this document into being.

In October of 1972, Mr. Allan Simpson, a regional officer

of the Canada Department of Communications, approached me,

on his own initiative, asking if perhaps I might be inter-

ested in studying the effect of television on Native people

in Manitoba. I agreed, and we may now see that it was entire-

ly due to his foresight and initiative that this document

reaches the main stream of world consciousness.

<div style="text-align: right">

Jack Steinbring
Conference Chairman
University of Winnipeg
May 1980

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Television's Antecedent: Some
Observations on the Effect of Radio Upon A
Traditional Society

by

Stephen E. Rada
University of Texas
at Tyler

Television is certainly the most coveted of all media.

Radio, nevertheless, for millions in the developing world,

still functions as a primary source of information and

entertainment. For many, it is likely their only experience

with mass communication, their first exposure to electronic

culture. In assaying the role of television in the develop-

ing world, the reader is invited to pause and reflect on

television's antecedent: radio.

On a chilly afternoon on the slopes of a mesa on the

Ramah Navajo Indian Reservation, a young Navajo boy was

buried. He had been killed in a car accident the day before

and now a large grou, mostly family and classmates, had

gathered to witness the burial. The casket was open as it

lay on the ground. Inside, before it was sealed, his mother

placed a transistor radio and a cassette tape recorder.

Then it was sealed and the casket was lowered into the earth

The establishment of a tribally owned and operated

educational radio station, KTDB-FM, in 1972, on the Ramah

Indian Reservation of Northerwestern New Mexico, has afford-

ed the opportunity to observe the effects of radio upon a

traditional society within the continental borders of the

United States. This paper reports findings from continuing research on this station and its impact upon the Ramah culture.[1] Specifically, we are concerned with three tasks: first, an analysis of those cultural tenets which have led to the adoption of radio; second, a discussion of some of the ways in which radio has impacted upon the Navajo's traditional beliefs about space and time; and third, some observations concerning the rise in popularity of the culture of radio at the expense of the traditional folk culture, which has had as a side effect, the altering of interpersonal relationships and the forging of a new sense of community.

The Ramah Navajo are a splinter group numbering approximately 1500, situated roughly 50 miles to the south and east of the main Navajo Reservation. The small size of this group, coupled with its relatively high degree of cultural and geographical isolation, has made it a natural haven for ethnographers. In fact, it has been said that if it wer possibly to calculate the number of hours spent by anthropologists in the Ramah area, relative to either geographical size or population, it could probably be demonstrated that the Ramah Navajo are the most studied people in the world (Blanchard 1971:3).

Prior to 1972, the Ramah Navajo did not operate, or have access to, any system of mass communication. One member of the reservation's Chapter House[2] estimated that it took

fully two weeks to inform everyone of an impending

meeting or social function (Alonzo 1975). Information

was transmitted through interpersonal means by way of horse-

back or, where primitive roads existed, by pick-up truck

across the 1,000 square miles of Pinion pines and sage which

comprise the Ramah's land.

The reservation has long suffered from a lack of

social services. Even as late as 1975, only 7% of the 230

miles of roads were paved. Electricity was available to

only 20% of the 256 housing units and less than 10% of the

homes had telephones. A consequence of the lack of these

and other social services has been a high degree of un-

employment (up to 60%), illiteracy (58%), and a general

feeling of social and economic malaise.

The Ramah leadership, aware of their isolation, the

lack of economic opportunity, high illiteracy, and the

almost total absence of a sense of community, built an

educational radio station. It was anticipated that radio

would be a positive force that would contribute towards

economic growth, instill an appreciation of the value of

education, help equip the young to function in a bicultural

society and forge in people a new sense of community. Radio

has accomplished some of these tasks. It has been instru-

mental, for instance, in generating increased pride in and

attendance at the Navajo controlled school system. But
radio has also impacted upon the society in ways which
were neither anticipated, nor, even today, fully under-
stood.

It was not completely a matter of choice that radio,
and not television, was embraced by the Ramah Navajo.
While cost may have been a factor, there is some evidence
to indicate that the culture of this group was more re-
ceptive to radio. Television, like photography, is a
visual medium deriving its power from the ability to
capture and define images. The power of the camera to
rob, as well as preserve and sanctify, has been widely
noted. Social critic Susan Sontag, for instance, has
labelled the photographer "a predator," one who captures,
and in so doing alters (and perhaps even destroys) the very
object of his zeal (1977:59).

Traditional cultures, including the Ramah Navajo, are
sensitive to the rights of an individual to "own" his image.
The appearance of a camera quickly brings covered faces
and turned backs. There is the implicit threat of loss
of identity, of the separation of a man from his sacred
image. As anthropologist Edmund Carpenter has suggested,
"sight has a natural bias toward detachment, whereas sound
has an opposite bias: it surrounds, involves ... one steps

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into it" (1974:5). The Ramah Navajo, in their quest for modernity, sought the security of aural involvement rather than the threat of visual detachment.

Not surprisingly, then, in keeping with the Navajo's historical practice of assimilating change, radio was eagerly adopted. While it was reported that a few of the elderly feared that radio would "attract lightning into the hogan", (Martinez 1975), the majority of the Ramah Navajo accepted and adapted to the introduction of this new technology with little display of concern.[3] Kluckholn has called it "astonishing ... the degree to which 'The People' have taken over parts of white technology with so little alteration in the distinctive flavor of their own way of life" (1974:67). Witherspoon attributed the Navajo's ability to absorb change to "a capacity to make creative syntheses," a byproduct of their emphases on the values of activity and creativity (1977:182).

The Navajo culture has traditionally practiced maximum harmonious involvement with the environment, placing great value upon "thought" (Sa'ah Naaghaii) and "speech" (Bik'eh Hozho) for through these, the world is created, classified, and controlled. Witherspoon has suggested that the Navajo creation myth represents the value attributed to thought and speech; it is believed that the gods entered a sweathouse

and thought the world into existence. Their thoughts were then realized through speech, song, and prayer. The concepts of thought and speech are used in almost every Navajo prayer and song, and it is believed that thinking good thoughts will cause good things to happen (1977:13-46).

Another Navajo concept which is relevant to radio is the significance of movement and its relationship to air. Their language is dominated by verbs which emphasize motion, reflecting the belief that "movement" is the basis of life (Witherspoon 1977:53). Air is the source of power for movement and the ultimate source of all knowledge. For the Navajo,

> .... sound is air in motion and speech is highly refined and patterned air in motion. To put sound in patterned motion one must control air. To control air is a process by which man participates in the omnipotence and omniscience of air. Thus the speech act is the ultimate act of knowledge and power ...
>
> (Witherspoon 1977:60).

Radio was embraced as a practical extension of the speech act, the genesis of knowledge, power and control.

The element of control is crucial to understanding the Navajo World. Their perception of control has been

defined as "that which distinguishes good from evil (Witherspoon 1977:185). "Evil results from loss of control. Proper thoughts and actions are the prescription for regaining control; for each human being has the capacity and the personal responsibility to maintain order and harmony. Beauty, balance, harmony, and order are interwoven into a complicated all-pervasive concept called hozho; and hozho is good. The attainment and control of hozho is a goal which affects every aspect of Navajo traditional life.

Control, then, a concept practiced not only through thought and language, but also through ownership, may have been essential to the acceptance of the station. From its inception, the station was to be owned, operated and programmed by Navajos. From time to time, community members would make a point of dropping in to visit, thus physically affirming the need for control. The station met the criteria, then, for being good, of contributing toward hozho. It was an aural, not a visual medium. It was an extension of speech, not a projection of images. It was controlled directly through ownership, and indirectly, it was felt, through proper thoughts and action as manifest in the speech act.

The uncritical acceptance of the traditional concept of control, however, failed to prepare the community for some of the dysfunctional aspects of radio. It was assumed, for

instance, that what was broadcast could be effectively
controlled through the checks and balances of cultural
tradition. The Navajo culture was expected to provide
the necessary guidelines as to what was proper programming
or behavior. In the words of a Navajo woman, "...whatever
is asked of you is O.K., because no one would violate
cultural norms" (Alonzo 1975). This proved a naive
assumption which failed to account for radio's unique
characteristics: its immediacy, wide coverage and technical
nature.

One consequence deals with the assumptions which radio
as electronic technology imposes upon those who serve it.
We might suggest that one such assumption is the belief
that technology is of a higher order or value than tradition.
Thus, a Navajo studio engineer, a product of Anglo training
(and FCC accreditation) becomes less concerned with cultural
propriety than with technical and programming demands. On
several occasions, this has resulted in the airing of pro-
grams which violated cultural norms.

> ... there are certain songs and stories that
> you do not tell before the first frost or the
> first snow. You do not sing the Squaw Dance
> songs in the middle of winter, or tell stories
> about the coyote before the first frost. But,

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because many of these stories and songs are

on tape, they can be played anytime by those

who operate the station without thinking

(Alonzo 1975).

Complaints of impropriety by older Navajos brought about a

more careful screening of programs, but dod not completely

solve the problem.

Still another case involves the use of the Navajo

language for broadcast purposes. Navajo is judged solely by

the ear. Mastery of the language is crucial if one is to

correctly express his thoughts and thus, establish control.

For " ... by speaking properly and appropriately one can

control and compel the behavior and power of the gods"

(Witherspoon 1977:60). Among many of the young however,

and particularly those who were expected to broadcast in

Navajo, the mastery of English has had a higher priority

than that of their native tongue. As a practical consequence,

those who were caught up in the novelty of electronic commun-

ication, and who were willing to broadcast, were unaware

that their lack of proficiency in Navajo would offend many

of the older generation and contribute toward an emerging

cultural and generational gap.

Radio has altered the Navajo's traditional concepts

of time and space. "The People", (or _Dine_, as the Navajo

refer to themselves), have never conceived of time in Anglo

terms. Edward Hall has commented, "To the old-time Navajo

time is like space -- only here and now is quite real. The future has little reality to it" (1959:23). Anthropologist Joseph Epes Brown has observed that "Within traditional native American cultures, time tends to be experienced as cyclical and rhythmic rather than as lineal and 'progress' oriented" (1976:28). In dividing a day into 24 hours, or an hour into minutes, there is implied the concept of the future, of progress towards something.

Radio is monotonous. Half-hour and fifteen minute programs, five-minute newscasts, 30-second weather reports, call letters on the hour, and so on, have turned radio into an electronic clock. It is subversive to those cultures that relate to both the future and past in terms of seasonal or lunar cycles. To be taught that time is a commodity to be bought and sold, divided and hoarded, also teaches that its loss is something to be feared. Life has quickened to the pace set by this metronome, and with it has gradually come a new orientation to life.

When the Ramah Navajo first took control of their own school system, they also assumed the responsibility of providing bus service. Yet, the Navajo bus drivers could not conceive what was meant when they were told that school started "at nine" and that the buses must pick up the children "by eight". At first buses rolled on Navajo time, or when "it felt right". Later, after much coaxing, and thanks in part to radio's incessant regimentation, the bus

drivers, along with other hourly workers, began to adhere to schedules.

Other writers have commented on how time and space have been affected by forms of communication. Harold Innis, in his scholarly Empire and Communication (1972), suggested that the form of communication employed by a civilization has, to a great extent, been responsible for its rise and fall as well as its historical thrust. Civilizations where communication was terdious, bulky and elitist (as in the use of hieroglyphics, stone carvings and a reliance on oral histories) were oriented to the preservation and continuity of their culture over time, and thus were geographically confined. Those societies, however, in which communication was simple, portable and common (writing and paper, for instance) were less concerned with historical continuity, and more with the expansion of space, such as through trade and military conquest.

The Ramah Navajo could be comfortably viewed within this framework. The traditional Navajo culture, being oral (thus tedious and elitist) has been concerned with its historic preservation and continuity. The modern Navajo, on the other hand, if becoming electronic (portable and universal), more concerned with the conquest of space. Importantly, the electronic culture of radio has helped to psychologically free the young not only from many traditional cultural proscriptions, but from physical isolation as well. Radio has

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"globalized" the Ramah Reservation. Its power to shrink distance has made even "place" seem irrelevant.

The land of the Navajo, or <u>Dinetlah</u>, at one time comprised a good portion of what is now New Mexico and Arizona. While <u>Dinetlah</u> today corresponds only in part to the present boundaries of the reservation, the Navajo have never given up the feeling that despite its occupation by foreigners, the land is essentially their own. On their land, the Navajo is safe, secure in the knowledge of their "place" in the world. "Outside ... is the dangerous land of foreigners where a person cannot call up the protection of traditional Navajo ceremony for security" (Downs 1972:19). Radio, in bringing the outside world in, has halped secularize <u>Dinetlah</u>. Combined with the forces of mobility and economics, the Navajo move on and off the reservation with ease, travelling to Albuquerque, Los Angeles or even New York in search of employment and opportunity.

The emergence of an electronic culture has been consequential not only in terms of the preservation of cultural heritage, but also to the creation of generational divisions. While the old revere the ancient rituals and chants, the young are embracing transistor radios, cassette tape recorders,

country music and rodeo stars. It was reported that
students would race home after school to tune in the
"Teen Hour" (with student D.J.s) whereas prior to radio
it was difficult to get them to go home at all (Ramah
Navajo School Board 1973:6). Yet, the programs which were
bringing the students home were causing cultural trauma
within the family. Radio was resented by many parents and
grandparents because it offered an alternative to the family
as a source of information, moral, and cultural guidance.
Irreverance for age and the devaluation of memory are two
cases in point.

Age is greatly valued by the traditional Navajo since
one who lives a long time is considered to have satisfied
the conditions of Hozho. Younger Navajos who are being
acculturated by the dominant society or through the cultural
suppositions of radio are learning to reject the traditional
reverence for age because it does not conform to the Anglo
ideal of progress. Further, radio supplied information and
entertainment in such volume as to render one of the
traditional roles of the elderly -- that of a tribal re-
pository of information and culture -- obsolete.

There was some concern that radio was robbing the
younger generation of their memories. An oral tradition
demands excellent memories. With electronic technology,

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the radio and cassette recorder have become commonplace,
dictating that the discipline required to memorize is un-
necessary. Carpenter relates his experiences with seeing
preliterate proples liberated by print only to lose their
memories to books (1974:74). The same phenomenon may be
occuring within the Ramah Community with memories being lost
to radios and recorders.

But the impact of radio has not been limited to
generational conflict; it has affected interpersonal re-
lationships in general. Prior to radio, the Ramah Navajo
were forced to seek out relatives and friends to hear of
family and local news. This human interaction nurtured
the flow of information and maintained a sense of social
equilibrium and cultural reinforcement. With radio, however,
came a power to rearrange and sometimes replace traditional
patterns of social interaction. No longer was it as
important to seek out others for information and entertain-
ment. Radio replaced many of the functions of the grapevine
as an informal communication system. Radio, as a "companion"
according to several community members, was replacing the
companionship of others.

Further, radio is suspected of having deleterious
effects on attempts to increase political participation

(Alonzo 1975). While the Anglo concept of "democracy" has been gradually imposed upon the Navajo over the last 50 years, it has for the most part, been a meaningless one. For the attention of the Navajo has been devoted not to the reservation as a political unit, but to the reservation as land (Downs 1972:18).

Traditionally, the Tribe has always been a loosely structured entity with most decisions being made by group concensus (Kluckholn 1974:157-166). Allegiance was owed to various persons who at the moment might command respect because of age, wealth, wisdom or ability.

> In brief, the Navajo authority system was trad-
> itional, obedience was voluntary; power was
> exercised by particular persons in particular
> situations; and, there was no supreme leader, no
> hierarchical chain of command, no monopoly of
> force (Shepardson 1963: 47-48).

In 1927, at the insistence of the Federal Government, the Chapter House system of local government was established. Implied in the adoption of this concept was the accept-ance of democracy, elections and the idea of majority rule. The practice of actually voting for candidates or on policy decisions is a white innovation that still makes most older and middle-aged Navajos uncomfortable (Kluck-hohn 1974:120).

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The arrival of radio was optimistically viewed by the officers of the Chapter House as a tool to elicit enthusiasm for and increase participation in the political process through increasing attendance at Chapter House meetings. With this in mind, the Chapter Secretary would broadcast an agenda of the next meeting several days in advance. Following the meeting, she would broadcast a synopsis of what had transpired. Rather than generate increased participation, however, the opposite occured. Community members began to stay home realizing that they could hear a report of the meeting over the radio (Alonzo 1975). Participation, all too often, was sacrificed to convenience.

For all the unaticipated changes that radio has helped generate, it has had an impact which was intentional and positive. Radio has cast over the widely scattered population an electronic net creating a psychological sense of immediacy and involvement. While it is true that there has been a decline in attendance at Chapter House meetings, and while radio has displaced the need for some forms of social interaction, the Ramah's sense of "corporate identity" and their attentiveness to local, tribal, state and even some national issues has increased. More importantly, radio, through emphasis on point-to-point personal communication, and in the announcement of social, economic and

political news and events, has served an integrative function. It has coalesced the Ramah Navajo around their radios, and in so doing, has created a trans-familial allegiance to the political concept of "community".

In 1972, radio was introduced into the Ramah Reservation ushering in a new age of immediacy, intimacy and awareness, shattering the protective isolation of the past. With radio has come a cultural metamorphosis, the implications of which we have only begun to explore. For one old Navajo, however, the impact of radio has been simple and direct:

It is like a rocket and a pony.

When the rocket has landed, the horse is
    still running.

Now the Navajo have a rocket.

We are up-to-date with the rest of the
    world.

(Martinez 1975).

Notes

The author wishes to note the valuable assistance of Jacquelynn Norman, Graduate Research Assistant in the Department of Communication, in the preparation of this document.

1. See also, Stephen E. Rada, "KTDB-FM Ramah Navajo Radio and Cultural Preservation", <u>Journal of Broadcasting</u>, Vol. 22, No. 3, Summer, 1978.

2. The Chapter House is the equivalent of a municipal government with the president, vice-president and secretary elected on a regular basis.

3. One Ramah citizen commented that people were hit with such a mass of change in such a short time that radio was accepted as part of this rapid change. (Chuck Bleskin, Director of Federal Programs for the Ramah Navajo School Board, interview, November 5, 1975).

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The Coming of Television to Rural Alaska:
Attitudes, Expectations, and Effects[1]

Norma E. Forbes and Walter J. Lonner

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Abstract

As part of a project which examined the psycholo-
gical impact of television in rural Alaska, 208 school-
aged children and 87 adults were interviewed using
specially prepared and individually administered structured
interviews. The interviews took place in nine villages,
four which did and five which did not have television
reception capabilities at the time the data were collected.
The villages were representative of four major Alaskan Native
groups -- Aleut, Athabaskan, Eskimo, and Tlingit/Haida.
The children were from nearly all age and grade groupings,
while the adults were selected at random from the population
of each village. Approximately equal numbers of males and
females were included. The questions were designed to assess
attitudes and opinions about television, level of information

about national and international events, viewing habits, program preferences, and the impact of television (or its anticipation) on other facets of village life.   Many questions were taken from previous television research in remote or developing areas, permitting a broader basis for comparison.   The differences between sexes and ethnic groups were frequently greater than the differences between the television-no television dichotomy.   Among other results to be presented, this suggests that television may have relatively little impact in distinguishing between villages when contrasted with the powerful influences exerted by traditional differences between the sexes or between cultural groups.

Introduction

In early 1977, 23 rural Alaskan communities began receiving a single channel of entertainment television. That channel was brought to them by the state-funded Alaska Satellite Television Demonstration Project (ATVDP), which was a spin-off from a larger project bringing telephone service via satellite to over 100 rural communities. The 1976 legislature had funded ATVDP for one year. However, most observers at the time agreed that it would be politically impossible to stop delivering television once it had begun, and in 1978 legislation to continue and expand the system was passed. That legislation proposes to bring commercial television eventually to every Alaskan community with more than 25 inhabitants.

During daytime hours the satellite broadcasts educational programs to the rural communities. These are selected by various state agencies. Commercial entertainment programs are broadcast from 5 p.m. to 12 p.m. Evening program selection is the responsibility of a committee of representatives from rural areas under the Alaska Public Broadcasting Commission. Programs, complete with commercials, are selected from all three major commercial networks and from the Public Broadcasting System. In addition, one state news program and a report from the legislature are broadcast.

Satellite television was not the first television to be seen in rural Alaska. Some small communities had had "mini-TV": a single-community broadcast system which uses video tapes circulated by mail to participating communities. In addition, most rural residents had viewed television during trips to cities or regional centers (see below). However, few rural Alaskans had been exposed to a daily diet of commercial programs in their own homes.

The introduction of regular television programming in the home provided an unusual opportunity to study the medium's impact on Alaska's rural population, most of whom are Alaskan Natives. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the University of Alaska, funded by the National Science Foundation, collected pre-television baseline data in 1977 from ten rural villages, five of which were to receive satellite television and five comparable communities which were not.

A longitudinal study of the effects of TV was initiated in 1979 by the senior author, one of the investigators in the original University of Alaska study, and the junior author, through Western Washington University. The result of interviews from children and adults which are reported in this paper are from Western Washington University's 1979

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study, also supported by National Science Foundation funds.
Data from other measures used in that study will be or have
been reported elsewhere (Lonner, 1979; Lonner and Forbes,
1979).

Sites and Sample Description

The 1979 study collected data from nine communities:
two pair of communities which had participated in the
University of Alaska's 1977 study (one Northwestern Alaska
Eskimo and one Athapaskan) and two pair of communities which
had not been in the University of Alaska study (another
larger pair of Northwest Alaska communities and a Tlingit/
Haida pair). In each pair one community had television and
one did not. However, the television communities added in
1979 had mini-TV at the time data were collected rather than
satellite television. The two types of television delivery
do not provide the same viewing experience because there are
no time-value programs such as news or live sports on mini-TV,
although the balance of the programs are the same. Mini-TV
is also mucy less regular than satellite, particularly in
the northern part of the state. In reporting our results we
will refer to television (TV) versus no-television (NTV)
communities, lumping both satellite and mini-TV together.
We will also distinguish between communities receiving
satellite television (SAT) and their paired communities
which do not receive satellite television (NSAT). The ninth
community, a non-TV village on Kodiak Island, was also

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included in the 1977 and 1979 studies. However, newly
arrived school administrators in its matching TV-community
were unwilling to allow us to study their school in 1979,
so that pair is not complete.

The four culture groups included in the study -- Inupiaq
-speaking Eskimo, Athapaskan Indian, Kodiak Aleut, and
Northwest Coast Indian (Tlingit and Haida) -- differ greatly
in pre-contact culture, contact history, degree of isolation,
and apparent acculturation. All have been and are being
exposed to agents of change other than television. One of
the more powerful agents of change in recent years has been
the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, which created
new roles and opportunities and imposed the majority
culture's economic organization upon Settlement recipients.

The four villages added in 1979 have populations of
approximately 500 each. The five villages from the University
of Alaska study each have about 200 residents. The Eskimo
and Athapaskan villages have subsistence economies supple-
mented by a few government jobs while commercial fishing and
logging provide an economic base for the Southeastern villages.
None of the sites can be reached by road; the Athapaskan
villages are the most isolated, the Eskimo villages next,
while the Southeastern communities are relatively accessible
by air or boat. In our sample of respondents to the adult
interview the average level of education in Athapaskan area

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was 6.5 years, in the Eskimo 8.9 years, and in the Tlingit/ Haida area 12.05 years.

Language use also differs between culture areas. Sixty-one percent (N = 53) of the total adult sample said they spoke another language besides English. Among culture areas this ranged from 88% of the Eskimo sample to 20% of the Tlingit/ Haida. For the majority of children in all areas, English is the language of choice for communicating with peers or siblings, although nearly all Eskimo adults reported their children understood Inupiaq. Fourteen percent of the Eskimo children reported their parents spoke only Inupiaq at home while 78.5% reported parents spoke both English and Inupiaq. In Southeastern Alaska 2% of children said their parents spoke their native language, 2% said they spoke both, and the balance spoke English.

When asked if they considered it important that their children have an understanding of the native language, 57% (53 of 87) of adults interviewed said that it was "very important", with 48% of the non-television (NTV) and 69% of the television (TV) sample so responding. Only 16% of the sample considered it unimportant that their children know the native language. Stronly reflecting the actual language usage patterns reported earlier, only 4 (10%) of the Eskimo sample considered it unimportant for their children to learn the local language.

Asked in which language programs should be broadcast, 60% thought that both English and the native language should be used. Twenty-five percent felt that only English should be used, while 15% had no opinion.

A total of 87 adults, consisting of 34 (39%) males and 53 (61%) females were interviewed. This reflects the greater availability of females during interviewing hours as well as their greater willingness to participate. Nearly half the adult sample (N - 41, or 47%) came from the four Eskimo villages, while 20 (23%) were from the two Tlingit/Haida villages, 17 (19%) were from two Athapaskan villages, and 9 (10%) were from a single Aleut NTV village on Kodiak Island. With the exception of the latter, there was a reasonably proportionate balance between television reception capabilities, ethnicity, and age (median about 40 years). In all cases the adults were also parents of school-age children interviewed, which was a necessary precondition for inclusion in the sample, since some questions related to their perception of the viewing habits of children.

Two hundred and eight children were interviewed, ranging in age from 7 to 17, with a mean age of 11.1. Most were in grades three through eight, although some ninth and tenth grade students who had participated in the 1977 study were included. The age and sex balance was equivalent in all villages -- within limits of the available population -- with

the exception of the Kodiak Aleut village sample, which was older. Hence, they are excluded from all age-related measures reported.

Methods and Procedures

Two structured interviews were constructed in order to help us understand how adults and children in our nine villages were either reacting to television or anticipating its arrival. The children's interview included items assessing level of exposure to television, level of general information on national affairs, program preferences and dislikes, use of other media, and their opinion on "most important persons" and problems. The adult interview included items on media usage patterns, educational and occupational levels, mobility patterns, aspirations for children and sources of information about the world.

A third less structured schedule, which will not be discussed in this paper, was used with teachers and village leaders. Responses to interview items were categorized on the basis of content analyses of responses of a minimum of one half of the sample.

When constructing the interview schedules, an effort was made to include as many items as practicable from parallel studies of the introduction of television to communities in the Canadian North, such as Coldevin's study (1975) of Rankin Inlet and Watson's study (1977) of Frobisher

Bay. Other Canadian-based research by Beal et al. (1976) and Williams (1977) was also helpful.

Data collection required five teams, each consisting of a team leader (one of the co-investigators or a graduate student) and a like-ethnic test administrator. Each team was responsible for one pair of villages. Test administrators, all female, were selected from undergraduate students at Western Washington University and the University of Alaska. Children's interviewing was done by the test administrators in the school.

Adult interviews were conducted in homes or by appointment in the schools by the team leaders, usually accompanied by the project's local village contact person. A token honorarium of $4 was paid to each adult participant upon completion of the interview.

Funding for this study did not allow us to pilot test our interview material in the field. As a result we experienced some difficulty in rapport and vocabulary with some adult respondents which affect quantification of data -- particularly from the viewpoint of a psychologist. We have, therefore, relied on basic descriptive statistics in reporting most interview responses.

Responses from adults regarding negative aspects of television should be considered in light of the state's funding of television and the controversy surrounding it. This is

particularly true in regard to one of the Eskimo villages which hoped to replace its mini-TV with satellite-TV. The residents of that village were openly reluctant to express negative opinions for fear their chances of receiving state-funded satellite delivery would be jeopardized.

Another caution must be voiced. While this study is nominally a contrast across TV - NTV villages, most adults and children in the NTV villages were not television-naive. Ninety percent of the adults and 92% of the children had viewed television previously. Add to this the fact that the television reception capabilities vary across villages and that television had been around for a relatively short period (two years) leads one to the conclusion that such research situations do not begin to compete with the clarity and control of laboratory research. In spite of these cautionary notes, we believe that our data shed some light on the impact of television in isolated Alaskan villages, as seen through the eyes of samples of children and adults. Data from interviews and other measures used in our study are stored in SPSS format and are available on request for the cost of retrieval and reproduction.

The "Exposure Index"

A child may reside in a traditional Alaskan village without benefit of television or other trappings of modern

life. Conversely, an individual may reside in a highly
acculturated village with television and other modernizing
influences. However, this way of examining the television
variable may obscure significant individual differences in
television exposure as well as exposure to other acculturat-
ing influences. An exploratory Exposure Index (EI), there-
fore, was developed to try and take these factors into account.
The components used to derive the EI were (1) the actual
television reception capabilities, if any, found in each
village, which takes into consideration the existence of
either mini-TV (basically "canned" programs) or the recep-
tion of television via satellite; (2) whether or not a child
has lived elsewhere; (3) type of other residences (e.g.,
villages, towns, or cities) as well as duration of stay; and
(4) whether or not each child in villages without television
reported that he or she actually watched television elsewhere.

Each child was assigned an EI score of 1-11. An
individual receiving an EI score of 0 would come from a
village without television, and would report never having
lived anywhere else, in addition to never haveing watched
television. Individuals with such scores can, therefore,
truly be characterized as having received no influence
from television. Consider, on the other hand, the highest

EI score of 11. An individual with such a score would suggest that he or she has received very significant exposure to television. He or she would come from a village with satellite television reception capabilities, will have reported living outside of Alaska, most likely in cosmopolitan cities such as Seattle or Honolulu or Vancouver, B.C., and will have lived in such a city for 16 months or more.

Individuals who received EI scores of 0-4 are hereafter referred to as the "Low Exposure" group, while individuals receiving scores of 5-11 are termed the "High Exposure" group.

Both media use and media effects have been shown to vary with the interaction between television content and children's personal characteristics such as age and sex. In reporting interview responses, as in analyses of other measures used in our study, we will consider the influence of culture area, age, sex, and of degree of exposure.

Media Use

Television: Preferences and Patterns of Use

The possession of at least one television set, typically color, is near universal. Only one of the 39 TV-village adult respondents claimed not to have a set, but even she reported spending four to six hours per week viewing television at a neighbor's house. Of those children (9%) who did not have a currently operating set in their home, only one child said he did not watch television someplace else.

Children's self-reports of the time spent watching TV on school days ranged from 1 to 8 hours, with a mean of 3.9. On Saturdays and Sundays the means were 4.9 and 4.6 hours, respectively. These viewing patterns are almost identical to those reported by Coldevin (1975) for Inuit settlement high school students in Frobisher Bay and comparable to the viewing patterns for American children reported by Lyle and Hoffman (1972). They are also in close agreement with the estimates of children's viewing given by interviewed adults.

One question was designed to determine the number of hours spent watching television by adults. Viewing habits were light during the day, principally because entertainment programming does not start until early evening. The median number of viewing hours during weekdays was reported to be about 4.5. For both all day Saturday and all day Sunday, the median number of viewing hours was reported to be slightly less, at about 4.0 hours.

The 39 adults (18 males, 21 females) in the four TV villages were asked to list as many as three television programs that they particularly enjoyed. They were also asked to name as many as three programs that were disliked. The range of programs enjoyed was wide, and with the exception of one of the Eskimo villages, where there was reticence to respond, the interviewees typically voiced strong opinions about program tastes, especially for preferred offerings. It is, however, possible only to make one or two general comments about self-reported preferences since there are few

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stable trends.

The favorite for both males and females was "Hee-Haw".
followed by "Movies", "All In the Family", and popular long-
running programs such as "Little House on the Prairie",
"Hawaii Five-O", and assorted situation comedies. Females
reported strong enjoyment of such popular limited series as
"Centennial", "Roots", and "Backstairs at the White House",
a mini-series that was siring during the period that the data
were collected. None of the males listed any of these
programs as among his facorites.

While there was a strong tendency for the interviewees
to embrace much of what television had to offer, there were
a few rejection patterns. In the course of the interviews
many people pointed out that they do not like violence or
sex on television, and they also reported that they try to
prevent their children from watching such airings.

The children's two top program choices were "Charlie's
Angels" and "Happy Days". "Battlestar Galactica" and "The
Incredible Hulk" were tied for third. "Starsky and Hutch"
was the fourth most commonly mentioned. Eastman and Liss
(in press) report that "Charlie's Angels" and "Happy Days"
are also top program choices for Anglo boys and girls but
not for Black children or Hispanics.

As has been found in other studies, boys' preferences differed from those of girls. For boys "Battlestar Galactica" and "The Incredible Hulk" were first and second, while "Charlie's Angels" tied with "Starsky and Hutch" for third place, and "Happy Days" tied with "Wonder Woman" for fourth. For girls "Charlie's Angels" was first, "Happy Days" second, and "Little House on the Prairie" tied with "Laverne and Shirley" for third place. With the exception of "Charlie's Angels", the sex differences are in the direction of those within the general population (Comstock et al., 1978), with boys preferring action-type programming and girls preferring family situation comedies. However, in their preference for "Charlie's Angels", Native girls are most like Eastman and Liss's sample of Hispanic girls, who chose action-adventure more often than did their male counterparts.

Program choices are similar to those reported for Eskimo children in Canada (Coldevin 1975: Watson 1977), where "Police Story", "Happy Days", and "Lost in Space", were top favorites. The wide range of choices by children interviewed is also of interest; a total of 70 programs were mentioned as being among their favorites.

"Spook, scary" shows were named by the highest percentage (12.8%) of children as the type of programs least liked. News and sports were, respectively, the second and third most frequently mentioned as least liked. The poor rating of sports in contrast to the popularity of sports among

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Canadian Eskimo viewers is probably due to the fact that football, the favorite TV sport in the U.S., is outside the experience of Alaskan Natives - while hockey, Canada's national sport, could be enjoyed as a participant sport by residents of Alaska as well.

"Sesame Street" was named by 9% of the respondents as least liked; however, an analysis of responses by age showed that those were older children's responses. Comstock et al. (1978) comment that the appeal of "Sesame Street" and "Mr. Rogers" for children in general is "very closely tied to the specific age of the child" (P. 185). Since our sample did not include pre-school children -- the target audience for those shows -- we would not expect them to be favorites. Comstock et al. (1978) also comment that "Sesame Street" and "Mr. Rogers" are "more frequently cited when mothers respond for their children (p. 185), and in fact when Alaskan Native parents were asked to list which programs their children watched most, the four most frequently mentioned were "Sesame Street" (8), "The Muppet Show" (5), "Happy Days" (5), and "Wonderful World of Disney"(3). The variety of programs listed by adults was only half that of the children, with about 35 different programs (or types of programs) receiving at least one mention.

Children's Comprehension of Program Content

Children were asked several specific questions about two frequently watched programs, "Charlie's Angels" and "Hawaii Five-O", in order to assess their perceptions of program content. They were asked first to identify the characters and then the theme of the program.

We will focus on the responses concerning "Charlie's Angels", as it is watched by 97.2% of the children interviewed. All but one child could identify at least one character on the show and 69% could identify three or more. Seventy-eight percent were able to identify characters by name.

Responses to the theme question "What is (the program) about, what kind of story does it tell?" were classified on the basis of whether they incorporated the idea of solving mysteries or crimes, or whether the response only defined isolated acts, e.g., "killing" or "shooting". Responses to both "Hawaii Five-O" and "Charlie's Angels" were similar; only 40% of the children could identify the theme of the program. The ability fo identify a theme rather than isolated actions improved with age; however, even in the oldest group (14 years and older) only about half of the viewers identified the "Charlie's Angels" theme and fewer could identify the theme of "Hawaii Five-O". The responses suggest that differences in understanding of these programs as social reality may exist along the dimensions examined in Collins' (1979)

research on children's comprehension of explicit and implicit

content in television narratives. Collins reported that

younger children remember explicit events in a program in

a fragmentary fashion. Discrete scenes are recalled, but

the relationships between scenes are not. As a result,

the premises for the action in terms of motivations or

consequences are not comprehended. As he pointed out, in

laboratory studies of imitation (Bandura, Ross, and Ross,

1965; Berkowitz and Rawlings, 1963) information about an

aggressive model's motives and the consequences to him has

been found to moderate the likelihood that viewers will be

affected by what they see. Collins suggests that the

comprehension difficulties of younger children "may reside

partly in their lack of familiarity with the types of

roles, characters, and settings" (p. 41). If naivete as

well as developmental level affect children's ability to

comprehend motivations and consequences, then we would

expect isolated and culturally different rural Alaskan

children to have less understanding of the links between

aggressive action and motives and consequences that are the

potential moderators of the effects of viewing aggressive

actions. This implies that isolated and/or culturally

different children will be more vulnerable to the effects

of viewing violence on television than are urban, majority

culture children.

Another aspect of children's comprehension of what they view on television which has been shown to be related to TV's effects is the degree of realism ascribed to what is viewed. Children were asked what programs they like because they have real people in them or because they are about things that really happened, a question adapted from the Rankin Inlet study (Watson 1977). Answers were categorized as to whether the programs named were (1) actual programs such as news or sports events, (2) fictionalized specials about real people and events such as "Roots" or "Backstairs at the White House", and (2) fictional or fantasy such as "Charlie's Angels" or "All in the Family". About 30% of all interviewed children were able to name programs which were in fact "real". Age, exposure to the majority culture, and culture each affected the degree to which children were able to distinguish reality from fantasy in the programs.

Comparing Eskimo children with children in southeastern Alaska villages there was little difference in the percentage naming real programs, but Eskimo children were less likely to name fictionalized specials and more likely to name fantasy or fiction. The same pattern of responses distinguished Low Exposure children from High Exposure children (refer to our earlier discussion of the Exposure

Index). The age range of our sample differs from that in th

Rankin Inlet study, which prevents us from making direct

comparisons. However, results do seem to be comparable and

in clear contrast to Watson's sample of non-Native children

in Churchill who showed little confusion between reality and

fantasy on TV.

Patterns of Other Media Use, With and Without Television

When television comes to rural communities what happens

to existing media use? In Alaska the question is most

appropriate for radio use since print media are not easily

available and reading skills are often poor.

Radio has played a major role as a source of information,

communication, and entertainment in Alaska as well as in the

Canadian North. Prior to the introduction of the satellite-

telephone links associated with the advent of television,

radio was the major link with the outside world for most of

the communities in our study. It provides entertainment,

regional and national news, and an ongoing message service

which has served to build a regional identity for scattered

villages. In thos areas where the Native language remains

viable, radio broadcasts are in both English and the local

Native language.

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As has been reported in other studies (Coldevin, 1977)
interview responses indicate television has had an impact on
radio use by adults and by children. Ninety-five percent
of the children in NTV villages said they listen to the
radio (versus 86% in TV villages). Both TV and NTV children
report the same amount of daily listening (1.9) hours.
However, children in satellite-television (SAT) villages
listen less (1.8) hours than children in non-satellite (NSAT)
villages (2.6 hours). The presence of television also seems
to change the type of radio program to which children listen
Seventeen percent of TV village children say they usually
listen to the news versus 5% of NTV village children. Seven
percent ot TV village children usually listen to message
programs while only 2% of NTV do. However, 60% of NTV
children listen to music programs compared with only 43% of
TV village children. Thus children in TV villages seem more
interested in the world outside the village and they rely
less on radio for entertainment. The relationship changes
when SAT village children are compared with their NSAT peers.
Only 4% in each group named the news as a program to which
they usually listen. Probably satellite-TV viewers satisfy
their interest in the outer world by viewing television news
while those with mini-TV stations must satisfy their interes
via radio news. As in the TV/NTV contrast, 83% of non-
satellite listeners and 62% of satellite listeners say they
usually listen to music programs.

Virtually all adult respondents reported owning at least one radio, with NTV villages reporting a higher percentage of ownership (94% vs. 82%). As might be expected, NTV respondents reported having the radio on longer, with 67% of them reporting the radio to be on 10 hours or more per day versus 37% for TV villages. There were no differences between type of village on using the radio for news, weather or music. However, a greater percentage (33% vs. 14%) of the TV sample reported that the major function of the radio for them was for messages.

The percentage of ownership of a record player or tape deck -- approximately 90% -- and the frequency of their use reported by children were much the same in TV as in NTV villages. The percentage of ownership in NSAT villages (96%) however, is higher than in SAT villages (74%), and the percentage of owners reporting that they used their tape deck daily is also higher (46% vs. 32%).

When asked which of the above entertainment devices (radio, television, record player, or tape deck) they like best, television won regardless of its availability, with approximately half of all respondents stating a preference for it. Radio was the second choice and was most preferred in 31% of the NTV villages and 18% of the TV villages.

Movies

Before television every Alaskan village showed movies a least once a week, and in some villages, every night. Movies served purposes other than entertainment, for example as a means of raising money for school or community needs and, in several cases, exclusion from the movies was the prime means used by the community to discipline village young people. Our survey indicates that movies in TV villages continue to attract an audience but it is a diminished attraction. Seventy-seven percent of NTV village children (versus 49% of the TV village children) had seen a movie within the last week.

On adult movie attendance, 63% of the NTV sample said that they attend (versus 31% for TV), and over half do so on at least a monthly basis.

Print Media

Evidence in the research literature suggests that television has both positive and negative effects on the use of print media (Madigan and Peterson 1974; Corteen 1977; Hornik 1978). Children were asked (1) when they had last read a book that was not part of their schoolwork, and then (2) to name the book. There was little difference between TV and NTV or between SAT and NSAT village children in response to the first part of the question. However, there was a clear difference between both TV and NTV and between SAT and NSAT

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village children in response to the first part of the
question. However, there was a clear difference between
both TV and NTV and between SAT and NSAT village children
in their ability to name the book they had read: 91% of
the NTV children could name the book while only 74% of TV
village children could. The difference was even greater
between non-satellite and satellite, 95% and 60%,
respectively. Considering the social desirability in
claiming to have read a book, particularly when being
interviewed in a school setting, the second question may be
the more accurate assessment of the effect of TV on reading
books among village children. Television appears to have
little effect on the reading of magazines and newspapers
by children. Adult respondents also were asked if they read
magazines, and an equal number (about 65%) in the NTV/TV
breakdown said that they do.

An equal percentage (52%) of adult respondents in the
TV/NTV breakdown reported reading books, and of those in
TV villages who do so, females outnumber males two to one.
Athapaskan respondents reported the lowest involvement with
books.

Adults were also asked to give the name of the last book
that they read. While there was a trend in the same
direction as childrens' responses, the difference is small

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(40% vs. 33% for NTV and TV villages, respectively).

An equal number of respondents (about 70%) from the two types of villages reported reading newspapers on at least a weekly basis. Statewide papers such as the Anchorage Times were reported as more popular among TV villages, with regional Native papers appearing to be more popular among NTV people.

Considering all of the major media (except for television in the villages without it), adult participants were asked which of them is (1) most enjoyable, (2) most educational, (3) getting worse, (4) least important personally, (5) getting better, and (6) which would he or she most like to keep. On "most enjoyable", the hierarchy for TV villages was television, books, radio, magazines, newspapers, and movies. The hierarchy for NTV was radio, movies, newspapers, books, and magazines. On "most educational", NTV and TV people (especially females) ranked books number one. For NTV, magazines were ranked second, while second place for TV villages was television itself. The other media were ranked low in this category by most of the sample.

Adults' Awareness and Sources of News

Adults were presented with a card on which were printed ten sources of news and information. The subject was asked to give his or her first, second and third choices, in terms

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of what their sources of information and news are. In
the NTV villages the first choice was radio (42% of the
sample), followed by "talking with people" (30%) and
newspapers (8%). In the TV villages, the choices were
much more diffused, with the first three being "talking with
people" (30%), radio and television tied for second (13%),
and newspapers and personal experiences deadlocked at 8%.
Collapsing across all three choices, for NTV villages
radio accounted for 27% of all mentions, followed by
"talking with people" (23%) and newspapers (15%). For TV
villages the three most popular choices were "talking with
people" (26% of all mentions), radio (19%), and school (11%).
Television was ranked fourth (tied with newspapers and
personal experience), each receiving 9% of the mentions.
Collapsing across all villages we found that "talking with
people" is ranked first, capturing 24% of all mentions.
Closely following was radio, with 23%. Newspapers ranked
a distant third, with 12% of the total. Books and movies
were seen as the least important sources of worldly
information.

Interested in whether or not sources of media influenced
the type of news that the respondents received, we asked
them a two-part question. The first part asked "what was
the latest big news story you heard about"; the second part
asked "where did you hear about it?" For the first part we

coded the responses into categories ranging from "local"
news story (that is, very specific to the village),
national news stories, to stories that were of both national
and international significance. A clear difference was
found, where 21% of the TV village people's responses as
opposed to 8.3% of the NTV responses were classified as
stories with national significance. More striking was the
percentage difference with respect to stories of both national
and international significance, where 33% of the TV people,
as opposed to 21% of the NTV people, responded with stories
that could be cassified in this most worldly category. By
a difference of 54% to 29%, then, TV village people indicated
that the latest big news story was of national or of national/
international significance. Responses to the second part of
the question showed that radio was the major source of
the big news story, especially for the NTV people, where
77% (versus 41%) mentioned radio as the chief source. For
TV villages, television was given by 25% of the sample as
the source of the big news story. It seems therefore evident
that television is in some way influential in expanding one's
awareness of the world. If televisions's role is not direct
via news programs then it may be indirect by creating in
its owner and recipient a "set" or expanded sense of
awareness. Television, in other words, may be influential in
that it symbolizes, and ushers in, a feeling of arrival in
the modern world.

The final question of this type asked the respondent to name any countries they could where fighting or wars have occurred during the past year or so. Thirty-three of the 48 NTV respondents (69%) correctly named at least one country, compared with 23 of the 39 (60%) TV people. On the other hand, NTV people were more frequently in error in response to this question, misnaming countries nearly twice as frequently as people in TV villages.

Effects or Anticipated Effects of Television

As was the case in Canada (Watson 1977), our Alaska sample held generally favorable attitudes toward the introduction of television. Among the most frequently mentioned positive effects expected by most Native parents, and some rural teachers, was that television viewing will improve children's English language skills and fund of general information. As reported elsewhere, however, (lonner 1979/ Lonner & Forbes 1979) results from our other measures indicate that formal English language skills have not been affected by television. General information of a political or governmental nature also seems unaffected. For example, the children were asked six general information questions similar to the National Unit Identification questions asked by Coldevin (1975). These included such items as "Who is the President of the United States?" "Who are your State Senators?" and "What are the two main political parties in the United States?" The six items formed a Guttman scale with a coefficient of reproducability

of .9345. There were no significant differences between the information scores of TV vs. NTV children nor between SAT and NSAT children. Nor were there significant differences between Eskimo children and children in Southwestern Alaska. As Coldevin reports (1977) in regard to his National Unit questions, "the impact of television ... appears marginal" (p. 16). There was, however, a significant difference (p .01) between High Exposure children ($\overline{X}$ = 1.4) and Low Exposure children ($\overline{X}$ = .9). The expected relationship with age as well as significant differences between sexes, with males scoring higher than females (means of 1.4 and .8, respectively, p .01), was found on these items. It is possible that the fund of information tapped by these questions is equally available to all rural children through the schools and is therefore not affected by culture area or the presence of television but it is somehow made more salient by the experience of living in an urban area.

Among the concerns of those who deplore the introduction of commercial television in the North is the fear that it will make life in the south increasingly attractive to young people. Several of the items on the children's interview concern local vs. national orientations and attractions.

For example, children were asked "If you could live any-place in the world you wanted to when you finish school, including here, where would that be?" No appreciable difference between TV and NTV villages or between High Exposure and Low Exposure children was evident in the percent who would prefer to stay in their own village. However, within the group of Eskimo children who would choose to move from their home village there was a definite trend on the part of TV village children as contrasted with NTV children toward desiring to live in an Alaskan city such as Fairbanks or Anchorage rather than a regional center such as Kotzebue. In general about 25% of the children, regardless of age, expressed a desire to live in their own village. There were no consistent differences between sexes, although among adults there has been greater actual out-migration by females. A difference by culture area emerged, with twice the percentage of southeastern Alaskan children, TV and NTV, (34%) as compared with Eskimo and Athapaskan children (17%), expressing a desire to live in their own village when they finish school.

In view of the interest of the majority of children in living elsewhere, a few comments about parental mobility are appropriate. Questions on the adult interview concerning birth place of respondent as well as birth place of their

parents suggest little mobility. Just over half (51%) of
the respondents were born in their current village of resid-
ence, and 66 (76%) were born either in the village of
interview or a neighboring village. Only 15 (17%) reported
being born out of the region, and all but four of these
were Alaskan towns or villages. The situation is nearly
identical with their parents' mobility patterns, with
50 (68%) of their fathers and 57 (66%) of their mothers
having been born in the same village or a neighboring
community. If the two Tlingit/Haida villages were excluded,
patterns of residential stability would be more pronounced,
for people in the Alaskan panhandle are much more affected
by out and in-migration. Moreover, there is little indication
of desire to move in the near future; 80% of the sample
reported having no plans to move. Of the remainder, 11%
said they may move and 9% reported either indecision or
the likelihood of a temporary relocation.

When asked if they want their children to live in the
villages 50 (57%) said "yess", 11 (13%) said "no", and the
remainder said that the decision rests with their children.
The percentage of parents in TV villages who want their
children to stay in the village is much higher (74% versus
44%) than the percentage in the NTV villages, a difference

that cannot necessarily be interpreted as an indication that television per se makes village life that much more attractive.

When asked if their children will actually stay and live in the village, the data suggest that more than half the parents in NTV villages expect their children to stay. This is slightly less than what parents in TV villages report. Perhaps television and what its presence implies (or the nature of television villages) influences these parental expectations.

Percentages associated with the likelihood of travel are essentially identical for sex, area, and the TV/NTV dichotomy, with 90% reporting having visited other places during the past year. However, residents of NTV villages report more regional visitation (places close to their home villages), while more than half the residents of TV villages reported having visited more distant points in Alaska or outside the State.

Whan asked how much schooling they would like for their sons and daughters, approximately 75% specified at least a high school education, with half of them specifying college. These percentages are the same for boys and girls as well as across the TV/NTV breakdown. However, educational aspirations were higher in the Southeastern than in the Northern villages.

To assess regional versus national orientation a modified version of the "Who is the most important person in the world?" item used by Coldevin (1975) was included in both children's and adults' interviews. The item was presented in four successive versions: most important (1) you can think of, (2) in village, (3) in Alaska, and (4) in the world. Responses were divided into four categories representing increasing distance from self: (1) ego, including self, parents, other family members or personal friends; (2) local, including local village officials, school staff, or local priest or minister; (3) state, including governor and state senators, and (4) national, including the president of the U.S. and other national or international figures. A small percentage or responses fell into a fifth category, religious, which includes such responses as "Jesus".

As would be expected each succeeding question (think of, village, Alaska, world) shifted responses away from self. However, in spite of the cues offered by the wording and succession of the questions, over half (55%) of the children have ego-related responses to "most important in world" and only 35% gave national category responses. The direction of the relationship between children's responses and television, age, exposure, and culture area was the

same for all four questions. Since response categories

form an ordinal scale in terms of distance from self, it

was possible to assess the relationship of responses to the

above independent variables by means of (Spearman) non-

parametric correlation coefficients. As expected, older

children gave fewer ego-related and more national responses,

and the relationship of age to responses to all four

questions is significant at the .001 level. The presence

or absence of television was not significantly related to

response distance from self. However, children's exposure

was modestly related (r_s = .13, p   .02), suggesting that

actually living in an urban, majority culture setting is a

more powerful influence on orientation away from self than

is observing television.

There is, however, a pattern of change in both children's

and adults' responses associated with television which is

not assessed by correlation coefficients. That is the

consistent trend toward more <u>ego-related</u> responses

accompanied by more <u>national</u> responses at the expense of

<u>local</u> responses on the part of television (and satellite)

children and adults. One might speculate that the presence

of television increases intrafamily attraction by, for

example, bringing them in close contact for significant
daily periods -- at the same time weakening the community
ties which are so characteristic of small villages. For
both TV and NTV children, making fewer ego-related responses
to the latter two of the four questions (in Alaska, in
world) is related to age, exposure, and culture area; this
reflects the tendency for the older, those with greater
exposure to the majority culture, and the more sophisticated
southeastern Alaska children to respond more appropriately
to the cues offered by the progression of the items.

   Looking at another aspect of self or local orientation
versus national or world orientation, the interview included
another question, also used by Coldevin (1975): "What are
the main problems in the world today?" Five categories
were derived from a content analysis of children's responses:
(1) individual problems or characteristics such as can't
catch fish, plane won't start, swearing, lying, smoking;
(2) group or village behavioral problems, e.g., drinking,
drugs, delinquency, disobeying parents; (3) violent problems,
e.g., crime, murder suicide, fights, airplane crashes;
(4) State of Alaska problems, e.g., land, pipeline, unemploy-
ment; and (5) national or international problems, e.g.,

pollution, prices, fuel shortage, wars.

The relative frequency of response in each category was the same for the first response as for pooled multiple responses. More than half of the children listed at least three problems, so results are reported as percent of cases for pooled multiple responses. Eighty-nine percent of the respondents gave at least one response classified as a national problem. The next most frequent type of response was violence, given by 62% of respondents. There were no consistent differences between TV and NTV children in the type of problem names. A high incidence of interpersonal violence, particularly that associated with alcohol, in rural Alaskan communities no doubt contributes to the frequent responses dealing with violence.

Other Effects or Anticipation from Adults

When asked if television was responsible for any good or bad things in the village (without specifying what "good" or "bad" meant), well over half had no opinion or believed that television has made no real difference. The mode was thus acceptance. Of the nine respondents who did voice an opinion, the "good" and "bad" characteristics are of the type one might expect. They see television as educational and as giving one respondent a "deeper" meaning to life. Several believe that it helps keep kids out of trouble. One

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respondent noted a reduction in drinking since television arrived, a comment echoed spontaneously by many village leaders in the course of unstructured interviews. The negative influences given were that television keeps children indoors too much and at the same time seriously affects their doing household chores. Three respondents believe that lawbreaking has increased since the arrival of television, and at least one break-in reportedly imitated exactly the method depicted recently on a popular program.

One question asked if they have seen things on television that they would particularly like to have. About half the sample said yes. The most frequently mentioned items they would like can be placed essentially into one of two categories: food and mobile recreational vehicles. Respondents, especially females, appear to be impressed with McDonald's hamburgers (one referred to them as "elegant"), fresh fruits and vegetables, and "nice-looking" meat products. Males report a strong attraction to motorcycles, outboard motors, cars and hot rods, and "fancy" athletic equipment.

Stimulated by the format used in other surveys (see Comstock et al., 1978, page 133), respondents were presented with a card, on which appeared the following potentially "good" or "bad" things associated with television: (1) the

number of commercials, (2) the amount of violence,

(3) prejudice on television news, (4) the amount of sex or

bad language, (5) the quality of children's programs, and

(6) the fact that there are few programs dealing with Alaska

or Alaskans. Respondents in TV villages were asked which, if

any, of these is a problem; those in NTV villages were asked

if they anticipate any of them to be a problem when television

arrives.

In nearly all cases, TV and NTV, a plurality (and only

sometimes a majority of the respondents reported that these

things will not be a problem. There are differences between

TV and NTV which suggest people in NTV villages may be

over-anticipating the "good" and de-emphasizing the possible

negative consequences of these television-related variables.

On the other hand, those who have been experienceing

television may bemoan the "bad" things once they have been

exposed to it and no longer anticipate the novelty of the

medium. Murray and Kippax (1977) reported the same rela-

tionships in their study among Australian towns with either

"high", "low", or "no" television.

For example, one-third of the NTV sample said that

television violence will be a problem, while half the tele-

vision sample considered televised violence to be a prob-

lem. This pattern is even more pronounced for "sex or bad

language". Only 27% of those who are anticipating television

see this as a problem, while 56% of the TV sample see this as

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a problem. A reciprocal relationship seems to hold for the possible problems created by the scarcity of programs dealing with Alaska or Alaskans. The NTV people do not see this as a problem (i.e., they underanticipate or devalue the importance of their absence), while nearly half the TV sample indicated a concern.

Another item, related directly to television, that was common to both TV and NTV villages consisted of five bipolar adjectives. Respondents were given a card on which were printed the following five pairs of evaluative items: (1) enjoyable-disappointing; (2) interesting-uninteresting, (3) exciting-dull; (4) bad-good; and (5) powerful-weak. Regardless of type of village, the overwhelming majority sees (or anticipates) television as enjoyable (90%), interesting (84%), and exciting (76%). The majority (75%) sees television as "bad", however, Of these five scales, the only one yielding a clear difference between TV and NTV respondents was the fifth, on which 56.3% of the NTV people said that television was more powerful than weak, while only 28.2% of the TV sample viewed the medium as powerful. Similar to the pattern of results mentioned earlier, this difference may be attributed to the anticipation of the strong and powerful influence of television, trends which we once again see paralleling Murray and Kippax' findings (1977).

Summary

     We have discussed the use of structured interviews
with 208 children and 87 adults in rural Alaska. The intent
was to assess attitudes, expectations, and effects of
television, which was only recently brought to many rural
communities. The interviews took place in nine villages,
four which did and five which did not have television at
the time of the interviews. The type of television reception
(satellite versus no-satellite, or "mini-TV") was also
considered during analysis.

     The number of daily hours television is watched is similar
for adults and children, and is similar to viewing habits
reported by others. Adults like similar programs ("Hee-Haw",
movies, and situation comedies being most popular), with
female adults showing fondness for mini-series such as
"Roots". Adults say that they reject programs with violence
and sex. Children like "Charlie's Angels" and "Happy Days"
best, which concurs with reports by others. The children,
who ranged in age from 7 to 17, evidenced strong develop-
mental differences in their comprehension of programs'
themes.

     Television seems to affect whether or not children will
listen to the radio, and what types of radio programs are
listened to. Children in television villages listen to more

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news, less music, and seem to be more "worldly". Television also seems to affect adversely the saliency or importance of books.

Among adults, television seems to make them more aware of national and international news stories, in spite of the fact that television news is not among their favorite programs. Television also seems to influence one's focus on the family (or other ego referents), probably by drawing families together. Adults in villages without television may be overanticipating the virtues and novelty of television while minimizing its negative characteristics, when compared with responses from adults who live in television villages. This parallels Australian findings.

The size and nature of the sample and the relatively short period that television has been available have influenced our data collection. Similar research is needed so that television's effects can be monitored over a longer period.

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A Before-and-After Study of the
Effects of Television[1]

by

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A longitudinal study based on a natural before-and-after experiment involving television was conducted in three Canadian communities. This research was done by several faculty members and graduate students in the Department of Psychology at the University of British Columbia, under my direction.

The impetus for the research came from Mary Morrison, who alerted me in the summer of 1973 to a Canadian town that did not yet have television reception but was due to get it within a year. We studied that town, given the pseudonym Notel, and two other towns chosen for comparison, Unitel and Multitel, in 1973 before Notel got television and again two years later. During the first phase of our research, Notel had no television reception; Unitel received CBC, the Canadian government owned channel; and Multitel received CBC and the three major US networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC. When Notel got television in November, 1973, they began to receive one channel, CBC. At the same time, reception in Unitel improved by the addition of a second CBC channel with better reception. Multitel reception did not change.

The extent to which the three towns were comparable in ways other than television reception is important. Data from the 1971 Canadian census revealed only slight differences; on the whole the towns were remarkably similar. To our knowledge, there were no major social changes in terms of bus, rail, plane service, etc. in the two-year period between the phases of data collection. The road linking Notel and Unitel improved significantly at about the same time as television arrived, but this did not affect Notel's access to the nearest larger community (reached by a different road). In general, we feel confident that lack of television reception was the overwhelming difference between Notel and the other towns.

In the first phase of the project, the median number of hours of viewing per week was 0 for Notel, compared with 21 hours for Unitel and 23 for Multitel. In the second phase, about 90% of the people in Notel had television sets. The median number of hours of TV viewing per week was now 25 in all three towns, which is consistent with other North American data (e.g., Comstock, Chaffee, Katzman, McCombs & Roberts, 1978).

Children's Aggressive Behavior. Research on the impact of television on children's aggressive behavior was conducted by Lesley A. Joy, Meredith M. Kimball, and Merle L. Zabrack.[1]

In both phases, five male and five female children at each grade level in each of the three towns were observed in free play on the

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[1]These researchers are listed alphabetically to reflect their equal contribution.

school playground. Before Notel got television Grades 1, 2, 4 and 5 were observed, and two years later, Grades 1, 2, 3 and 4. Thus, children in Grades 1 and 2 were studied longitudinally and observed again in the second phase, when in Grades 3 and 4; 44 of 60 (73%) were still available. Sixteen additional children in Grades 3 and 4 were added to this second phase group for the cross-sectional analyses.

Each child was watched by two trained observers during 21, one-minute intervals over a seven to ten day period. No child was observed for two consecutive minutes. Reliability was greater than .8 in both phases of the study. The observers used a checklist, noting how many times each of 14 physical and 9 verbal behaviors was displayed by the child being observed during that interval.

In both phases of the study, teacher and peer ratings of aggression were obtained, were found to be intercorrelated, and were also correlated with the observational measures of aggression, lending validity to those observations.

In general, the results of both the longitudinal and cross-sectional analyses indicated that two years following the inception of television in their community, Notel children had increased in both physical and verbal aggression. Furthermore, their aggression scores were now higher than those of children in Multitel. This suggests that the relationship between television viewing and aggressive behavior is not necessarily linear. Given that there is more aggression and violence depicted on the U.S. networks than on CBC (Williams, Zabrack & Joy, 1977), and that the level of aggression portrayed on U.S. television was increasing during the period examined (Gerbner & Gross, 1976), children in Multitel might

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have been expected to be the most aggressive in both phases of this
study. This did not occur. However, while there is less aggressive
content in programs shown on CBC than on ABC/CBS/NBC, the difference
is not substantial. And although CBC carried only two crime shows
per week during this research period, it carried sixteen situation
comedies per week, which contain high levels of verbal aggression. CBC
may well depict a sufficient amount of aggression to affect its viewers.
The findings of this study of children's aggressive behavior fit with
that hypothesis, and in my opinion a threshold model is more appropriate
than a linear one for the effects of television.

Telelvision may have had a non-specific energizing effect (Tannenbaum
& Zillman 1975) and/or a disinhibiting effect on the children in Notel.
Comstock, Chaffee, Katzman, McCombs, and Roberts (1978) contend that
the general arousal or excitation associated with television may facili-
tate learning of the content portrayed more than the nature of the
content itself facilitates learning. Since television was relatively
novel to Notel children, arousal effects may have been greater for them
and they may have attended more closely to, and been more affected by,
what they saw. With regard to the possible disinhibiting effect of
television, it is important to remember that social learning theory
(Bandura 1973) involves not only the notion that specific behaviors may
be learned by viewing a televised model. As Bandura (1978) has recently
outlined, exposure to televised violence can also alter restraints over
aggressive behavior, and desensitize and habituate people to violence.
The disinhibition hypothesis fits better with the finding that Notel
children increased in aggression than would a theory restricted to
modelling of specific behaviors. It also provides a reasonable explana-

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tion of the findings obtained by Belson (1978) in England for the relationship between television and the physically aggressive behavior of adolescent boys.

Finally, it should be noted that the findings in this study for verbal aggression were as substantial, and some ways more clearcut, than those for physical aggression. Multitel children were initially highest in verbal aggression, and Notel and Unitel children did not differ. Two years after their town received television, Notel children were highest in verbal aggression. The finding that television may have had an impact on children's verbal aggressive behavior is not surprising. Most content analyses have focused on the depiction of physical aggression, but Williams, Zabrack and Joy (1977) found that whereas 27% of the program segments in crime shows contained aggression, most of which was physical, 40% of the segments of situation comedies contained aggression, almost all of which was verbal.

Children's Reading Skills. Raymond S. Corteen is the author of the study of the impact of television's inception on children's reading skills. Children's reading habits have been studied fairly extensively in relation to television (e.g., Himmelweit, Oppenheim & Vince 1958; Maccoby 1951; Murray & Kippax 1978; Schramm, Lyle and Parker 1961), but there has been relatively little research involving the assessment of actual reading skills.

Before Notel had television, we assessed the reading skills of children in Grades 2, 3 and 8 in all three towns. Two years later, children in Grades 2, 3 and 8 were tested, and children in Grades 4 and 5 who had been tested two years earlier and were still available were

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retested. In all, there were about 480 students in this study.

Portions of the Gates-McKillop (1962) Reading Diagnostic Tests
were used. Individually, each child was given three tests consisting
of single words, phrases of two to four words, and nonsense words. The
items were presented one at a time in a tachistoscope, which controlled
the time the items were visible.

The results varied according to the grade and sex of the children
assessed. At the Grade 2 level, there was a relationship between tele-
vision experience and reading skills for boys but not for girls. Before
their town had television reception, Notel boys in Grade 2 were better
readers than male second graders in both Multitel and Unitel, who did not
differ. Two years later there had been a significant decrease in the scores
of Notel boys in Grade 2, to the extent that there were no longer any sig-
nificant differences between the towns both before and after Notel got
television. Thus the effect at the second grade level was specific to
boys. Stated in a slightly different way, the effect of television seemed to
be to introduce a sex difference in the reading skills of second graders.
The only instance in which Grade 2 girls did not obtain higher scores than
Grade 2 boys was in Notel, before television. Two years later, and in the
other towns at both times, the mean girls' score was higher than that for
boys.

At the Grade 3 level, there was again evidence that television has
a negative effect on children's reading skills, but the pattern was a
bit different than that for Grade 2. There was a significant decrease
in the total reading scores of Notel third graders from the first to the

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second phase of the study, and this occurred for both girls and boys.

Before Notel had television, girls in Grade 3 had significantly higher scores than third grade girls in the other towns, but afterward, their scores were significantly worse. Notel third grade boys were not initially different from boys in the other towns, but two years later male third graders there had significantly lower reading scores than male third graders in the other two towns. In other words, the performance of both male and female third graders had fallen below the reading performance of their age mates in Unitel and Multitel. This is perhaps not surprising, since they had been in Grade 1 when television arrived. To the extent that television has an impact on children's reading skills, one might expect the impact to be greatest for children just learning to read.

The longitudinal data, comparing second and third graders before Notel got television with themselves two years later, when they were in Grades 4 and 5, indicated that once the superior skills had been acquired there was no evidence that availability of television diminished them. To the extent that the declines observed cross-sectionally can be attributed to television, it appears that its impact is largely on the acquisition of reading skills.

The major results could be interpreted as indicating a deleterious effect of television on reading in the early grades, but several alternative explanations are also possible. The most obvious of these would be that different methods of teaching reading were used in the three schools. This was investigated and did not seem to be the case. It was not possible to evaluate such subtle effects as differing

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personalities among the Grade 1, 2 and 3 teachers. Such differences would, however, be expected to be randomly distributed across the communities, and if the primary cause of reading skill differences, would be unlikely to produce a sensible pattern of results in relation to the television continuum.

Cognitive Development. A study of the relationship between television viewing experience and some cognitive abilities was conducted by Linda F. Harrison and Tannis MacBeth Williams.

There has been considerable speculation about potentially positive and negative relationships between children's television viewing habits and their cognitive development. We assessed the impact of television on three well-established primary abilities, verbal ability, spatial ability, and creativity. It was hypothesized that television would have a negative effect on creativity and a positive effect on verbal ability. Although it is not good scientific practice to put forth a null hypothesis, we chose to measure spatial ability because we could think of no rationale whereby it would be affected by exposure to television and we were interested in demonstrating a differential pattern of the relationships between television and cognitive ability.

The measure of verbal ability used was the vocabulary subtest of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC), and the measure of spatial ability was the WISC block design subtest. The analyses were based on scaled scores, which correct for age differences. The creativity tasks were chosen from Wallach and Kogan's (1965) work. In the unusual uses task, a verbal measure of creativity, the child is asked to name as many uses as possible for a common item, e.g., a

newspaper. Figural creativity was measured by showing a line drawing
and asking the child to name all the things the drawing could be.

These cognitive tasks were given in both phases of the project to
all children in Grades 4 and 7 in all three towns, a total of 160
children in the first phase and 146 in the second phase. In addition,
they were given in the second phase to those children in Grades 6 and
9 who had been tested two years earlier in Grades 4 and 7. There were
137 (86%) of these longitudinal subjects still available.

The results for the WISC vocabulary and block design subtests
indicated that television had no effect on performance on these tasks.
It should be noted, however, that the children in this study were in
Grades 4 and 7. Schramm, Lyle and Parker (1961) found that children
with television come to school (i.e., Grade 1) with better vocabulary
scores than children without television, but the differences disappear
by the end of elementary school. It would have been helpful in assess-
ing the impact of television on children's vocabulary scores to have
tested first graders. This was not done because of a need for the
entire project to limit the number of studies conducted in any one
grade.

Before they had television reception, the verbal creativity scores
of Notel children in Grades 4 and 7 were significantly higher than those
of their age-mates in the other two towns, but two years later, there
were no differences in the cross-sectional analysis. Put differently,
only Notel children's verbal creativity scores changed from the first
to the second phase of the study, and they decreased significantly, as

had been hypothesized. The pattern of results was the same in the longitudinal analysis based on the scores of fourth and seventh graders from the first phase and sixth and ninth graders from the second phase.

For the figural creativity scores, there were no town differences in either phase of the project in the cross-sectional comparisons, but Unitel scores increased significantly from the first to the second phase. In the longitudinal analysis there were no town differences in either phase and no change for any of the towns.

To sum up the ideational fluency results, there was no evidence that television exposure is related to children's performance on figural creativity measures, but there was strong evidence that television exposure is negatively related to children's performance on verbal creativity tasks. This is especially interesting in light of the finding that children's vocabulary scores, another verbal assessment, were unrelated to television exposure.

If the ways in which television might influence its viewers are considered, two possibilities seem most salient. The content of what is viewed might have some impact, and this is what we hypothesized for the WISC vocabulary scores. The results did not support the hypothesis. On the other hand, the hypothesis may have been naive. Children without television may acquire vocabulary skills from reading, and those with television may acquire them from TV. It is possible that the non-interactive nature of current television programming and its general orientation toward convergent problem-solving (i.e., coming up with one right answer) have something to do with the apparently negative impact of television on children's verbal creativity scores. However, this

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explanation would not readily explain the different results obtained for the figural creativity items, i.e., the lack of relationship between television exposure and figural creativity.

A second way in which television might affect viewers is through displacement, in that viewing time is not spent in other activities. This seems to provide a better explanation of the higher scores of Notel children before their town received television. The person testing the children had the impression that many of their responses to the unusual uses items were ones they had tried, or were based on their own play experiences, and that Notel children simply had more such experiences.

Children's Sex Role Perceptions. Meredith M. Kimball is the author of the study of the relationship between television and children's sex role perceptions and attitudes.

It has been found in previous research that men outnumber women in television programming (Dominick & Rauch 1972; McArthur & Eisen 1976; McNeil 1975; Sternglanz & Serbin 1974; Williams, Zabrack & Joy 1977), and both men and women are presented in traditional sex roles (Busby 1975; Long & Simon 1974; McArthur & Eisen 1976; Sternglanz & Serbin 1974). It has also been found that children's behavior is related to their viewing of male and female models on television (Beuf 1974; Lyle & Hoffman 1972; McArthur & Eisen 1976). In this study it was hypothesized that children in Notel would have less stereotyped attitudes toward sex roles before the inception of television reception than two years later.

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Sex role perceptions were measured with the Sex Role Differentiation (SRD) scale designed by Lambert (1971). The scale has two sections. The peer scales require children to rate how appropriate or frequent certain behaviors are for boys and girls their own age. On the set of parent scales children rate how frequently their mother and father perform specific tasks. For each item, the child rates (1-7) how accurately the item describes boys their own age (or on the parent scale, their father) and how accurately (1-7) it describes girls their own age (on the parent scale, their mother). The differences are summed across items, with a higher score indicating a greater tendency to segregate the sexes socially and psychologically.

The peer and parent SRD scales were completed by sixth and ninth graders in all three towns in both phases of the study (a total of 438 children). Because the children were asked questions about their parents, responses were made anonymously, so longitudinal analyses were not possible.

On the average, boys held more traditional perceptions of their parent's sex role behavior than did girls, but otherwise, parent perceptions did not vary (by town or phase of the study).

On the peer scale, boys again tended to display more traditional sex role perceptions than girls. The attitudes of both girls and boys in Notel had become more traditional after two years of television availability. Before Notel had television, boys there held less traditional sex role attitudes than boys in Unitel and Multitel; two years later, there were no town differences. In the case of girls, Notel

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and Unitel girls initially held less traditional views than Multitel

girls; two years later, Notel girls held more traditional views than

girls in both Unitel and Multitel.

The finding that the mean Notel boys' and girls' peer scores

increased signficantly following the inception of television lends sup-

port to the hypothesis that children in Notel would have more traditional

sex role attitudes after the introduction of television. It is inter-

esting to note that differences between the phases of the study were

found only with the peer scales. Attitudes toward peers may be more

susceptible to change, whatever the cause, than perceptions of parents'

behaviors.

Participation in Community Activities. A study dealing with the

impact of television at the community level, in terms of the residents'

participation in community activities, was also included in the

project. The authors are Tannis MacBeth Williams and Gordon C. Handford.

In most previous research on the effects of television, investi-

gators have focused on television's impact on the skills, attitudes,

habits, or behavor of individuals or groups. We hypothesized that

television also might have some second-order effects. The presence of

television in a community might affect the residents indirectly through

the availability of other activities, and through patterns of parti-

cipation and social interaction in these activities. We decided to

use a system developed by Roger Barker and his colleagues (1954) to

analyze our three towns.

Barker developed the concept of what he called a "behavior setting",

essentially, a public place or activity. Behavior settings may occur

once, regularly, or they may be ongoing. Examples of behavior settings

would be: a curling club bonspiel, the Highway Motel, school sports

day, free skating at the ice arena, rug-weaving bee at John Brown's,

the R.C.M.P. station, the village park, Mary Smith's funeral.

Obviously, behavior settings are specific to communities, although

categories of settings (e.g., sports, businesses) might be the same. In

both phases of this research, lists of behavior settings were generated

for the events of the previous year in each community by visiting the

town and interviewing people, by personal inspection, and by going

through community calendars and newspapers. A questionnaire was then

developed for each town. The person filling out the questionnaire was

asked to check off the behavior settings she or he had participated in

during the previous year, and for each one checked, to write out what

had been done there (e.g., watched hockey games, played shortstop for

the women's softball league, store customer, president of the mixed

Curling Club).

In both phases of the study, children in Grades 7-12 filled out

the behavior settings questionnaires at school. Questionnaires were

also mailed to a random sample of adults on the voters' lists. In the

first phase, 1043 questionnaires were completed and two years later, 1269.

One of our hypotheses was that television would have the effect of

reducing the number of settings available. But the numbers were very

comparable: 271 and 279 for Notel, 250 and 275 for Unitel, and 247 and

280 for Multitel, in the first and second phases, respectively.

Whereas the number of settings available did not seem to vary substantially in relation to the availability of television, use of the settings did vary. Setting use was examined in terms of number of "entries", the number of times each person had participated in (entered) each setting during the previous year. Both before they had television and two years later, Notel had significantly more setting entries than Unitel and Multitel, and the latter two towns did not differ. However, the absolute difference in mean number of entries between Notel and Unitel was much greater in the first phase than in the second phase, and the same was true for the comparison between Notel and Multitel. Cross-sectional analyses revealed that the drop in setting entries was signficant only for Notel. Longitudinal analyses for only those subjects who answered questionnaires in both phases (481 people) revealed the same trend, a larger drop in mean number of entries for Notel (65.3 to 50.2) than for Unitel (50.1 to 46.6) and Multitel (44.7 to 41.2).

There were some interesting findings concerning age differences in relation to availability of television and participation in community activities. The subjects were categorized in the following age groups: 7-11, 12-15, 16-19, 20-35, 36-55, 56-65, and 66+. Before Notel had television reception, Notel residents in the two oldest age groups had more behavior setting entries than comparably aged residents of the other two towns. Two years later, the drop in participation in community activities by the two oldest age groups characteristic of Unitel and Multitel was also true of Notel. One ramification of these

findings is that in a town without television, since older people are
likely to participate in community activities, they are probably more
visible in the community, and younger people have more contact with
them. In other words, the quantitative difference in setting entries
may have a qualitative aspect as well; there may be less age segregation
in a community without television. We are checking this possibility by
examining our data from the point of view of settings (who participates
in a given setting or category of settings?) rather than people (how
many and which settings do people enter?).

The behavior settings were grouped in each town into 11 categories:
sports, open areas, businesses, civic, educational, clubs, medical,
dances/parties, special (e.g., weddings), religious, entertainment.
There were entry differences among the towns for sports and business
in both phases of the study. Participation in business settings dropped
in all three towns, but slightly more in Notel. The most likely
explanation of the general drop is the economic recession evident in
1975-76 by comparison with 1973-74. Participation trends for sports
behavior settings were quite different for the three towns. There was
a fairly drastic drop for Notel; Unitel entries remained at the same
level, and there was a slight increase for Multitel.

When all of these results are considered together, some patterns
seem clear. The first phase results indicate that when residents do
not have television reception, they participate more in community
activities than do residents of comparably sized towns with television
reception. The second phase results suggest that there tends to be

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a decrease in participation in community activities in the two years following the inception of television reception, especially for older residents. However, the decrease occurring over the two year period was not sufficiently marked to bring Notel down to the level of the two communities with television reception for ten or more years. Finally, it is interesting, although perhaps not surprising, that the type of activity in which participation decreased most was sports.

Conclusion. In the space available here it has been possible to provide only a superficial and cursory outline of some of our findings. Although there are many pitfalls and problems associated with field research, we feel that this natural experiment has yielded results that will contribute to the growing body of knowledge concerning the impact of television, and that shed light on some of the theoretical issues regarding the mechanisms of television's impact. In quasi-experimental research, where random assignment of subjects to groups is not possible, statements regarding causality must be made cautiously, if at all. The process of carefully examining possible threats to the internal and external validity of this research (Cook & Campbell 1976) has enabled us to feel confident about our findings. Some of the factors that lend credence to the results are that all three towns were studied both before and after the inception of television in Notel; multiple measures were used in each of the studies; more than one age level was studied in each case, so changes due to maturation and development can be separated from other changes; and several well-

known findings obtained by other researchers with other samples were
replicated, lending external validity and generalizability to the
results.

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The Impact and Meaning of Television
in Algonkian Communities of Northern
Manitoba, Canada: A Summary

by

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Project Design

Our project[1] began in 1972 when we were made aware of the imminent

arrival of television into northern Manitoba Algonkian (Cree and Ojibwa)

communities which had never before been serviced by television. At

that time we launched a longitudinal study which centered upon a target

community destined to receive television within a year, and a control

community, which would not receive television until much later. As

further control, we included a Euro-Canadian community with twenty

years prior exposure to television and an Algonkian community with five

years prior exposure.

Anthropologically trained field workers were then sent into all

three Algonkian communities where they began to collect detailed

participant observations, sociological survey data, and psychological

projective material. Participant observation data collection continued

into 1980. Longitudinal psychological material was collected from the

same children over a period of six years (four test periods). It

encompassed the pre- and post-television periods. Sociological survey

material was collected from 7th, 8th and 9th graders. These grades

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[1]John Hamer and Jack Steinbring were the original co-directors, Jack
Steinbring and Gary Granzberg are the current co-directors.

were tested three different times over a period of six years which extended from the pre-television period to the post-television period. Additional material was collected through spot surveys, video tape experimentation and utilization of Hudson Bay Company sales records.

Our goals, from the outset, were to identify both the impact and meaning of television among Algonkians. We stressed this dual goal because we were convinced by our training in culture theory and social learning theory and by the rapidly expanding data of cross-cultural communication, that the impact and meaning of television were intricately interwoven. Our basic theoretical assumption, which we applied consistently throughout our study, was that the impact of TV varies according to the varying meanings and uses of TV that are imparted by the varying cultural traditions with which it makes contact. Our plan was to document the impacts and meanings of TV among Algonkians and then to identify the particular traditions of Algonkian life to which those impacts and meanings may be traced.

Findings About the Impact of Television

Impact findings will be summarized within the areas of out-group identity and stress.

Out-group identity

The combined social, psychological, cultural and economic data provide strong overall evidence that television has produced an initial increase in out-group identity. The evidence further suggests, however,

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that this is a surface impact and has not yet reached to deeper lying

levels of values and motives.

Changes in out-group identity appear in increasing use of out-group

in fantasy role play (Granzberg 1980B), increased information about

out-Group (Granzberg 1980B), increasing purchase of out-group's material

culture (N. Hanks 1980B), increasing use of out-group's language

(Pereira 1980B), and increasing educational aspirations (Pereira 1980B).

No change appears in the thought processes provoked by various

forms of open ended questions (Granzberg 1980B).

There is evidence of a catalyzing effect upon certain behaviors,

especially concrete versus abstract orientations. Television seems to

strengthen whichever of these cognitive polarities is present (Granzberg

1980B).

Stress

The data indicates that television has increased stress in

Algonkian communities. This is reflected in increased aggression and

fear responses by certain children to psychological tests (Granzberg

1980B) and in observation of increased levels of aggression in daily

life (Granzberg 1980A; C. Hanks 1980 A & B; Steinbring 1980). The

source of stress is two-fold. It may come from increasing levels of

aggression among less controlled individuals or from increased fears

engendered by community-wide attempts to combat the evils on TV.

Findings About the Meaning of Television

Algonkians perceive television in some ways which are identical

to Euro views, in some ways which are similar to Euro perceptions but

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more intense, and in some ways which are quite different from Euro perceptions.

Similarities

Television in Algonkian society, like in Euro society, has meaning as a source of entertainment, news and information. It is valued, as well, as a baby sitter and as a framework for conversation. And, like in Euro society, it is feared for its promotion of laziness, its reality distortions, its threat to traditions and its models of sex and aggression. Algonkian viewers watch television about as much as Euros (four hours per day on an average) and share a liking for soap operas, situation comedies and adventure shows.

Some intensified interests

Among Algonkians there is an intensification of interest in news and information, in adventures and in soaps. There is also an intensified concern about culture loss and about the promotion of sex and aggression. There is an overall intensified factionalization of opinion about television's positive versus negative qualities and an overall lower level of ability to discriminate fact, fiction and mere opinion.

Differences

Unlike Euros, Algonkians have a propensity to seek out symbolic and personally relevant messages from television about the future, about morality, about current events and about how to act in various situations. In addition, there is a tendency to apply sorcery analogies to television and to attribute to television special powers to misguide and mesmerize children and to hasten culture loss.

There is also a unique dislike for talk shows, for a certain puppet show called the Muppets (Pereira 1980A; C. Hanks & Granzberg 1980; Granzberg 1980A), and for feminine napkin commercials and birth-pregnancy documentaries. There is a unique liking for the situation comedy called Gilligan's Island and for Charlie Chaplin films, and there are unique interpretations of funeral scenes, scenes of murder, scenes of private and selfish property concerns and scenes of the city.

Interpretation of Findings

We shall interpret the impact and meaning of television among Algonkians according to ten factors of Algonkian life. These are:

1. traditions of communications through dreaming, conjuring and storytelling.

2. animistic tradition of image making and sorcery.

3. television illiteracy.

4. concrete-pragmatic orientations.

5. negative expectations for Western man and his technology.

6. community solidarity.

7. social-communal interest.

8. transformational adaptation strategy.

9. stresses of reserve life.

10. certain taboos.

Explanation of increased out-group identity

the role of traditions of communication through dreaming and conjuring.

When television entered Algonkian society and was seen to provide the service of live, long-distance communication, there was a natural tendency to generalize the uses and meanings associated with traditional live, long-distance communication devices onto television. This tendency, a well understood part of the core concept of diffusion that has long been a bulwark of anthropology, was solidified by the fact that Algonkians chose to use their native word for shaking tent (in Cree, "Koosapachigan") as the word which refers to television and by the fact that they told stories and jokes which made the analogy between conjuring and television explicit.

As a result, from the very beginning, one direction toward which the Algonkian television experience was focused was that of utilizing television (just as dreams and shaking tents were utilized) for finding out about the future, for making contact with powerful helper figures, and for receiving personally meaningful messages.

Thus, analogies between television and traditions of communication through conjuring and dreaming reinforced the role of television as an educational device and especially as a source of information about the outside world. In addition, because conjuring and dreaming were serious business and did not include any artificial "made up" scenes, television was given perhaps undue credence as an informational device and efforts to develop a healthy skepticism towards it were hampered.

These traditions also give television added impact as a source of role models. This is clearest in the case of children who, traditionally,

were coached to strive for powerful dreams and visions in which a Spirit Helper would give them power and direction in life. This was the vision quest. The metaphorical description of television as a dream or as a shaking tent (places where superhero figures traditionally appeared) adds to the child's tendency to be receptive to it as a source of hero figures after which behaviour may be modelled.

the role of reserve life stresses

Adding to this traditionally-based tendency to search for super-heroes who will be a guide in life is the deficit in self-esteem and confidence which is produced by the acculturation pressures of reserve life.

Difficulties of taking up the old ways of subsistence, coupled with the lack of adequate wage labour on the reserve, has resulted in mass unemployment, alcohol dependence, a relative absence of firm and attractive sex role models, and an often tense inter-generation relationship.

In order to override the feelings of inadequacy generated by reserve life, there is a readiness within the Algonkian child to seek external non-reserve models to pattern his behaviour and to be especially receptive to power figures. Quite often it is Western Man who is seen as powerful and macho and who becomes an attractive role model. Movies and television were the main source for identifying with the macho Western Man model, but now with movies being shown less frequently due to the popularity of television, television models are paramount.

<u>the role of television illiteracy</u>.

Identification and copying of television "stars" is further enhanced by television illiteracy. Children are not fully apprised of the artificial qualities in television. They are not sure how programs are made. Many believe that television "stars" truly live their television roles in real life. They, in fact, often do not differentiate "real life" from "TV roles". Their difficulties in differentiating between fact and fiction on television intensify their enchantment with television "heroes".

<u>the role of traditional image theory</u>.

Algonkian traditions of image-making and imitative magic further complicate the problem. Traditionally, images of objects were felt to house the spirit of the object portrayed. Shamen would make an image of an object for purposes of imitative magic. Even the spoken or written name of an object was felt to hold its spiritual essence (hence the refusal to utter the name of a deceased person lest the ghost return). Photographs were feared by many Cree as soul-capturing devices. And mirrors were felt to reflect images of souls.

Thus, images of things were felt to have an innate connection with the literal reality. And to the extent that this idea persists today, and our field work suggests that it is not totally lost, images on television are lent still further credence.

<u>the role of story-telling traditions</u>.

Stories are an important educational device in non-Western society. Through the presentation of short, entertaining easily memorized plots in which characters and events are carefully engineered to stand as

metaphors for higher order concepts of morality, principle and prediction, stories gently and effectively educate, growing in importance and relevance as the child's awareness and experience expands. When TV arrives in a Native community, it inevitably becomes one of the most important storytellers and, as such, acquires the metaphorical, revelational meanings associated with the story. This fuels its use as an educational device and adds to the importance of television hero figures as models for life and as sources of important information about life.

the role of concrete-pragmatic orientations

The use of television for education and information is augmented by the practical idiom by which Algonkians deal with life. The tradition of embedding concepts in detail and of attending to consequence and example produces a mind habituated to seeking and expecting consequential and personal meanings in stories. Such an approach is applied to television, and information of an educational, useful nature is sought even in instances where, often unbeknownst to the Algonkian viewer, stories are sheer fantasy and have no practical lessons to impart.

the role of transformational adaptive strategies

Further enhancing television as a role modelling and information medium is the Algonkian strategy of transformational adaptation. This strategy conditions the Algonkian viewer to seek role play data from television in order to employ an elaborate game of survival. This game consists of expedient transformations of identity to suit particular situations but without changes in underlying values and motives. Conflicts between internal patterns and external surface behaviour are

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either perceived as secondary to the more important drive to exploit
the external environment in order to satisfy one's material wants or
are resolved by ingeniously flexible coding gymnastics by which new and
strange behaviours are subsumed within traditionally valued activities.

In summary then, the increasing out-group identity produced by TV
among Algonkians may be explained in part by the action of analogies
between television and conjuring and dreaming which enhance television's
meaning as a source of heroes, identity, truth, and revelations; by
pressures of reserve life which create insecurity and inter-generation
strain and which, thereby, create needs for hero figures and external
role models; by television illiteracy and imitative magic themes which
intensify the impact and credibility of television heroes; by concrete
pragmatic orientations and analogies between television and storytelling
which predispose children to seek news, information and practical
revelations from television; and by transformational adaptive strategies
which create an inclination to use television for adaptation and for
opportunistic role play behaviour.

Explaining the lack of modernization in deeper lying thought processes
and in the basic idiom for solving problems and facing life.

A major explanation of this finding is found in the very adaptation
strategy which accounts in part for great surface changes.

Algonkians are quite willing to adopt surface changes of behaviour
and to take the role of the out-group as long as such behaviour is ex-
pedient for their material needs and as long as such roles may be
absorbed within traditional frames of reference by metaphorical trans-
formations which show their symbolic parallel to more traditional
processes.

By coding wage labour as a "hunt"; pursuit of the holy ghost as a

vision quest (with associated songs); identity changes as powers;

relocation as seasonal movement; television as conjuring, dreaming and

storytelling; bingo as battles of gambling power; and the whole enter-

prise of adapting to pressures of acculturation as nothing more than a

trickster's ability to manipulate the world to obtain his ends; the

Algonkian is enabled to show surface out-group identity change while

remaining covertly conservative in fundamental patterns of thought.

Resistance to the more fundamental patterns of behaviour on

television, such as aggression, abstraction, achievement orientation,

dominance and open display of emotion is also reinforced by suspicions

about television as an exploiter and disrupter of Algonkian life. These

emotions are prevalent in certain conservative and/or traditional

sectors of Algonkian culture which employ analogies between television

and sorcery, backed up by traditional negative interpretations of

Western man and his technology as aborters of natural laws and processes,

to counteract the disruptive models on television.

Explanation of stress impacts

explanation of aggression

Increased levels of aggression are observed in the test responses

of high exposed subjects in the target community. This may be traced,

in part, to the action of the above-listed factors of Algonkian culture

which intensify the usage of television for role modelling. TV role

models are more overtly aggressive than is typical of Algonkians.

Decreasing aggression is observed in the test responses of low exposed

subjects in the target community and is the overall mode for subjects

in the control community (even after the arrival of television there).

This may be attributed to the strength of the resistance to aggression

modelling behaviour offered by conservative and traditional families in

the target communities and in the control community. This resistance was

implemented by reference to well established negative expectations for

Western man and his technology and by employment of sorcery analogies

with television. The analogy between sorcery and television proved

effective in the factionalized target community only where children had

already established high emotional control abilities. It was more gener-

ally effective in the more solidary control community, however, due to

the integration of opinion within a well organized Pentecostal fervor.

explanation of increasing fantasies of negative human relationships.

The data indicates that two kinds of stress may be introduced by

television. One type is developed through aggressive role modelling

and the other through fears and suspicions. The level of social inte-

gration and of traditional conservative thought seems to determine the

nature of the stress.

When integration is low and highly disparate positions are found

(as in the target community), it seems that the conjuring, dreaming,

storytelling, image replicating meanings of television have precedence.

As a result role modelling in aggression increases while fears of

victimization decrease through increasing familiarity and identification

with Western man. But when integration is high and conservative thought

predominates (as in the control community), the sorcery meaning of

television has precedence. As a result, role modelling in aggression

decrease while fears of victimization increase.

In either case, however, it would seem that increasing stress in human relationships is introduced and this is reflected in test responses from both communities in which imputations of negativity in human relationships increase after the arrival of TV.

Explanation of some likes and dislikes

Questionnaire data (Pereira 1980A) and field observation (Granzberg 1980A; Steinbring 1980) reveal that Algonkians like soap operas, situation comedies, adventure shows and news, and that they dislike talk shows, certain commercials and documentaries focused on the female, and the Muppets.

soap operas

Interest in soap operas may be traced to the great social-communal interests of Algonkians. Their world is motivated, to a large extent, by social needs and by the necessity of extensive "wheeling and dealing" in order to maintain friends and build power. Because such activities are also the focus of soap operas, there is a great interest in them. Soap operas are also one of the few places where an Algonkian can view Euro life from the inside out and see that there are just as many problems in that life as in reserve life.

situation comedies

Storytelling legends which incorporate trickster themes form the basis of an interest in situation comedies. Just as trickster legends deal in transformation themes and in the use of identity change and disguise, so do situation comedies deal in mistaken identity themes. The Gilligan character of the Gilligan's Island show epitomizes transformational imagery and identity change. Perhaps the unparalleled popularity of Gilligan's Island is due, in part, to the direct way in which Gilligan is reminiscent of the trickster.

adventure shows

The popularity of adventure shows may be traced, in part, to the reserve setting's strain on the male role. There is an inner feeling of male inadequacy which may often be compensated for by expressions of "macho" masculinity.

Macho behaviour is customary on the reserve and television adventure shows, mainly police stories and westerns, provide attractive models.

An additional factor might be the presence of taboos on overt aggression which create an atmosphere whereby outlets for aggression are sought through vicarious identification with television's masculine super heroes like the Fonz and McGarret.

feminine napkin commercials - birth - pregnancy documentaries.

The dislike of feminine napkin commercials and of scenes of giving birth may be traced to beliefs about the polluting qualities of females when in critical states of femininity. Men should not see or be near females at such times or bad luck may ensue. Television shows depicting such activities are seen as unwelcome intrusions upon these customs.

the Muppets.

A survey of people in the target and control communities revealed that a surprising number disliked the Muppets. Videotape experimentation and opinion survey (C. Hanks & Granzberg 1980; Pereira 1980A) showed that objections centered upon Kermit (the frog puppet host of the show). It was discovered that traditions surrounding frogs which connect them to trickery and sorcery were applied by some Algonkians to the kermit character and may have caused objections to the loveable way he was

portrayed on the show. It was also discovered that traditions of danger and power associated with bears were carried over to Fozzie and it may be that the tradition that bad luck ensues from disrespect to the bear was carried over as well. Perhaps these traditions caused Algonkians to feel that Fozzie's portrayal as timid and as the butt of practical jokes was an insult. In addition, it was found that concrete-pragmatic orientations produced a basic resistance to the show's fantasy format. Algonkian viewers couldn't see the point to the show. There was no practical framework to give the show meaning and relevance.

Conclusions

Impact of television

Our study confirms the supposition that television is, indeed, a very powerful tool through which Western culture is diffused to the Native. It was the capacity to increase identity with the West and, as a result, to increase participation in Western economics, Western behaviour models and Western information flow. On the one hand, this could be viewed as advantageous to the Native cause, as greater assertiveness combined with greater feelings of control and security and greater information increases the effectiveness of efforts to secure Native rights and securities.

On the other hand, the study suggests that factionalization stresses may be augmented, traditional patterns of socialization weakened, and individualized competitive and divisive goal patterns strengthened.

The study further suggests that the forces of acculturation

introduced by television are less effective among mature, emotionally controlled individuals and solidary, integrated societies and, more generally, are not strong enough to engulf deeper lying levels of cognitive style and value structure.

The role of cultural solidarity in shaping television's impact has been noted by other researchers (Beal 1976: 228-229; Hudson 1975:17; Eapen 1979:109). Its effects are verified in our study by three independent measures: 1) longitudinal sociological study of occupational and educational aspirations among 7th, 8th and 9th graders; 2) longitudinal psychological study of aggression among 3rd, 4th and 5th grade children; and 3) seven years of ethnographic observation. These measures all show that the solidary control community, after it finally received television, was able to successfully combat certain acculturation pressures.

The percentage of people indicating occupational aspiration away from traditional interests in hunting, fishing and trapping, and educational aspiration beyond the traditional senior high drop-out point did not increase (in fact decreased) at the solidary community after it received television, though high aspirations increased by 16% at the less solidary target community after it received television. A measure of aspirational change at the solidary community prior to its reception of television showed that aspirations were rising at a pace very close to that which was occurring at the target community.

Aggression did not increase (in fact decreased) at the control community after it received television, but aggression increased significantly at the target community after it received television.

Ethnographic observation attested to a retrenchment and increased conservatism and religious fundamentalism at the control community after it received television. Evidence of such retrenchment did not appear, except in isolated, individual cases, at the target community after it received television.

Meaning of television

The study confirms the important role played by culture in shaping television's impact. It demonstrates that traditions of storytelling, dreaming, conjuring, image replication, pragmatism and television illiteracy can serve as catalysts for materializing the capacity of television to increase out-group identity.

It also, however, demonstrates how these traditions can be used effectively by strongly solidary traditional groups to counter out-group identity and to help maintain traditions. This is done by reinforcing traditional fears of exploitation by the West, by stressing the sorcery-like capacity of television through numerous symbolic narratives, and by greater efforts at maintaining traditional patterns of socialization.

Theoretical implications

The findings support the call by most modern communication researchers for the development of a multilineal rather than unilineal theory of television impact (Eisenstadt 1976; Schramm 1976). The rapidly expanding data base on the impacts and meanings of television among differing peoples has made it clear that television's impacts are multiple and that cultural variation is the key to understanding. It

is now possible to rough out a series of key cultural factors that are critical in determining the particular pathways of television impact. Four factors are indicated. These are adaptational strategy, amount and nature of locally sensitive programming, uses and meanings of television derived from local traditions of communication and world view, and level of community solidarity.

Adaptative strategy.

Native societies develop customary procedures for adapting to acculturation pressures. Some focus upon a resistive rejecting stance. Some place their efforts toward acceptance of change and assimilation. Others find a middle ground. These latter groups appear to assimilate through rapid surface adoptions of out-group ways but, on a deeper level, continue to cling to traditional cognitive styles, value structures and world view. This is the Algonkian strategy of adaptation. We may call this the transformational adaptive strategy because it depends upon an ingeniously fascile mind which is capable of finding essential common denominators between traditional objects and actions and strange new objects and actions. This strategy, thereby, finds the means to rationally apply traditional codes to the new material and, in so doing, transforms the unknown to the known.

When television is introduced into each of these types, the prospects for impact would seem to differ. In the case of the rejecting strategy, it would seem that television would, at first, meet with resistance and would produce little change. But, perhaps, in the

longer run, it might create a quick and unsettling revolution of ideas.

In the case of the assimilation strategy television might spark rapid change of a thorough and lasting nature.

In the case of the transformational strategy, television would also produce rapid change, but not as thorough or fundamental as in the assimilative case. There would be a continuance of traditional values and world view even as many surface changes appear.

In each case there would be a differing stress pattern. In the resisting society stress from television would gradually increase, culminating, perhaps, in a social breakdown.

In the assimilative case there would be high initial stress which would gradually reduce over time.

In the transformational case there would likely be a steady, mid-level of stress which would maintain itself and would not lead to social breakdown.

Native programming.

Governments in developing areas inevitably wish to reduce Western content and introduce locally sensitive content which utilizes local languages, customs and world view.

The more governments are able to dispense news, drama and other television content in locally designed culturally sensitive packages, the more effective they will be in carrying out their programs of development.

Effective Native programming will reduce the stress of government developmental programs and eliminate conflicting ideas that may appear

on Western television.

Uses and meanings of television derived from local traditions.

The success of Native programming ultimately depends upon an awareness of meanings and uses of television derived from local traditions. These meanings and uses will vary considerably from one culture to another, depending on the nature of beliefs, world view, and psychological propensities.

However, certain common developmental experiences, customs and beliefs produce some rather general uses and meanings of television that can be anticipated. The almost universal presence of traditions of communication through dreaming, conjuring, drama and storytelling and the presence of television illiteracy and social-communal interests develop an extra importance for television as a highly trustworthy news source, and as a source of behaviour models, morality and revelations. Furthermore, a common history of stressful colonial exploitation by Western man inevitably produces a wariness of television which is augmented to sorcery proportions in more conservative quarters and where Native programming is not well developed.

Traditions of concrete pragmatism produce a desire for relevant and practically useful programming. Sheer fantasy programs may even be resented.

Intermittently occurring taboos, such as those which concern the nature and extent of male-female interaction, may produce distaste for certain Western programming which goes beyond local tastes in the extent

of portrayal of sexual interaction, nudity, women's rights, and female

biological process.

Other taboo areas, such as certain behaviours directed at the dead,

may be less capable of anticipation and require situational adaptations.

Level of community solidarity.

The extent to which perceived negative models on television can be

counteracted depends greatly upon the level of community solidarity.

Where solidarity is high, a concerted, integrated effort at establishing

counter-socialization arises and has success.

These factors and others need to be incorporated in a modern theory

of cross-cultural television impact. At this time we can only glimpse

the rough structure of such a theory, but we are far ahead of where we

were a short time ago when cultural factors were only cursorily included,

if at all, in such theories.

Considerations for the Future

The rapid refinement and growing usage of satellite broadcast

television is the major factor for future consideration. The economy

of such a technology and its potential for pluralistic programming,

with sensitivity to local regions, provides a potential that is very

positive. But there are negative aspects. Expanding satellite usage

is creating a television potential that is not unlike the development

of the various radio "voices" that were aimed across national borders

and which had both positive and negative features.

On the one hand, the presence of a television international

"voice" transmitted by satellite creates the opportunity to bring

messages of hope and information of a kind which perhaps some people

may never have heard and may profit mightily from. On the other hand,

developing countries may be attempting to maintain traditions and

identities that are in a critical state of insecurity and which could

perhaps be forced over the edge of extinction by the very effective

forces of Western acculturation produced in daily Western television

programming.

And again, on the one hand, the technology with widely expanded

channels of broadcasting opens the airways to numerous producers of

programs for specific populations. The information we now have about

Native programming needs can be implemented and more effective Native

programming will develop.

This development may also be seen to increase the effectiveness of

television socialization pressures and intensify the problems of conflict

between identity-maintenance needs and modernization needs. TV messages

will be focused more sharply with the development of effective Native

programming and this will make the role of the TV producer even more

critical as a determinant of where the balance will fall in the battle

between modernization and the survival of authentic culture.

Specific Recommendations

Native programming should be given support for the technology of

the future will be especially amenable to such programming.

The first Native programs to be attempted should be news and

information shows in local languages with subjects of local interest
and delivered in local idiom and employing storytelling and other
characteristics of traditional communication. Trickster legends could
be profitably employed in this context. As has always been the case,
they would supply the metaphors which would raise the concrete incidents
of news to higher levels of meaning which embrace traditional perspectives.

The second type of program to be initially undertaken could be
Native soap operas, but with one difference. These would be soap
operas which have a major goal of education as well as entertainment.
The world experience has been that "soaps" are almost universally the
most popular form of television. They have already been used effectively
in many areas in localized ways. They should now be developed for Native
Canada and should employ Native actors and utilize Native languages
(though English and French versions would also be effective). They
should concentrate upon current problems of Native life and show how
these problems can be effectively confronted. They should show the
difficulties to be encountered in the city and the reserve and should
show people working through them -- some succeeding and some failing.
The reasons for the various outcomes should be made clear, but not, of
course, in lecture form. All the variables involved should be revealed
through dramatic stories.

Native writers are, of course, required and a doubling of effort
in this area is needed. As well, non-Native writers can also be
effectively employed. There are many who are intimately familiar with

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Native life and who understand many of the variables. A team effort in writing would, perhaps, be best.

In all programming decisions for Native communities, the policy of integrity of choice is paramount. Local community participation in decision-making must be present. The world experience shows that this can best be done by usage of television groups who discuss programs and who make suggestions. The world experience also shows that such groups quickly become ineffective and become alienated if they are not truly incorporated within the decision-making machinery. They have to see the effects of their suggestions and know they are having influence.

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The Meaning of Television: Concensus and Diversity
in Northern Manitoba Native Communities

by

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the significance of different

interpretations that various groups of northern Manitoba Cree have given

to television. As a research strategy to get at meaning it will be

convenient to treat the advent of television as analogous to a religious

conversion experience. Using data from the reports by Granzberg,

Steinbring, et al concerning the impact of television on the Cree and

Saulteaux it is possible to deduce the presence of four separate groups

with varying interpretations of the way television fits changing Cree cos-

mology. The paper concludes with a discussion of the adaptive potential of

these various interpretations for the changing situation of the Cree.

Since television literally brings the western world of material

things, roles, beliefs and values into the households of relatively

isolated people of a quite different culture, it becomes necessary for

the latter to give meaning to this phenomenon. Moreover, the new world

view provided by Euro-Canadian television provides an aggressive chal-

lenge, since many of the beliefs and values expressed are diametrically

opposed to Algonkian cultures. For example, there are the matters of

overt sexuality and aggressiveness that are essentially taboo for these

peoples. Therefore, just as missionaries bring contrasting cosmologies

to sought after converts so does television bring a message which, if

accepted, will change peoples' lives. In fact, Pereira indicates that 64% of the Cree sample believe that television has changed their life style (Granzberg et al 1979:11). As Granzberg (1969:51) indicates it is like conversion in the sense that these Algonkian people, unlike Euro-Canadian viewers, are looking outward from their communities on a totally different life style in search of a new source of identity.

Robin Horton has written of this conversion phenomenon in regard to West African religions (1971:85-108). In describing the impact of a new cosmology Horton writes:

"The core of this cosmology is a system of ideas about unobservable personal beings whose activities are alleged to underpin the events of the ordinary, everyday world. Applied to this world, the system enables its users to see identities of process underlying apparent diversity, and to chart causal regularities underlying apparent anomaly. In short it provides an impressive instrument for explanation, prediction, and control (ibid:101)."

Of course this is not to imply that the cosmological content of television is unobservable. Clearly the actors and their ideas are present on the screen, but they are not present as flesh and blood beings presenting ideas in person. Indeed, as will be shown, there is considerable concern among the Cree and Saulteaux as to the reality of these portrayals. In effect these Algonkian speaking people face something of a dilemma as whether to interpret television portrayals literally, symbolic of an innner logic, or a combination of the two. As a consequence, examination of the several reports on the effect

of television on Native communities in Northern Manitoba, show at least

four groups with varying explanations, predictions, and conceptualiza-

tions about control over this new phenomenon. At the extremes are the

traditionalists and the modernists with the middle ground held by the

children and those who may be labeled the uncertain.

Traditionalists and Modernists

Consider first the two extremes. The traditionalists see a

similarity between television and the old long distance communication

devices of dreaming and the shaking tent. In the past, dreams and the

tent served as positive devices for contacting the spirit world and

conjuring up messages from distant relatives. But they could also be

used to bring illness and destroy others. In like fashion the

traditionalists see analogous positive and negative qualities in

television. On the one hand it can bring news from far away places and

provide information about never seen and little understood events.

Alternatively, since television is a device associated with the whiteman,

who has, as one informant expressed it "taken away our hands (motors

replacing paddle driven canoes), then our feet (motorized transport) and

now our minds" (Granzberg et al 1979:29) there is a fear of the con-

sequences of this innovation. The negative stereotype of the whiteman

arises out of a concern over the latter striving to dominate nature as

contrasted with the Algonkian ideal of appeasing and being in harmony

with nature. Moreover, the historic experience of native people with

Euro-Canadians causes the former to perceive the relationship in the

nature of a zero-sum game in which one can benefit only at the expense

of the other (ibid:18-19). As a consequence the traditionalist tends

to attach more of a negative than positive connotation to the advent

of television.

Furthermore, the traditionalists search diligently for explanatory,

predictive, and control attributes in attempting to understand the hidden

message of television. Here they seem to be drawing an analogy with the

old narrative tales in which parables and metaphors are used extensively

(ibid:15; 26). The legends portray past, present and future events the

meaning of which can only be comprehended by individuals as they

experience situations that may relate to the broader symbolic implica-

tions of a story. In this sense a Native person has an identity

experience through the realization that he or she is actually sharing

with others of the past, present and future.

Thus traditionalists tend to abstract a personal message from the

television media. Both Granzberg and Hanks indicate that television in

a very short period has come to replace storytelling on the Cree

reserves (ibid:30; 148-49). Indeed Hanks suggests that the decline of

storytelling will make it difficult to transmit moral concepts and

sanctions to succeeding generations, making traditional means of social

control ineffective. Perhaps this is why Steinbring finds the greatest

resistence to the television media among the traditionally oriented

Saulteaux elders (ibid:202). As a consequence these oldsters predict

that the message of television, while bringing new knowledge of the

outside world, will "capture" the minds of their children and provide

the rationale for the "craziness" in behavior already apparent with

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that the message of television, while bringing new knowledge of the

outside world, will "capture" the minds of their children and provide

the rationale for the "craziness" in behavior already apparent with

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reserve living, formal education, and foreign religious beliefs (ibid: 73; 141). So they predict that the "price" to be exacted by the whiteman for the entertainment and informational aspects of the new media will be the loss of their children (ibid:143).

Indeed, there is some evidence that the general level of violence and aggression on the Saulteaux and Cree reserves has been rising in recent years. There are indications of increasing violence in children's play, occasionally in acting out roles of media characters, suggestive that television is responsible for some of this increased aggressiveness.

Though oldsters abhor the sex and violence of the media they feel unable to control the viewing patterns of their children, because of the traditional reluctance to use direct and/or harsh discipline in regulating behavior. The fact that overt discussion of sex and violent behavior in programming and commercials has been brought directly into their homes by the whiteman, is a sign that they lack control over this new media.

In sum, the traditionalists explain television as a mechanical means, analogous to the old Algonkian practices of using dreams and the shaking tent, for controlling events in time and space. They predict that it will have dramatic repercussions by changing the life style and world view of their children. But unlike their ability to exert some control over the temporal-spatial phenomenon of dreams and shaking tents the traditionalists feel powerless to control the messages eminating from the television media.

By contrast the modernists, though aware of the cultural significance

of dreaming and shaking tents, do not see them as in any way analogous to television. They tend to accept its superficial meaning as an electronic device beaming programs devised by the whiteman, and do not look for any hidden meaning in media content (ibid:147-8). As Hanks suggests it is not that they simply identify with the Euro-Canadian viewpoint, for modernists often have knowledge of Cree and Saulteaux traditions and consider themselves as at least standing in opposition to the whiteman.

From their comments it would seem that the modernists predict that the machine will simply provide entertainment and greater knowledge of the outside world to the people on the reserves. They do not see television as damaging to the minds of the children (ibid:106), nor as a device that will ultimately destroy native culture. On the contrary, and unlike the traditionalists, they believe it will bring them greater control of the future. If children become more aggressive as a consequence of identifying with such fantasy figures as Tarzan, Canon, and McGarrett this will provide a bolder and more aggressive people for dealing effectively with the whiteman. As they see it the traditionalists were always too shy and restrained in past negotiations with the government (ibid:30).

As is so often the case, however, the vast majority of Cree and Saulteaux fall somewhere in between these two extremes. Granzberg has suggested they "live in both worlds" (ibid:31) and may be conveniently labeled as the uncertain. In their attempt to explain television they seem, unlike the traditionalists or modernists, to be neither positive

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nor negative. They express an awareness of the educational and enter-
tainment advantages, but also fear the aggression, overt sexuality, and
laziness which they profess to see affecting the behavior of children.

Though the uncertain people do not accept the analogy with dreams and
the shaking tent, there is a tendency to belive that marveling over the
ingeniousness of the new media doesn't quite allay the fear that this
may be unwarranted tampering with the forces of nature (ibid:32).

Given their sense of confusion regarding the meaning of television
it is not surprising that the uncertains see no predictive value in the
media message. In fact many of these people find it difficult to dis-
tinguish between fact and fiction in television programming (ibid:32).
They worry about the control that the more powerful of their ancestors
possessed, but see little evidence, unlike the modernists, that tele-
vision can be a means of regaining some control over their destiny.

Children's Response

Children are similar to the traditionalists in finding a hidden
meaning in the television media. Unlike the traditionalists, however,
the children's interpretation is largely positive in terms of discovering
a new means of establishing identity under the contradictory conditions
of reserve living. At the same time they differ from the uncertains
and traditionalists, and are similar to the modernists in their belief
that the greater understanding of the world, gained through television,
will enhance their control of the future.

The reserve life style is not conducive to the traditional
maturational process in which youth resolved identity problems through

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the acquisition of a life-long guardian spirit. Nevertheless, the issue of identity is inescapable and it would appear that children are beginning to have an analogous guardian quest experience through testing and acting out the roles of powerful hero figures from television (ibid:33; 73-74). In their childish optimism and enthusiasm for the new world view they are led to predicate their role modeling on what they consider to be real-life heroes, not simply creatures of screen writers' imaginations (ibid: 34-35). Indeed the more distractable and insecure the child the greater the eagerness to talk, dress, and behave "like the idealized model" (ibid:52). Given their increasing facility with non-Algonkian languages and greater understanding of Euro-Canadian culture, enhanced by the television experience, they appear to have a greater sense than their elders of control over the traditionally feared and unknown outer world.

Diversity and Concensus

What of the future of television and the consequences of a diversity of interpretations in Native communities? Is it not possible that all four groups, traditionalists, modernists, uncertains, and children need each other in working out a concensual, explanatory, predictive, and controllable meaning of the cosmological changes brought by the media? One way to interpret the consequences is to see television as simply a catalyst for integrating Native people into the larger Canadian society. Those who accept this approach may argue that modern wage labor, religious conversion, and high speed transportation have so eroded Cree and Saulteaux identity that all that is required for making

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these people into Euro-Canadians is more of the same. Television simply

provides the ideological basis for the process. On the other hand, there

are those who see Native identity as very real and that despite the

inroads of westernization there are still viable Native cultures.

The by now familiar argument for deculturation has been that of

Bernard James (1961:721-746). His view is that the remnants of Native

peoples clustered together on reserves constitute a sub-culture little

different from that of "poor whites". For him the vast majority of

Native peoples are more concerned with occupational and living standards

problems than with the issue of cultural identity. But others have

countered this view, as for example Rouf's discussion of how the

remnants of Ojibwa culture have been crucial for individual and community

success in accommodating to a White dominated world in Northern Minnesota

(1973:162).

Perhaps by placing this issue in the broader context of the

universal problem of acculturation it is possible to see more clearly

the dilemma of so-called modernization for peoples such as the Cree and

Saulteaux of Manitoba. In analyzing the changing cosmologies of the

Yoruba of Africa under the pressures of acculturation, Horton has found

the key to understanding in the problem of maintaining balance between

individual self-interest and community obligations (1971:100). Some

Yoruba, for example, maintain many of the traditional explanations and

commitments based on the relation between mankind and the dieties

which govern the universe. These people retain a sense of balance

between individualism and community responsibility. Others by nature

of occupational and political commitments develop more of an orientation

to the external world and less of a commitment to the community.

Cree and Saulteaux have traditionally been closely linked to nature through the various flora and fauna of their surroundings (Martin 1978: 71-74). These plants and animals have been anthropomorphized as having life styles similar to humans. The great spirit Kitchi Manitou was less important to these people than the local spirits associated with plants and animals. In effect everything·in the universe was personalized and interdependent. It was necessary to be careful not to offend any part of this delicately balanced system. If one could avoid offensive behavior one could escape from fear. Hence there could exist between man and nature a relative balance between self-interst and obligation. Nature provided for the needs of man in return for human avoidance of greed, ridicule, or heedless destruction of any part of the former. Dreaming and shamanism provided a means for discovering and remedying those forms of human activity that led to a state of imbalance.

This system worked well for the Cree and Saulteaux, in fact so well that they could initially see little value in the religious message of Christianity brought by the Jesuits in the 17th century (ibid:98-100). Only when they could associate this new world view with the curing of disease did it become meaningful for them. But willingness to accept the curative powers of a foreign deity, concurrently with the new technology associated with the fur trade, threatened the protective powers of the local manitou along with the spirit of mutual obligation between man and nature.

Indeed for the particular Saulteaux grouping in this communications

study Steinbring has documented the consequences for the 19th and 20th century (Granzberg et al 1979:94-95). The establishment of missions and government treaties led to increasing dependency, sedentary reserve living, and, most threatening of all to the old life style, the establishment of formal education. Still later the films brought to reserve communities by missionaries, teachers, and government officials helped dramatize the earlier established contradiction between the Native world and that of the whiteman. Thus, in a sense, television became merely another device for pulling people away from the Native world toward the external world and widening the gap between self-interest and community obligations.

Horton has provided the example of an analogous situation for the changing world view of the Yoruba in Nigeria (1971:100). The traditional Orisa spirits as forces of nature represented "human individualism", but these were always balanced by lineage ancestors and the community earth spirit which stood for "official group concerns". Under the influence, however, of western missionaries, government officials, and business men there has been a gradual change in this cosmology. The shift in thinking of many from an emphasis on a relationship between self and local spirits toward a supreme being and universalism has been dependent upon the degree to which an individual has been bounded by his or her microcosm. In other words, it has been a difference between those in varying degrees committed to life in the local community, as compared with those who seek to explain, predict, and gain a measure of control in a more distant, external world. As a consequence there have emerged varying interpretations among the Yoruba of a changing world just as in

the case of the Cree and Saulteaux regarding the new world view brought by television.

Television has existed long enough in Cree and Saulteaux communities discussed in this paper for knowledge of the interpretations of the traditionalists, modernists, uncertains, and children to become widespread. Can it be said that all four interpretations are equally valid? This seems unlikely, consequently it behooves Native people to examine carefully the strengths and weaknesses of these viewpoints.

The traditionalists, while accepting that television will increase knowledge of the external world, explain the media as another means for the whiteman to extend his power over Native peoples. They predict the device will capture the minds of their children and that there will be a loss of any hope for control in maintaining Cree and Saulteaux identity. The modernists, on the other hand, explain television as a device for increasing knowledge and providing relaxation. They recognize it as another form of the whiteman's power, but predict that it will enable their children, by raising the level of aggressiveness, to increase Native power in dealing with the former. The modernists, through more aggressive bargaining and greater knowledge of the world, expect that the media will enhance, rather than diminish, native ability to control their destiny. For the majority of uncertains, however, there is only confusion about the meaning of television, so they are neither optimistic nor pessimistic in their expectations about gaining or losing control in the future. The children seem to be the ones gaining the most knowledge from television, as well as acquiring new role

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identities. Hence they hold an optimistic belief that it will be possible for them to control their future destiny.

To overcome ambiguities the uncertains need to examine carefully the explanatory positions of both traditionalists and modernists. Moreover, they need to make detailed observations on the reactions of their children to various forms of programming. This attempt at monitoring the amount and type of viewing by their children is contrary to traditional socialization permissiveness and may be difficult to accomplish. Failure to do so, however, may lead to fulfillment of the traditionalists predictions that television will "capture" the minds of the children. Indeed there is much to support the view of the traditionalists that television may be the techno-ideological means of breaking down whatever sense of balance remains between self-interest and ones' obligations to nature and the community. The breakdown of socialization through symbolic metaphor of the folk narrative, identification by children with the whiteman's heroes, and increasing violence and aggressiveness among children are suggestive of the apocalyptical loss of identity and control which the traditionalists have predicted. Thus the increased assertiveness and orientation toward the outer world which the modernists consider to be the consequence of the advent of television may lead to a more aggressive means of negotiating Native rights with the whiteman. But to succeed in this endeavor will take more than knowledge and a hedonistic identification with a dominant, individualistic, Euro-Canadian society. For if there

is loss of the sense of Cree and Saulteaux culture, as well as commitment

to community, in the pursuit of self-interest there can be little of

value left in Native culture. Hence there will be little need to

negotiate.

The Native peoples discussed in this paper have more to offer the

rest of the world than simply another example of impoverished, under-

privileged communities. They have a long tradition of living and

thinking in terms of maintaining a balance between individual self-

interest and community obligation, on the one hand and nature on the

other. In this tradition there is much that people of the industrial

world, where the balance has been so tilted in the direction of

hedonistic individualism, desperately need to learn. Capturing the

minds of children, encouragement of passive rather than participating

individuals, and transmitting contradictory and false messages are

universal problems confronting television viewers. Indeed, it may be

argued that the four Cree and Saulteaux factions discussed in this

paper represent a widespread division of interpreation for meaning and

value of this communication medium. Therefore, it is conceivable that

the way in which Native peoples seek to resolve the dilemmas posed by

these alternative interpretations can serve as a model for others.

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Television in Latin America:
Imported Material, Imported
Model, Imported Ideologies

by

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Introduction

> The purpose of human techniques is to defend man,
> and the first line of defense is that he be able
> to live.
>
> Jacques Ellul, The Technological Society

It seems already widely accepted that the so-called free flow of

information has meant to a large extent the free flow of U.S. originated

information into the rest of the western world;[1] Ravault argues con-

vincingly that, in the case of the industrialized nations, the one-way

expansion of English language mass communication products may very well

be detrimental to the expansion and possibly the very survival of Anglo-

American commerce.[2] But the increased commercial activity among indus-

trial nations has proved to be detrimental to commercial and indeed

cultural and communicational activity for the less developed countries

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[1] In fact, at the receiving end of the mass communication process, we
find not only the Third World, but also the Fourth World, that is to
say the underprivileged of the rich societies. As Schiller pointed out,
"given uneven developmental patterns ... it was inevitable that the
free flow of information lead to a one-way flow -- from rich and powerful
within one society to the weak and impoverished both within and without
that society"*

*Herbert I. Schiller: Freedom from the "free flow", in Journal of
Communication, 24:1, 1974, p. 114.

[2] Réné-Jean Ravault: De l'exploitation des 'despotes culturels' par les
téléspectateurs, paper to the Colloque 1979: La recherche québecoise sur
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(LDCs) which find themselves footing the bill of the recession as much
as they have been made to foot the bill of the past commercial expansion.

Moreover, it is the contention of this paper that, in the particular
case of Latin America, not only the American influence is exerted
through American-made communicational goods, specifically U.S. television
programmes, but also, and more important, that American values are carried
explicitly and implicitly in Latin American domestic productions, be
they of fictional, informative or even of musical/entertainment/sports
nature.

Indeed, the very existence of American style ownership and program-
ming in Latin America is in itself an acculturation factor, and whether
or not it includes a sizeable amount of material originated in the
United States can in extremis be considered irrelevant, since it is
irrelevant whether the expected result is obtained through direct or in-
direct -- i.e. "second-hand" -- intervention.

The penetration of the "American way of life" in societies older
than the American society itself might seem an oddity. Thus when we
find the American mores imposing themselves in Europe, or even to a
certain extent in Japan, we might be taken aback by such power of cul-
tural penetration. But such a situation is by no means an historical
exception. Most new empires in their expanding stages have been the
dominant model for the older, sometimes decaying cultures that they have
come to conquer or dominate.[1] What might be more surprising is the

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[1] Several examples come immediately to mind. The Roman conquest of Greece
brought about the latinization of the hitherto ethnocentric hellenic
culture, and even the latinization of Egypt. The Arabic conquest of
Persia caused not only the religious renewal of Islam, but the almost
complete replacement of the Sassanid culture. Nearer our subject, the
Incas and Aztecs adopted, albeit forcibly, numerous cultural elements of
the Spanish conquerors. The relentless energy of the young and growing
empires was always difficult to sustain.

pervasiveness of American-style consumer societies in the less developed

countries, where not only mores and values older than the American

might still be to a certain extent dominant, but also where the basic

economic conditions for such a manner of consumption and socio-economic

organization do not exist, and where sometimes the gross national product

barely reaches on a per capita basis a subsistence level, and very seldom

a consumer society level. This extensive expansion of the American-style

consumer society on a world-wide basis can be attributed at least

partially to the expansion of American mass communications.

At the Conference of Heads of State of Non-Aligned Countries, held

in Colombo in August 1976, the Declaration of the Conference of Non-

Aligned Countries on a Press Agencies Pool was adopted as official

policy by the participating countries. The declaration stated that,

> [j]ust as political and economic dependence are legacies
> of the era of colonialism, so is the case of dependence
> in the field of information which in turn retards the
> achievement of political and economic growth. Nonaligned
> countries noted with concern the vast and ever growing
> gap between communication capacities in nonaligned
> countries and the advanced countries, which is a legacy
> of their colonial past.

Such a declaration obviously applies, at least in part, to the

non-aligned countries present at the conferences, most of them African

and Asian, that have become independent in the twentieth century, very

often after the second World War. But several historical, structural and

organizational differences must be noted between the situation of Latin

American countries and other Third World regions.

In the case of Latin America, its immediate past and current

cultural dependence cannot be considered direct legacies "of their

colonial past". Indeed, in the half century that followed the

American Revolution of 1776, most Latin American countries acceded to their own independence.[1] Therefore a more accurate definition of their situation should take into account not only their colonial past, but mainly their neo-colonial present. The neo-colonial situation in Latin America differs from the neo-colonial situation elsewhere in the Third World in several ways:

a) While Asian and African countries had maintained through their colonial periods their largely homogeneous non-caucasian populations, with the colonists limited to the numbers necessary to manage the economy and the society at large (eg. the British population in India never reached 50,000), in most Latin American countries a population of European or partially European descent was dominant by the time these countries attained independence;

b) The former colonial rulers, Spain and Portugal, were replaced as trading partners by other European powers, even if the Monroe Doctrine barred their major political involvement in the continent. After World War I, and more so after World War II, the United States not only filled the trading vacuum but also took upon itself the overseeing and policing of the Continent. In other parts of the Third World, the former colonial metropolises continued to exert their political, economical and institutional influence after the access to independence of their colonies, which in most cases took place after World War II. This accounts for the relative importance of state owned electronic media in the former French and British colonies of Africa and Asia, as compared to the strength of the

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[1]Argentina: 1810-1816. Brazil: 1822. Colombia: 1810-1819-1830.
Ecuador: 1810-1819-1830. Mexico: 1821. Paraguay: 1811. Peru: 1821.
Uruguay: 1827. Venezuela: 1810-1819.

privately owned broadcasting enterprises in Latin America, following the American model.[1]

c) From its colonial past, Latin America inherited a unity of languages, Spanish and Portuguese, and a large measure of common social values -- the Latinidad -- which should in principle facilitate the circulation of communicational goods such as television and radio programmes, books, magazines, phonograph records and films. This community of language and customs is certainly not the case of the Third World countries of Africa and Asia. In fact, there seems to be only one other ethnolinguistic unit of such continental proportions. But that one is divided not in twenty separate countries -- sometimes belligerent among themselves. It is composed of only two countries, strongly integrated economically, culturally, and even miliarily and diplomatically. We are of course referring to the United States and Canada.

d) As Tapio Varis indicated[2] and this author explained elsewhere.[3] television in Latin America cannot be considered "a privilege of the urban rich". And this has been so for over ten years. In 1969 there were in Latin America 54 television sets per 1,000 population, while in Africa there were only 3.2 per 1,000 and in South Asia 2.3 per thousand.[2]

The Cultural Impact of Television in Latin America.

> How could they see anything but the shadows if they
> were never allowed to move their heads? Plato. Republic, VII.

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[1] Elihu Katz, George Wedell et al.: Broadcasting in the Third World, Promise and Performance. Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1977, p. 44.

[2] Tapio Varis: Global Traffic in Television, in Journal of Communication, 24:1, 1974, p. 109.

[3] Edmond Rogoff: Communication de Masse et Domination Culturelle en Amerique Latine, International Development Studies Group, Discussion Papers #803, University of Ottawa, 1980, p. 5

[4] Dennis L. Wilcox: Mass Media in Black Africa, Philosophy and Control, Praeger, New York, 1975, p. 138.

The master-slave relationships are based upon the slave's acceptance of his inferiority. The same could be said of the developed-underdeveloped relationships among nations. The underdeveloped must be convinced of its inferiority, in order to create the admiration and imitation of the developed.

From that point of view, even after their independence Latin Americans continue -- to this day -- to be "colonials". Cultural, political and economic elites shaped their mental and physical environment after the European metropolises, or rather after their mythical perception thereof. Bogota still claims to be "the Athens of the Continent". Urbanistically and architecturally Buenos Aires copied in minute detail Paris, London, Madrid. More modestly, Uruguay claimed the title of "Switzerland of South America", if not for its towering mountains at least for its now bygone political stability and welfare system.[1]

With the development of mass communications and electronic media, particularly after World War II, the cultural colonization reached deeply into all the social strata. And the dominant model became that of the nation which held the technological know-how and economic control over the mass media: the United States.

If previously Latin American literature followed the European model -- whereby Jorge Luis Borges, Julio Cortazar, Victoria Ocampo, Silvina Bullrich and many others are more European than Europeans; if the 60's produced a poorly grafted hybridation of the "nouveau roman"; if in the 70's Latin American intellectuals juggle to apply structuralist

[1] John Mander: The Unrevolutionary Society. The Power of Latin American Conservatism in a Changing World. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1969.

and semiological approaches to national realities, Latin American television did and does an even better job at overkill. It is certainly more American than American television. Indeed, Latin American television could be called: American TV at its worst. (Only Spanish language television in the United States, and specially in New York City 'outworsts' Latin TV.) Indeed, the U.S. model is slavishly followed even in the minute details of its peripheral products: for instance TV Guia of Buenos Aires, a clone of TV Guide sports on its cover Shelley Hack, Steve McQueen, Telly Savalas and other American television stars on such a regular basis that it is hardly distinguishable from the "real thing", except by the use of the Spanish language.

And so, through television are disseminated models, myths, fashions and manias of a consumer society, precisely in places where, as we have already noted, the economic basis for such a society does not exist, thus deeply altering the social tissue.

Over twenty years ago already we have seen in Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, young "teddy boys" in rural areas sporting black leather jackets and accompaning the juke-box of their local hang-out in pseudo-English -- a phonetic version -- the latest Elvis Presley or Platters hits. The rebellion without a cause that in the North American metropolis proved to be the first in a series of symptoms of the malaise of "the system" became, transplanted into poorer rural areas, a factor of demobilization, since the real problems of this deprived rural youth had more to do with unemployment, insufficient schools and the general problems of poverty than with what to do with their cars, their schools or their boring time in boring suburbia. The aping of the American culture was shaping into utter tragicomic dimensions.

One of the most important distortions of values and relationships brought about to Latin America by the massive import of television programmes takes place at a very visible level in the carrier of relationships and values itself: the language. Since a sizeable amount of broadcasting time is taken up by U.S. made serials and films, which are dubbed mainly in Mexico, but also in Puerto Rico, Argentina or -- until 1960 -- in Cuba, entire populations borrowed foreign accents and speech mannerisms, much in the same way as Canadians -- or British, or Australians -- borrow undiscerningly the latest Californian speech fad brought home by Rockford, Charlie's Angels or Quincy.[1] In the late 50's and early 60's, that linguistic standardisation was perceived by some as a positive factor. In some quarters it was perceived as a de-balkanizing movement for Latin America, and even as the beginning of a movement towards continental solidarity, plowing the seeds for the common markets that were later to appear. But what those pious souls forgot was that what was being borrowed was not the language of the Mexican, Puerto Rican, Argentinian or Cuban neighbour, but the language of the bigger neighbour to the North, as it was perceived. In using the dubbed expressions and accents of the then-popular Broderick Crawford -- of Highway Patrol -- Daren McGavin -- the detective Mike Hammer -- James Garner -- then Maverick and now Rockford -- or Efrem Zimbalist Jr. -- of 77 Sunset Strip -- what was imitated was the American sheriff, the American detective, the American rover. Once again, what was mimicked

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[1]The effects of television on language have not yet been studied nearly as extensively as those on violence, sex or the political process. Yet the fantastic speed at which colloquialisms appear and disappear in the age of television certainly demands further study.

was the metropolis.[1]

Structural Causes

The situations just described and the acculturation they imply are
at least partially a consequence of the television programming model
followed. But that programming model is in itself the consequence of
station ownership, organisation and technical and financial modes. And,
as Raymond Williams noted,[2]

> [i]n more than ninety foreign countries, the three [U.S.]
> leading corporations have subsidiaries, stations and
> networking contracts; they are particularly strong in
> Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, Asia and the
> Middle East. From this base there is continual pressure,
> some of it already successful, to penetrate societies with
> developed broadcasting systems... This pressure has included
> arrangements with local groups seeking commercial broad-
> casting, often requiring a change in national law. In a
> number of cases, including some planned "pirate" broadcast-
> ing... the planning and finance have come from the United
> States.

It is indeed through financing, part partnership, and technical
assistance that the American commercial television interests have pene-
trated so deeply into the Latin American market. Since these forms of
control have been widely documented and exposed, we are merely summarizing
here the findings of other researchers in order to appreciate the importance
and extent of Americans' direct control over Latin American television.[3]

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[1]This imitation of the master's voice reached on occasion droll, even pre-
posterous dimensions. After the passage of certain music-hall stars in the
late 50's and early 60's in Argentina, large segments of the population
began to speak Spanish with the American accent of Louis Armstrong or
Nat "King" Cole!

[2]Raymond Williams: _Television, Technology and Cultural Form_. Schocken
Books, New York, 1975, p. 41.

[3]See notably: Alan Wells: _Picture-Tube Imperialism? The Impact of U.S.
Television on Latin America_. Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York, 1972.

ABC formed an international subsidiary in 1959, and almost immediately invested one quarter of a million dollars in five Central American television stations -- in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica and Panama -- which formed the Cadena Centro-Americana de Television, of which ABC owns 51%. A similar network was created at the beginning of 1968 in South America, when the Asociacion Latino-Americana de Libre Comercio -- ALALC, a common market-type organization -- was founded.

This Latin American Television International Organization (LATINO) operated in six countries. These two networks are an integral part of ABC's Worldvision Network, described as a "programming and advertising cooperative".[1] By 1968, Worldvision operated in twenty-seven countries (of which twelve were in Latin America and one in the Netherlands Antilles). utilizing 64 transmitting stations (12 of which were in Latin America),[2] reaching an estimated total of twenty million households.

NBC's direct involvment in Latin American television has been both

Armand Mattelart: Une strategie Globale pour l'Amerique Latine, in Le Monde Diplomatique, December 1974, p. 8.

John A. Lent: The Price of Modernity, in Journal of Communication, 25:2, Spring 1975.

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H.J. Skornia: Television and Society, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1965.

[1]W. Dizard: Television: A World View, Syracuse University Press, 1966

[2]Channel 2 in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Channels 13 and 4 in Santiago, Chile. Channel 9 in Bogota, Colombia. Channel 7 in Costa Rica. Channel 7 in Santo Domingo. Channels 3, 6 and 7 in Ecuador. Channels 2 and 4 in San Salvador. Channel 5 in Tegucigalpa, Honduras. Channel 2 in Panama. Channel 12 in Montevideo, Uruguay. Channel 4 in Caracas, Venezuela. Channel 3 in Guatemala.

technical and financial, and although some divestment took place in the

early 70's, it still holds considerable direct investments in Mexican

and Venezuelan networks. RCA, NBC's parent company, produces and

imports most of the television stations' equipment and spare parts, as

well as television sets and a whole range of electronic products, records,

etc. in the four major continental markets, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico

and Venezuela.[1]

CBS has entered into some partnership arrangements in Argentina,

Peru and Venezuela, on occasion in joint partnership with Time-Life Inc.

This latter company has its own investments in Argentina, Brazil and

Peru. In the early 70's, due to the pressures of local governments,

CBS sold its interests in their Argentine television production

company Proartel and their Venezuelan company Proventel.

Obviously, Puerto Rican stations are almost exclusively owned by

Continental U.S. interests, sometimes through complex partnership

arrangements.

The situation which we have summarized above is in fact but the

tip of the iceberg. Technical and financial assistance opened the way

for the massive influx of U.S. produced programmes and for the slavish

copying of the American programming model. Tunstall[2] finds exaggerated

the "television imperialism thesis" on a quantitative basis and on a

qualitative basis. On a quantitative basis, using Varis data,[3] that

[1] A. Wells, op. cit.
A. Mattelart, op. cit.

[2] Jeremy Tunstall: The Media are American, Anglo-American media in the
World, Constable, London, 1977, p. 40 ff.

[3] Tapio Varis, op. cit. , pp 106 ff.
UNESCO: Television Traffic: A One-way Street? UNESCO Reports and
Papers on Mass Communications # 71, UNESCO, 1971.

author argues "that the television channels in the larger Latin American countries (such as Argentina, Colombia and Mexico) imported between 10 and 39 per cent of programming."[1] This overlooks on the one hand the availability factor, which we discuss further below, and on the other hand tends to underplay the importance of American programming relative to the number of viewers. It is during prime time that the majority of whatever percentage of American-made programms are shown,[2] much in the same manner as the Canadian content regulations imposed by the C.R.T.C. on television networks in this country, based solely on percentages of total broadcasting time, are easily evaded by presenting domestic pro-grammes in the off-peak hours. Indeed, Tunstall contradicts his own assertions a few paragraphs further, when he acknowledges the situation that we are mentioning:[3]

> The real social and political impact of imported
> programs may be greater than might be inferred
> from the volume of imported material, because of
> audience viewing patterns and the placing of
> foreign programming. Available studies about
> prime-time programming in various countries tend
> to show that the proportion of foreign material
> during these hours is considerably greater than
> at other times."

Still on a quantitative basis, the limits of 10 to 39% do not apply, on the Varis findings to countries like Uruguay, which import 62 per cent of its television programmes and which had, in 1975, 101

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[1] Nonetheless, Tunstall accepts that 80% of Guatemalan programming was imported, and Guatemala was as we have just seen, one of the first countries in which ABC played a major role.

[2] See Table I.

[3] J. Tunstall, op. cit., p. 41

sets per 1,000 population; like Chile, which had 458,000 television

sets in use in the same year and which imported 55% of its material; or

to the Dominican Republic, which imports 50%.[1] On the other hand, it must

be kept in mind that Varis' data, reproduced by Tunstall, is based on a

relatively limited sample -- two channels in Buenos Aires only for

Argentina, just the Telesistema Network for Mexico -- intended to be

indicative of a pattern rather than to be read as absolute figures, and

does not include such major countries as Brazil and Peru. Based on Katz

and Wedell's data we present in Table I a sample of programmes available

in those two countries, for illustrative purposes.

Finally, our on-going research on Argentine television, even if

still incomplete, indicates that, for three weeks in October and November

1979, there is hardly any time slot in the broadcasting schedule where

American-made programmes or films are not available to the viewing public.[2]

It must be stressed that this availability is not limited to the prime

time, but encompasses the whole broadcasting day, which normally goes

from 10:30 am to 02:00 am for all five channels of the metropolitan Buenos

Aires region. Data already compiled[3] shows clearly that out of 81

feature films shown by the five channels in the three week period studied,

only five were made either in Argentina, Latin America or Spain while

the other 76 were U.S. productions. This tends to show that, if in the

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[1]Tapio Varis, op. cit.
E. Katz, G. Wedell et al, op. cit., Appendix A, p. 247 ff.

[2]See TV Guia, Buenos Aires, XVII: 844, October 3-9, 1979
                         XVII: 849, November 7-13, 1979
                         XVII: 850, November 14-20, 1979

[3]We expect to present our complete reserach and tabulated data in an
upcoming paper.

early 70's a certain trend towards more national ownership and program-

ming was the case, as Tunstall argues,[1] that movement, which coincided

with a period of more national, popular or populist governments,

reversed itself consistently following the seizure of power in many

Latin American countries by rightist oriented groups, often military.

On a qualitative basis, Tunstall maintains that the "television

imperialism thesis" in the Third World generally and in Latin America

in particular is weak because television only followed the previous

patterns of radio and feature films. There is little doubt that those

pre-existing patterns were followed, but consider the following. One

might ask why television did not follow a different pattern, for instance

that of the press which has a long tradition in many Latin American

countries, with several prestigeous newspapers dating back to the mid-

nineteenth and early twentieth century. The off-hand dismissal of the

thesis does not take into account the extremely more powerful impact

that television has on its audiences, when compared to radio, which

lacked the hypnotic power of the image, the proving effect of what has

been seen with one's own eyes. And when compared to cinema, the difference

in impact comes from a one-a-week experience as opposed to three, four,

five or more hours a day of television exposure. To say that television

followed a pre-existing pattern only proves that there is a generalized

media imperialism, not limited to television, which started with radio,

followed with cinema, continues with television and, if no measures are

taken, will extend into satellite, cable television and any other media

technology existing or yet to be born.

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[1] J. Tunstall, op. cit., p. 41

Financial Considerations: The Cost Factor in Programming.

American direct involvement in Latin America -- both technical and financial -- is only part of the problem. Many stations and networks did not depend on such input, at least not entirely or predominantly. What does determine to a very large extent the programming is the cost factor. As Katz point out,[1]

> [i]t is not simply the 'imperialism' of the suppliers
> that explains the high rate of importing programs.
> Television stations, even small ones in poor countries,
> broadcast some 6-10 hours per day... That equals a
> minimum of 2,000 hours per year. All things considered,
> it costs at least $1,000 to produce even a rudimentary
> program of one hour. The cost of buying an hour of
> foreign programming is a function of the number of sets
> in the country, and whether other countries in the
> same language or geographic region have adopted it.

And, as Katz, Wedell et al indicated elsewhere,[2]

> the cost of producing a program like Ironside or Hawaii
> Five-O in Hollywood or New York may be $200,000 or more,
> but Peru, Thailand or Iran can buy it for less than the
> least expensive of their home productions. A more complex
> program -- a variety show or a drama -- might cost these
> countries $10,000 to produce, and they obviously cannot
> often afford these.

In fact the pricing system based on "the number of sets per country" and the marketability of the material result in a situation tantamount to dumping. The following table shows the rental costs for a half-hour episode of an American serial in Latin America and the Caribbean. One hour-long episode usually costs twice as much. As an indication, we give the rental prices for Canada. But we must remain aware that the

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[1]Elihu Katz: Can Authentic Cultures Survive New Media?, in Journal of Communication, 27:2 (1977), p. 155

[2]E. Katz, G. Wedell et al, op. cit., p. 163.

same dumping principle applies to our country.

TABLE A: Rental prices for a 30 minute episode in U.S. $

Country	Price	Country	Price
Canada:		El Salvador	50-55
CBC (English)	2500-4000	Guatemala	70-80
CBC (French)	2000-3500	Haiti	20-25
CTV	1500-2500	Honduras	30-35
		Jamaica	60-65
Latin America & Caribbean		Mexico	900-1100
		Netherlands Antilles	50-55
Argentina	500-800	Nicaragua	40-50
Bermuda	30-45	Panama	60-70
Brazil	2000-3000	Peru	120-125
Chile	65-70	Puerto Rico	500-600
Columbia	190-200	Trinidad & Tobago	55-60
Costa Rica	60-70	Uruguay	75-85
Dominican Republic	100-150	Venezuela	500-600
Ecuador	55-75		

(Source: Variety, April 21, 1976)

This differential price structure clearly indicates a dumping policy

that, voluntarily or involuntarily, discourages the creation of local

or regional programmes. Indeed, a pricing structure with a 1:100 ratio

is not applied in any other industry in the world, and the ratio reaches

1:1000 and even 1:10,000 when compared to the prices paid by American

stations and networks. Even the one to ten ratio applied to neighbouring

countries -- compare the prices applied to Argentina to those applied

to Uruguay and Chile, or those applied to Mexico to those applied to

Guatemala -- can hardly be explained by means of an economic rationale.

Even in Canada, how could it be explained that CTV, with a share of the

audience at least equal to that of the CBC pays half the price for a

similar product, if not by a specific policy aimed at encouraging the

more American type programming of the private network? What is the

rational basis for charging consistently less to the French network than to the English network of the CBC, when in the case of the former the cost of dubbing must be taken into account? If we only take into consideration the cost of film, processing, transportation, storing and retrieval, prices of $20, $30, $40 or even $100 cannot cover the costs. Their only function could be assumed to be one of hindering the creation or the development of a local or regional market for the local or regional productions.

Tunstall, while rejecting the "television imperialism thesis", indicates that[1]

> the standard American practice in all media fields is initially to undercut opposition through price competition... Hollywood did this so successfully with feature films that it could later raise its prices. The same tactics were pursued in television... Moreover, what happened was as bad in commercial terms as the most pessimistic predictions; starting with 'initially' very low prices, American television exporters saw their prices rise only a little and later stay steady against inflation.

Tunstall argues that there is no "rational" price for a film or a television programme. But he adds that "American companies are embarrassed by the low prices they are getting."[2] And if prices did not rise to a more profitable level, according to Tunstall this is due to the extreme competition among the companies themselves. The argument does not resist even a rapid examination: first, since the companies are in a cartel situation in most of the markets, and they do not have to battle anti-trust legislation, why is it that they do not agree among themselves on more profitable prices? Second, if competition drives the prices down in Latin America, obviously a buyers' market, why is it that the same

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[1] J. Tunstall, op. cit., p. 42

[2] J. Tunstall, op. cit., p. 43

competition does not drive the prices down in the U.S.?

Even if a similar price differential structure exists to some extent
in the theatrical film market, the total overseas revenue of the latter
is almost sixfold that of televised serials, in spite of the vastly
larger number of television productions exported, compared to the
number of films exported. According to Tunstall,[1]

> [r]easonably reliable estimates of the total overseas
> revenue of United States media are available in some
> cases, even though the nature of revenue varies
> greatly between media -- as does the ratio of 'revenue'
> to profit. [our emphasis] Probably first would come
> feature films; Hollywood 'theatrical' revenues abroad
> were $592 million in 1975... Approximately second
> equal would be records... Next would come the roughly
> $100 million revenue of U.S. television exports.

There seems to be little doubt that dumping was practised at first
in order to corner the market. But what would be the reason to continue
indefinitely a disastrous commercial policy? It must be either a
concerted policy of cultural domination, or a long-term policy aimed at
future profits. Unfortunately, no data is available as to the profits
of television programme exports, either to Latin America or to the world
at large. In any case, those policies are beginning to backfire on the
U.S. and the American media -- the current situation in Iran being but
one example of the extreme consequences of such policies.

The Latin American Productions

What is being shown to Latin American audiences besides American
serials and films? Table I for Brazil and Peru, and our current research
for Argentina indicate that local productions are mainly of five types,
all well known to the North American viewer: telenovelas (soap operas),
sports, talk shows, musicals and sketch-comedies. Religious programmes

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[1]J. Tunstall, op. cit., p. 43

could be considered as a special category.

<u>telenovelas</u>.

The <u>telenovela</u> -- called "teleteatro" in southern South America -- has recently started to attract some research interest, perhaps because it is the most visible and most circulated of Latin American made shows. Indeed, <u>telenovelas</u> are the largest television export market, not only within Latin American countries, but also to the U.S., since they form a large percentage of the broadcasting time of Spanish language stations in the U.S. Thirty to sixty minutes long, like its American counterpart the soap opera, the <u>telenovela</u> "is the most popular form of television."[1] Major producers are Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela, but many other countries produce at least one <u>telenovela</u>, although they may not export them, as can the five major producers. Its origins might be in the translated and exported soap operas, as Katz indicates, or perhaps in the long running <u>radionovelas</u> -- or <u>radioteatros</u> -- of the 30's, 40's and 50's, most likely in both. <u>Radionovelas</u> had a long tradition prior to the birth and expansion of Latin American TV. They held the antenna for years and were part of the tradition of family listening and conversation subjects among the lower and lower middle classes. The themes and subjects of <u>radionovelas</u>, basically family life with its problems, were very similar to the American serials and radio dramas that started in 1928 with <u>The Queen's Messenger</u> to reach in a short time the popularity of <u>Ma Perkins</u>, <u>Just Plain Bill</u> and <u>The Romance of Helen Trent</u>.[2]

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[1] E. Katz, "Can Authentic ..." <u>cit</u>., p. 17

[2] Erik Barnouw: <u>Tube of Plenty, The Evolution of American Television</u>, Oxford University Press, New York, 1975.

But most attempts to transfer the successful _radionovelas_ into tele-
vision failed. Previous attempts to transfer _radionovelas_ into film had
also culminated in failure. Just as the stars of silent film had dif-
ficulties adapting to the 'talkies' -- because their voices did not
fulfill the expectations created by their images -- so the attempted
adaptations from _radio_ to _telenovela_ failed, because the images did not
fulfill the expectations created by their voices. The familiar voices
had a false ring to them in the cheap and hastily made sets. The spaces
ideally filled by the listener's imagination looked disappointingly dif-
ferent in the low budget sets.

So, _telenovelas_ practically had to start from scratch. The first
successful attempts were with weekly serials, which combined the style
and content of the American soap operas with the periodicity of the
American serial.[1] Some of this early hybrids reached spectacular popu-
larity through a proper dosage of melodrama and sensationalism, to which
a hint of current social causes, cultural scandals and cliffhanging was
added.[2]

As the _telenovela_ evolved, more and more was borrowed from the
American soaps. Of course, there are here and there some exceptions.
As Katz pointed out,[3]

> the form is also being creatively used. In Mexico... the
> telenovela has been adapted to the presentation of

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[1]A rather similar phenomenon occurs in French Canada with the _teleroman_.

[2]One of those Latin serials, in the wake of the scandal of Fellini's
La Dolce Vita, showed a Mastroianni-type looking Argentinian reporter
investigating the squatters situation in a half-finished public housing
project, then a common occurrence. At the end of one episode the reporter
falls from the unfinished upper floors. Seeing him falling, one of his
fellow reporters shouts the actor's name -- not the character's name, the
actor's name. Fadeout.

[3]E. Katz: "Can Authentic ..." _cit_.

historical drama, to tell the story of Mexico's march
to independence... In Brazil, the largest of the
networks, Globo, has commissioned some of the country's
best writers to create stories in the _novela_ form. The
late-evening _novela_ in particular is now a "serious"
affair, relating to real-life people and contemporary
social issues. It is an interesting example of a care-
fully considered and costly initiative to improve the
quality of product on the part of an oligopolist. It
is possible that the move is better interpreted as a
response to the increasingly vocal concern of government
with television. But the achievement is real.

Nevertheless, occasional attempts at "better" television and at

high brow _telenovelas_ remain exactly that, occasional. The general

content and structure of the _telenovela_ continues to be very much similar

to the soap opera, aimed as _Time_ magazine described it as "tears in the

afternoon". Unfortunately research on the _telenovela_ content -- as in

the case of the French Canadian teleroman -- is barely starting. And when

content analysis is undertaken, it is almost exclusively with a structural

or semiological point of view. Ideological content analysis on the _tele-_

novela has not yet started. Yet, as Michele Mattelart's preliminary

findings tend to show[1] the obscurantist melodramtic forms of the

telenovela -- and the _fotonovela_ and _radionovela_ as well -- under certain

appearances of "modernization" constitute an easy carrier for contents

impregnated with forces that distort both ideology and values. All this

in the name of ill-defined development, based on the assumption that

since mass media are characteristic of advanced societies, mass media in

LDC's will promote advance.[2] According to Ramona Bechtos,[3] international

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[1] Michele Mattelart: _La Cultura de la Opresion Femenina_, Ediciones Era
Mexico, 1977.

[2] See: Peter Golding: Media in National Development, Critique of a
Theoretical Orthodoxy, in _Journal of Communication_, 24:3 (1974)

[3] Ramona Bechtos: Key Consumer Goods Growing Fast in Brazil: Ad Budgets
keep pace, _Advertising Age_, March 5, 1973.

editor for Advertising Age, "Sales of cigarettes, automobiles, detergents and cosmetics could be considered good barometers of a country's economic development." Commenting on those remarks, Schiller notes that[1]

> [b]y these measures, Brazil... is well along the road to "development". Advertising Age reports that the number of smokers is increasing rapidly. More good news is that "Brazil is the world's fifth largest market for toilet soap," and that "as the Brazilian woman becomes increasingly concerned about the quality of toilet soap she uses, she is also becoming more and more aware of the cosmetics available to her."

Soap operas, by any other name would have the same effect.

sports

Sports programmes in Latin America, as opposed to North America, are hardly exported or exportable. For one thing, there are no multi-national regularly scheduled tournaments outside the Pan American Games.

If American sports programmes are seldom imported it is simply because North American popular sports do not interest Latin Americans. In the rare occasions when a few minutes of football are screened, it is perceived as a sport for "big shoulders and little heads", with too many interruptions, especially when compared with soccer -- called football in Latin America. Hockey is seldom viewed. It is perceived as an interesting curiosity from countries with colder climates. Baseball enjoys some level of popularity in Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean and some northern parts of South America, but is considered slow and boring by most.

But mostly the identification with national, local and even neighbourhood soccer teams is strong and deep-rooted. Thus sports becomes an outlet for overwhelming nationalistic feelings, making it

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[1]H.I. Schiller: "Freedom...", cit.

difficult for non-national productions to reach any sizeable audience. Nevertheless, soccer from Great Britain, Germany and Italy is regularly seen on commercial television in Buenos Aires, where there is still a large immigrant population. It might be interesting to note that in the U.S. soccer from Germany and Britain is seen on Public Television. Other imported -- but not American -- sportscasts include Spanish soccer as well as boxing and car racing, all sports at which Latin Americans excel.

talk shows, musicals, sketch comedies

These again follow exactly the American patterns, format and style, ranging in "cultural" value from the equivalents of The Gong Show to the investigative reporting of 60 Minutes or W-5, while sketch comedies appear to be class B versions of Laugh In or Second City.

religious programmes

Religious programmes were current almost from the beginning of commercial television in Latin America. Channel 13 of Buenos Aires was largely financed by the Catholic Church and Church affiliated organizations. In the wake of Vatican II and Populorum Progressio substantial efforts were made by the Roman Catholic Church.

All of which makes odd the appearance of imported religious programmes: Sundays at 7 pm Rex Humbard appears on Channel 2 from La Plata -- also viewed in Buenos Aires -- while the locally produced religious programmes, mass, religious talks, etc. are confined to the early morning schedules on Sundays and the very late closing time seven days a week. Even such a distinct and strong cultural factor as Catholicism is being undermined by the strong influx of imported programmes.

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Conclusions and Recommendations

When compared to other developing regions, Latin American countries possess a much larger number of television transmitters and receivers. In most countries in that area there are more than fifty receivers for every 1,000 inhabitants. Certain countries, such as Argentina, Barbados, Brazil, Panama and Uruguay, with one hundred receivers or more for every 1,000 inhabitants approach Western European standards. The number of transmitters is equally impressive: 189 in Brazil, 96 in Mexico, 40 in Venezuela, 31 in Argentina.[1]

Such a solid market could provide an economic base for local programme production. More so if we consider that the community of language -- non-existent in other parts of the Third World -- vastly enlarges the national market for each country. This continental market creates the possibility for financing productions in Spanish and Portuguese on a multi-country basis, either through co-production or through export sales, not only in Latin America but also with or to the Iberic countries.

Yet, television programming in Latin America seems to be largely dominated by imported material, almost exclusively American. Three reasons seem to explain that phenomenon:

1. Direct American involvement in the technical and financial set up of of television stations and facilities;

2. An American-style form of ownership and commercial operation of television stations, enhanced by the fact that almost all countries have

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[1] E. Katz, G. Wedell et al op. cit.

From our research it seems clear that for most of the smaller and poorer countries in Latin America it would impractical to produce domestically most of their programmes, especially those in the entertainment category. Even when the larger countries can count on a certain level of export revenues for their productions, as it is now sometimes the case with many telenovelas, it remains difficult to counteract the effects of American and even European dumping.

On the other hand, limiting the availability of television programmes might prove unfeasible, or extremely difficult at best, since by now the populations have grown accustomed to a diversity of channels and programmes. Curtailing the number of channel or the number of hours per channel per day would no doubt produce a public outcry not unlike the one the changes in cable-distributed American channels produced in Canada.

To solve such a situation on a continental level, several actions could be recommended:

A) Available domestic resources should be on the one hand directed toward the production of quality domestic oriented information, which should not follow external models, but on the contrary stress the importance of local values, without having to be xenophobic or chauvinistic. Information on self-help plans, autonomy, soft technologies, etc. should be used to replace reliance on external aid -- which generates dependency and low self-esteem -- and hard technologies and imported goods, whose cost, individual and collective, delay capital accumulation and limit investment capabilities;

B) Part of the remaining resources should be pooled among countries to coproduce entertainment programmes on regional, continental and

linguistic basis, stressing historic conscience, cultural unity, and

reflecting on possible solutions for common problems. Several regions

in Latin America share similar ethnic groups, structural economic problems,

etc. For instance, large parts of the Continent, the Andean region, share

a large proportion of population of Indian descent. Entertainment programs

based on the culture, the folklore and the problems of these populations,

in the Indian languages, can be coproduced by countries sharing these

specific ethnolinguistic groups, thus insuring their survival instead

of accelerating the cultural genocide. Central American countries

share the problems of overpopulation, minifundia, latifundia and mono-

culture, as well as that of being small geographic units. Shared

problems can and should be dealt with on a regional basis.

C) Finally, the rest of the available resources should be employed

to establish a continental network, thus helping to counterbalance the

mutual ignorance among the nations of the Continent.

In his conclusions for the UNESCO sponsored book on mass media and

development, Schramm wrote:[1]

> But we must remember that the full power of mass com-
> munication has never been used, in any developing
> country, to push economic and social development
> forward. This is the really exciting question: how
> much could we increase the present rate of development,
> how much could we smooth out the difficulties of the
> 'terrible ascent', how much further could we make our
> resources go, how much more could we contribute to
> the growth of informed, participating citizens in the
> new nations, if we were to put the resources of modern
> communication skilfully and fully behind economic and

[1] Wilbur Schramm: Mass Media and National Development, The Role of Information in the Developing Countries, UNESCO, Paris, 1964, p. 271.

social development? (emphasis added)

The stress was on the we, on the rich nations. We increase, we push, we smooth out, we contribute.

Over 15 years have passed and the situation has worsened. Our solutions have not worked for them. Perhaps it is time to stop imposing our solutions and let the solutions come from within. Television then could become the instrument to induce reflection and spread the local ideas for local solutions -- which was the mission of the book on the now advanced societies.

TABLE 1: Television Programmes. Evening schedules, Thursdays and Saturdays. July 1975

Hour (pm)	BRAZIL, Globo-TV Brasilia		PERU, Channel 4 Lima		PERU, Channel 5 Lima	
	Thursday 24-07-75	Saturday 19-07-75	Thursday 24-07-75	Saturday 26-07-75	Thursday 24-07-75	Saturday 26-07-75
05:00		The Waltons		Abbot & Costello (U.S. comedy)		Peru 74 (variety)
05:15						
05:30	Hanna Barbera (U.S. cartoon)		Gilligan's Island		Variety	
05:45						
06:00		Disneyland	Comedy (local)		Soccer	
06:15	Senhora (tele-novela)					
06:30			Film (U.S.)		Soccer	
06:45						
07:00	Bravo (tele-novela)			Nichols (U.S. serial)		
07:15		Bravo (tele-novela)				
07:30						
07:45						
08:00	Newscast	Newscast	Newscast	Newscast		
08:15	Escalada (tele-novela)					
08:30		Escalada (tele-novela			Me llamango-rrion (tele-novela	
08:45						
09:00	Chico City (local comedy series)	Kojak	Mujer (telenovela) (Venezuela)	Cannon (U.S. series)		Newscast (Pan-American) Theatre (local)
09:15						
09:30						
09:45	Newscast					
10:00	Gabriela (tele-novela)	Film (U.S.)	Hawaii Five-O	Film (imported)	Newscast	
10:15						
10:30						
10:45	Newscast					
11:00	Kojak		Medical Center		Film (U.S.)	
11:15						
11:30				Film (imported)		Platea Latina. Variety (imported)
11:45						
12:00	Film (U.S.)	Telefilm (U.S.)				

Compiled from E. Katz, G. Wedell et al. Broadcasting in the Third World, Promise and Performance. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1977

Remarks: a) We have not indicated the origin of some well known programmes, e.g. Kojak, Hawaii Five-O, etc.
b) Some films and variety programmes are not necessarily U.S. or entirely U.S.
c) Newscasts, specially foreign news, are originated mainly by U.S. news agencies (A.P.I., U.P.I.).

TABLE 2: Imported Programming as a Percentage of Television Time 1970-71

Region	Station	Imported %	Domestic %
North America	Canada/CBC (W)	34	66
	Canada/RC (W)	46	54
	USA 16/commercial (W)	1	99
	USA/18 non-commercial (W)	2	98
Latin America and Caribbean	Argentina/Canal 9B.A. (A)	10	90
	Argentina/Canal 11B.A. (A)	30	70
	Chile (W)	55	45
	Colombia	34	66
	Dominican Republic/Can. 3/9 (A)	50	50
	Guatemala (W)	84	16
	Mexico/Telesistema (A)	39	61
	Uruguay (W)	62	38
Western Europe	West Germany/ARD (A)	23	77
	West Germany/ZDF (A)	30	70
	Finland (A)	40	60
	France (A)	9	91
	Iceland	67	33
	Ireland (A)	54	46
	Italy (A)	13	87
	Netherlands (A)	23	77
	Norway (A)	39	61
	Portugal (A)	35	65
	Sweden (A)	33	67
	Switzerland/Deutschw. (W)	24	76
	UK/BBC (A)	12	88
	UK/ITV (W)	13	87
Eastern Europe	Bulgaria (A)	45	55
	German Democratic Republic (A)	32	68
	Hungary (A)	40	60
	Poland (A)	17	83
	USSR/Cent. 1st (W)	5	95
	USSR/Leningrad (A)	5	95
	USSR/Estonia (A)	12	88
	Yugoslavia/Beograd (A)	18	82
Asia and the Pacific	Australia (A)	57	43
	Mainland China/Shanghai (W)	1	99
	Taiwan/Enterprise (A)	22	78
	Hong Kong/RTV&HK-TVB English (W)	40	60
	Hong Kong/RTV&HK-TVB Chinese (W)	31	69
	Japan/NHK General (A)	4	96

☐ Domestic %   ■ Imported %   (A) = annual figures   (W) = data based on sample weeks

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TABLE 2 (continued)

	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	
Japan/NHK Educational (A)	1									99
Japan/Commercial stations		10								90
Rep. of Korea/Tong-yang (A)			31							69
Malaysia (A)								71		29
New Zealand (W)									73	27
Pakistan (A)			35							65
Philippines/ABC CBV (A)		29								71
Singapore (W)								78		22
Thailand/Army TV (W)		18								82

Dubai (A)									72	28
Iraq (A)						52				48
Israel (A)						55				45
Kuwait (A)						56				44
Lebanon/Telibor (A)				40						60
Saudi-Arabia/Riyadh TV (W)			31							69
Saudi-Arabia/Aramco TV (W)										100
United Arab Republic (A)				41						59
People's Rep. Yemen (W)						57				43

Ghana (W)			27							73
Uganda (W)		19								81
Zambia (W)							64			36

Source: Tapio Varis (1974) 'Global Traffic in Television'

Area and Country	Radio							Television			
	Number of shortwave transmitters[a]	Number of medium-wave transmitters[a]	Number of long-wave transmitters[a]	Number of FM transmitters[a]	Total kw	Coverage of land area (%)	Coverage of population (%)	Number of television transmitters	Total kw	Coverage of land area (%)	Coverage of population (%)
South America											
Argentina	6(327)	127(1,450)	0	12(-)	1,777	100	100	31	1,100	--	80
Bolivia	38(88)	54(62)	0	0	150	--	50	2	10	--	6.5
Brazil	350(-)	850(-)	0	--	--	70	100	189	--	80	65
Chile	36(333.25)	153(771)	0	--	179	70	80	31	306	--	75
Colombia	48(253)	247(896)	0	91(-)	1,149	100	100	17	3,740	45	85
Ecuador	96(252)	231(544)	0	20(21)	817	100	100	14	55	--	--
Guyana	3(22.5)	4(40)	0	1(0.1)	62.6	--	100	0	0	0	0
Paraguay	8(119)	23(193.5)	0	6(-)	312.5	--	58	1	60	--	--
Peru	100(-)	121(130)	0	0	--	85	100	18	--	35	40
Uruguay	16(97)	29(601)	0	4(4)	702	100	100	17	133	100	100
Venezuela	103(400)	155(1,500)	0	23(-)	1,900	--	80	40	1,687	--	50
Central America and the Caribbean											
Barbados	0	2(11)	0	1(0.02)	11.02	100	100	1	60	--	85
Costa Rica	7(9)	41(65)	0	0	74	100	100	8	176.8	100	100
Cuba	3(20)	116(312)	0	23(5)	437	100	100	25	--	--	--

a. Figures in parentheses are total kilowatts

TABLE 3: (continued)

Area and Country	Radio							Television			
	Number of shortwave transmitters[a]	Number of medium-wave transmitters[a]	Number of long-wave transmitters[a]	Number of FM transmitters[a]	Total kw	Coverage of land area (%)	Coverage of population (%)	Number of television transmitters	Total kw	Coverage of land area (%)	Coverage of population (%)
Central America and the Caribbean (continued)											
Dominican Republic	12(60)	99(174)	0	26(16)	250	100	100	6	30	--	--
El Savador	3(11)	50(158)	0	8(-)	169	100	100	5	72.5	100	100
Guatemala	4(20)	85(350)	0	0	370	100	100	3	30.5	--	--
Haiti	20(85)	31(29)	0	5(-)	114	--	--	2	--	--	--
Honduras	37(30)	79(158	0	10(0.7)	188.7	100	100	5	30	--	--
Jamaica	0	8(40)	0	7(19)	59	75	100	1	0.14	60	--
Mexico	27(-)	335(-)	0	51(-)	(-)	100	100	96	--	--	--
Nicaragua	13(110)	67(350)	0	59(-)	460	100	100	2	11	40	90
Panama	4(3.2)	73(128)	0	37(9.4)	140.6	100	100	13	78.6	100	100
Trinidad & Tobago	0	5(41)	0	12(1.74)	72.74	100	100	6	33.2	--	95

a. Figures in parentheses are total kilowatts.

Source: E. Katz, G. Wedell & Coll., op cit.

TABLE 4: Number of radio and television receivers in use in
Latin American countries per 1,000 population.

Country	Population	Radio sets in use (esti- mated)	Per 1,000 popu- lation	Television sets in use (esti- mated	Per 1,000 popu- lation
South America					
Argentina	23,364,400	9,000,000	385	4,000,000	171
Bolivia	5,190,000	500,000	96	50,000	10
Brazil	104,500,000	32,000,000	306	10,000,000	96
Chile	10,000,000	4,500,000	450	458,000	46
Colombia	24,000,000	4,000,000	167	1,500,000	63
Ecuador	6,600,000	707,000	107	250,000	38
Guyana	750,000	275,000	367	0	0
Paraguay	2,560,000	175,000	68	57,000	22
Peru	15,000,000	2,000,000	133	700,000	47
Uruguay	2,956,000	1,500,000	507	300,000	101
Venezuela	11,000,000	2,000,000	182	980,000	89
Central America and the Cribbean					
Barbados	243,000	90,000	370	35,000	144
Costa Rica	1,843,000	230,000	125	150,400	82
Cuba	8,750,000	2,000,000	229	555,000	63
Dominican Republic	4,300,000	185,000	43	156,000	36
El Salvador	3,760,000	940,000	250	111,000	30
Guatemala	5,600,000	261,000	47	106,000	19
Haiti	5,000,000	91,000	18	13,100	3
Honduras	2,650,000	157,500	59	46,100	17
Jamaica	1,997,900	590,000	295	97,000	49
Mexico	52,700,000	15,841,100	301	3,821,170	73
Nicaragua	1,991,000	126,000	63	75,000	38
Panama	1,520,000	260,000	171	200,000	132
Trinidad & Tobago	1,040,000	300,000	288	93,000	89

Source: Katz & Wedell: Broadcasting in the Third World, 1977

Television Programming in Egypt
and Lebanon in the Sixties: National
and Extra-National Influences

by

W. Leonard Lee

When viewing the utilization of communications systems throughout

the world, it is not inconsequential to associate technological

development with the communication process. The technological explosion

gave viability, if not absolute credibility, to concepts of West to

East, or developed nations to developing nations, flow of information.

The affirmative and negative arguments made to the "cultural imperialism"

issue are legion, as attested to in the plethora of communication litera-

ture, and the debate is far from being exhausted. The advent of sophis-

ticated methods of mass communication has created both expectation and

exasperation as people of differing cultures respond to program content

within the context of their particular, some would venture peculiar,

cultural norms. Undoubtedly, as Lichty and Ripley suggest in their

book American Broadcasting, that while technical advances in mass com-

munications "may greatly change the methods of communications in the

future," a primary consideration for the communication researcher is the

investigation of message content -- the "what" of the social categories

theory -- to understand the "internal information flow.[1] International

communication in its narrowest interpretation, because of technological

integration among the former international communication auditors, has

ostensibly been superceded, at least in part, by national communication

systems. Perhaps this is most particular with the development of tele-

vision by countries who were considered to be, by numerical and system comparisons, media-poor.

National systems, as has been alluded to previously, have by definition their own cultural inherencies which determine program content, actual air times, and viewing habits. All of which, singularly and collectively, reflect ideology, inculturation and attitudes toward the function of the media. Some researchers would argue that television programming conveys to the viewers values reflecting and reinforcing aspects of the culture in which it was produced.[2] Such arguments assume interpretive dimensions which further fuel the "cultural imperialism" debate where the U.S.A., as a major international marketer of "made-in-America" television programs is subject to distinctive criticism.[3] Economic arguments which defend the U.S.A.'s dominance in marketable television program fare speaks to the question of "bargain prices" for the purchaser while avoiding any question of appropriateness of the content and even imitation by local media.[4] The question of survival for "traditional" cultures in the light of what some researchers label as Western mass culture becomes both moot and volatile.[5] Moot for those who identify the traditional cultures as an impediment to progress or the maintenance of its status-quo, as in Lebanon, which include some national leaders, and volatile to the ultra nationalists and culturists, which include intellectuals, who bristle at any inferred imposition of Western values. What is happening in Iran in 1979-80 seems, at least in part, to be indicative of the overloading of the modernization process which has created a conflict of values. The present religious

leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, certainly sees popular culture, which bears

a Western insignia, as being a threat to his sense of reviving his

concept of traditional values. Thus, a re-revolution or at least a

period of rejection, is in progress.

Critics infer that the advertising aspect of television usage,

when introduced into national systems, can create a consumer, rather

than a producer mentality.[6] This in time is identified with the control

of the flow of cultural materials, and the accusing finger is again

directed toward the U.S.A.[7] Whatever the reasoning might be to sub-

stantiate or decry these criticisms, it is important to note that

economic considerations become primary in making decisions which affect

the "on-air" capability of many television systems, especially when

local programming capabilities are sparse.

Stereotyping, unfortunately, is a perceptual astigmatism which

can only be corrected after a specific diagnosis. Merrill indicates

that, "It is natural for Americans to have stereotypes about other

nations and vice-versa, however unfortunate we may feel it to be."[8]

What should not be natural, at least to the educated person, is a

perpetuation of that stereotype when the perceptual discrepancy is

accurately adjusted for correct vision. To this end, research which

deals with cultural variables should in its description be cognizant

of these variables so that interpretation of the results will sharpen

the focus of understanding, rather than blur the image.[9]

With the development of any media system comes the tension of the

need to be "on-the-air" with the problem of "what-to-air". This

tension is rarely resolved to complete satisfaction because of the

fluidity of societies and the attendant fluctuation in broadcasting

philosophies, government loyalties, where applicable, religious and

national demands, and audience auditory habits. Such an observation

is not necessarily negative, although such fluctuations in situations

as the former rule of Idi Amin can have negative consequences, but

rather descriptive of the emergence of nations into their continuing

and sometimes new role of communication.

When dealing with, for want of a better definition, the Arab world,

the comparison between, as Learner puts it, "the passing of traditional

society" and the passing into a more non-traditional society has many

pitfalls. Although there is a sense of unity in a common language and

a common religious heritage, the casual observer might be mesmerized

into assuming that unity is uniform and all encompassing. The United

Arab Republic created under the leadership of Gamal Abul Nasser was

short-lived as Iraq and Syria reverted to their own sense of nationhood.

The "Shiekhdoms" of the Gulf area while joined by some unifying facets

cannot be considered to be the same. Even Jordan, with tribal links

with what is now known as Saudia Arabia, while sharing common Islamic

frames of reference with other Arabic-speaking nations cannot be

categorized as being "the same as" those nations. To generalize then

about the Arabic-speaking world creates, in content analysis terminology,

categorization disparity which, if not identified, could lead to invalid

assumptions.

In order to allay some of those possible disparities, it is

imperative that each country be viewed primarily as a unified whole

by taking cognizance of its recent, as well as its traditional history;

particularly, as it pertains to its media development.

The Middle East, per se, during the twentieth century, has a
rather turbulent history. The era of the mandates, although perhaps
well-meaning, while doing little to foster a sense of national self-
reliance among the nations of the area did nurture the dormant seed of
nationalism. The French attempted to weaken Arab leadership by attempt-
ing to create a French hybrid in feeling, taste, graft, and power
structure.[10] Algeria and Lebanon are cases in point, especially as
Lebanon is a focus of this study. The British, on the other hand, chose
to ignore the educated Arab elite favoring the peasant, who was, accord-
to the British, in need of protection.[11] The succinct comment made by
Berger that "Arab nationalism is sharpened against the whetstone of
European domination and the memory of the Crusades..." is certainly
relevant to a better understanding of the aversion of Arab leadership
to Western, or for that matter Eastern, incursion into their life style,
at any level.

Part of the recent history of the Middle East is the emphasis given
to the development of the electronic media and most particularly the
advent of television. The sixties, in this regard, was particularly
crucial. The decade of the sixties for the Middle East was replete
with momentous events. It is perhaps surprising that the societies
that comprise the Middle East are as resourceful as they are when one
tries to keep pace with the crises that befell them. The almost
fatalistic statement of "In-Shah-Allah" -- if God wills, while alluding
to resignation also carries with it a sense of resolve. That is why
the decade of the sixties incorporated both an inception and transition.

The inception unfolds a television era and the transition advents a

new dimension of self-determination. The question, to which this piece

of research addresses itself is, "What in that ten-year period of time

did the most erudite television nations in the Middle East, Egypt and

Lebanon, program to their constituents, and was there a marked change

in program direction?" Also, "How did the television programming

reflect the uniqueness of each country and what reliance, if any, was

there on foreign programming?"

The purpose of the study was to quantify, through content analysis,

the programs aired by the Egyptian and Lebanese television systems

through selective sampling over a ten-year time frame. The years chosen

were to mark the beginning and end of a decade, 1961-62 and 1971-72.

The months chosen were October and January. October because it was

considered to be a relatively useful month which ostensibly signaled

the beginning of the "new" season. It is important to note that there

is very little compatibility between what is constituted as the "new

season" in the U.S.A. networks season offerings and the "new" season

identified in this study. In the countries being studied, the month

of October signals the return to a more normal routine after the heavy

months of summer weather. January would constitute a month of "winter"

and a half-way point to the return of the summer sun. Viewing habits

are predicated in part upon the weather, set location, and social inter-

action, so it was decided that these months could represent a useful

sample of the television fare being offered.

The days of the week, representative of each month chosen, were

reasonably uniform, dependent upon the availability of the newspaper

schedule. The two newspapers from which the sample was culled were

"Al-Ahram", for Egypt, and "Al-Nahar" for Lebanon, both of which are

considered to be major newspapers for each country.

The samples were collected while the author was living in the

Middle East and, unfortunately, the availability of back issues of some

newspapers posed some problems of consistency in the sampling but not,

in the author's opinion, detrimental to the overall results. The

categories, as identified in the tables, grew out of the program content

as particularized by the program offerings. However, the framework of

the categories was based upon the form developed by Professor Larry

Lichty, of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, to whom the author is

indebted.

A problem in dealing with another language is, of course, its

accuracy of translations. Linguistic precision is a primary consideration

for identifying meaning to which bi-lingual scholars pay obeisance.[12]

For the content analysist, however, it is also important to categorize

titles of television programs efficiently. For example, one program

was identified as "Habat Arak" - translated as "Beads of Sweat". To

the unitiated, this is like trying to identify "All in the Family".

Where necessary, local viewers were interviewed to determine the

program content where the title was not descriptive.

Like any study, there are limitations and in any content analysis

the researcher would like for the sampling to be broader so as to be

more definitive. However, limiting the sample to handlable dimensions

and still being able to draw some viable conclusions, as in this study,

while a limitation, was a limiting necessity.

Broadcasting Overview.

In order to appreciate the complexity of the media institutions

in the Arabic-speaking world, it is important to understand the inter-

relationship between each institution and the society in which it

functions.[13]   While there are parallels between the Arabic-speaking

countries, in terms of the media functions, each country must be con-

sidered as a single unit to accurately explain its peculiarities. It

is not the purpose of this study to identify these functions, that is

a definitive study in itself, but only to draw attention to the reader

that viable content analyses cannot be made in a cultural void.

Egypt and Lebanon can be considered the most prolific televison

programmers among the Arabic-speaking nations, indeed they are the most

prominent regional program marketers.[14]   The Egyptian film-making

industry has been the major source of Arabic films for many years. The

rivalry in recent years between these two countries for the lion's

share of the marketing demand, particularly among the Gulf states, has

been aggressive. The Lebanese businessman, as attested to by some of

their counterparts in the Gulf region, is clever while being infatuous!

So while there are no assumptions to be drawn from comparing Egypt and

Lebanon with the U.S.A. networks in cornering a market, the sample

serves to highlight the impact of media development and television

program consumption in the Arabic-speaking countries during the last

twenty years.

Egypt, although sophisticated in audio broadcasting, initiated

its video broadcasting in 1960 with U.S. government financial assistance.[15]

From the capital of Cairo, the network spread and other cities, initially

in the Nile Delta, were linked to the network centre. Later, in the

sixties, a microwave link with Aswan, three hundred miles south of the

capital, brought television within range of most of the nation's

population.[16] It is to be noted that during this time of media

development that Egypt herself was undergoing a political and social

re-development under the leadership of President Nasser. The political

influence of Egypt in the region was pervasive, but the political and

social mobilization was an internal task of which television was con-

sidered to be another stage.[17] In fact, a broadcasting law was enacted

in the 60's which sought to implement prescribed goals by means of the

electronic media. The aims of the law were to enhance art, strengthen

national consciousness, educate, exhalt adherence to moral and ethical

values, revive the Arab heritage, acquaint the people with the best

products of human civilization, enlighten public opinion, promote talent,

promote relations with expatriates, and entertain. Whether or not these

ends were achieved, or even achievable, is open to investigation, but

as will be pointed out in the program analysis, the criteria were

applied.

The continually expanding population of Egypt has haunted and

continues to haunt its leaders from many administrative and policy

perspectives. In this regard, there was a difference between having a

television signal and the ability, for a large portion of the Egyptian

population, to be able to purchase a receiver. Availability of electri-

cal current posed another problem, which was solved, in part, by the

production of a battery operated set.[19] Even then, the proportion of

sets to the population density in the decade of the sixties, was rather

meager by Western standards. According to the U.N. Statistical Yearbook, 1971, the sets per thousand population over a ten-year period time, 1960-1970, rose from 1.9 to 14. However, the number of sets available rose approximately 900 percent.[20] In spite of these and other obstacles, a sophisticated television network was created and, through it, the Egyptian populace were reached and exposed to a variety of programming.

On the other hand, Lebanon, partly because of its unique religious confessional composition, was not government-directed in the development of a viable television service. This is not to say that there was no government injection, seeing that it granted licenses and assumed a censorship role, particularly in the area of newscasting. The initial attempt at television development was engendered in 1956 as an education service by the Ford Foundation in cooperation with Beirut Ecoles des Arts et Metiers, which unfortunately floundered. So, the task of development was shouldered by commercial interests. La Compagnie Libanaise du Television (CLT), a conglomerate of Lebanese and French interests, began operations in 1959.[12] It is to be remembered that Lebanon, as a French mandate, was conditioned by French interests, so there is no inconsistency in the utilization of the French language for one channel and Arabic for another. Nor is it incongruous that the French government through the O.R.T.F. should influence equipment choice and programming fare on the French-language channel. Not to be outdone in the television market, both British and American interests entered the scene and the result was La Television du Liban du Proche Orient, which began broadcasting in 1962. Lebanon, unlike Egypt, has a mountainous terrain and, while village life is an integral part of the family identity,

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the bulk of the population is situated on the coastal plain and primarily in Beirut. While signal strength is usually strong in the coastal region, particularly in Beirut, the village areas also have signal availability so the population coverage is considered to be good. According to the U.N. Statistical Yearbook for 1971, the number of sets per thousand population in 1960 was 5, while in 1970 it had increased to 93. The amount of sets available showed an increase during that ten year period of time of approximately three thousand percent; no mean increase. The apparent influence of Lebanon has always been something of an enigma in "Arab" countries in the area and most particularly when compared with Egypt during the initial television decade of the sixties.

As can be seen, the framework of the utilization of television during the sixties was constructed by both Egypt and Lebanon from differing philosophical bases. Egypt, which was in the throes of assuming a revised socio-political identity under the leadership of President Nasser, used television as a useful source in that revision process. Lebanon, on the other hand, as a contrast to the governmental control of the radio system, allowed the television service to be developed from a commercial philosophy. In this regard, programming was geared to the two major language constituencies, Arabic and French, with an allowance for English-language users. Both the systems in Egypt and Lebanon served their constituencies differently, as will be seen in the following analysis.

Egyptian Programming Analysis

As indicated by the tables, Egypt utilizes three channels of the V.H.F. band. Channel 5 covers the most populous areas of the country;

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Channel 7 covers the Nile Delta, including Cairo and Alexandria; while

Channel 9 is specifically for Cairo, primarily where the diplomatic com-

munity and other foreigners live while in Egypt.

Tables 25 through 35 account for the daily category breakdown by

time, percentage and rank of each station during the time frame used

for the sampling. In these tables, the categories have been further

delineated to account for types of programs which would aid in better

identifying the category being considered. The major categories are

discussed, according to their pertinence, in special tables included in

the text of the discussion, so they will carry the major focus of

attention. However, the tables will be useful to the observer to

identify, for example, which elements of drama carry the most emphasis

when identified as Arabic or foreign drama. In Table 25, for instance,

the predominance of detective-type drama, of foreign origin, is low.

The opposite is true when viewing the breakdown under Arabic drama. No

absolute trend can be identified from this one week's schedule, except

to say that the nature of life in Egypt, as in other Arabic-speaking

nations with semitic histories, is patterned toward the family. It is

an assumption then that in the spirit of the broadcast law previously

mentioned that at least in the beginning years of television that an

attempt was made to reinforce these family values. Similarly, as

identified in Tables 25 and 26, under the category of "Children", the

program emphasis is primarily of local origin, although the seemingly

omnipresent cartoons are to be found. When foreign children's programs

were aired, it was the observation of this writer that the choice was

usually in favor of programs that had maintained societal and individual

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ideals, rather than the emphasis of unreal characters whose identity was

superficially oriented.

Obviously, space will not permit a line-by-line analysis of each table

and which, of course, is not really necessary. Therefore the analysis

will be devoted to the overall pictures of each channel as represented

in the comparative tables.

Being "on-the-air" does not follow the rigid time pattern of the

broadcast system in the U.S.A. Rather, the Egyptian time frame is

somewhat related to the European system of not being in a broadcast

sequence all day long. However, one cannot overlook the cultural

factor of not being conditioned by a clock, as is indicative of Western

culture. As the individual Tables 25-28 reveal, the approximate air-

time for Channel 5 over the sample period was 9 - 10 hours per day.

There was a marked drop in actual air time during the October 1971

period when the average daily air time was 7 hours. There is no concrete

reason to explain this drop of which this writer is aware. The ranking

of the highest categories seems to be consistent with the rest of the

comparison in Table 1, but with a drop in the category education and

an increase in news.

In viewing the rankings of Table 1, it seems appropriate to say

that the category variety remains consistently strong, which would

indicate that, at least at a surface level, the factor of entertainment

is primary. Determining whether or not in the specific entertainment

programs there are elements of value reinforcement can only be

accomplished by a further analysis of such programs. However, it is

worth noting that, as indicated in Tables 25-28 that "local varieties"

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TABLE 1:   Major Category Breakdown -- Egypt Channel 5 (61-62, 71-72)

(Time in Minutes)

CATEGORIES	October 1961			January 1962			October 1971			January 1972		
	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank
Drama	732	18.3	2	595	14.3	2	512	17.3	2	370	8.7	3
Religion	160	4.0	8	175	4.2	10	263	8.9	4	330	7.7	4
News	365	9.1	4	345	8.3	5	381	12.9	3	240	5.6	7
Education	277	6.9	5	405	9.7	3	145	4.9	6	1240	29.0	1
Culture	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Information	165	4.1	7	370	8.9	4	85	2.9	10	270	6.3	6
Enlightenment	130	3.3	10	225	5.4	8	217	7.3	5	325	7.6	5
Documentary	30	.8	12	30	.7	12	21	.7	12	25	.6	12
Children	585	14.6	3	295	7.1	7	140	4.7	7	135	3.2	9
Youth	--	--	--	--	--	--	15	.5	13	20	.5	13
Women	180	4.5	6	345	8.3	5	35	1.2	11	20	.5	13
Sport	135	3.4	9	105	2.5	11	120	4.1	8	150	3.5	8
Game	90	2.3	11	195	4.7	9	15	.5	13	65	1.5	10
Art. and Lit.	15	.4	13	15	.4	13	95	3.2	9	55	1.3	11
Variety	1136	28.4	1	1075	25.7	1	918	31.0	1	1025	24.0	2
Total Air Time	4000	100%		4175	100%		2962	100%		4270	100%	

and "songs" have a strong showing. Some Egyptian singers like Um

Khalthoum had great appeal for the Egyptian populace at all societal

levels and that, in itself, identifies not only an emotional response

to the music, words, and the personality, but also a pride in their

being Egyptian. Another feature which has cultural overtones is dancing,

commonly called "belly dancing", for which, along with Lebanon, Egypt

is noted. Unquestionably, this art form, while having some sensuous

overtones, is regarded as culturally unique, which is imitated by the

general populace at festive occasions. The legitimate theatre is a vital

art form in Egypt and was used as a social tool under the leadership of

President Nasser to extol the worth of the average citizen and declare the

exploitation of the "fellaheen" by the "Pasha" mentality under King Farouk.

This should not decry the sophistication of the Egyptian playwriters like

Towfiq- Al-Hakim, who was not only prolific but also profound, but to

point out that within the country there was an air of refurbishing, and

plays, via the television medium, were part of the process.

The drama category ranked consistently high, which as far as foreign

programs are concerned, carried a strong element of entertainment. A

useful division of foreign vs. local percentages will be seen later in

the breakdown identified by Table 2.

Religion, of course, in the Islamic centre of Egypt, carries

great weight. Therefore, the readings from the Koran, commentaries by

major religious leaders, and coverage of the rituals of the Muslim Holy

Day is consistent with the attempt to maintain the Islamic tradition and

values. During the Muslim Holy Month of "Ramadan", the media are excep-

tionally active exhorting the faithful and explicating the pertinence of

Islamic history. News is an important item in an area like Egypt, because of its regional position and the fluctuating nature of political alignments in the Arabic-speaking area. The sixties, as previously identified, was an era of crisis, not excluding the "67 War." Egyptian radio proliferated the area. Egypt was broadcast to via radio signals, not only by other Arabic-speaking countries, but by the major powers, who were concerned about Nasser's politics and also by the Israelis. Therefore, it was important for the government to maintain a strong news-front to present their particular point of view. Newscasting in Egypt includes the segment of "commentary," when there is some special concern to be articulated. From these news events, as well as other programs, it was clear to the observer what the policies of President Nasser were and who were considered to be the enemies of these policies. Rugh points out that in 1965, the electronic media carried the lengthy trial of the Muslim Brotherhood members who had plotted against the government, which was a commentary in itself for the viewers.[22]

There was a significant increase in the emphasis upon education at the beginning of the seventies, as compared to the beginning of the sixties. It took almost that length of time for the Ministry of Education to be convinced of the value of educational programs, which were run initially under the initiative of the broadcasters. As can be seen in Table I, the category "Education" in 1972 was ranked number one with 29 percent of the broadcast time.

Enlightenment programs, per se, remained important as an entity and increased measurably by percentage from an aggregate of approximately 8 percent to an aggregrate of approximately 15 percent. One could conclude that, while the nation was in the wake of the death of Nasser

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and experiencing the change of leadership under Sadat, that the ideals of the re-socialization process needed to be further reinforced.

The categories which were not strongly emphasized were games, which diminished in air time; art and literature, which ranked consistently low; and youth, which was rather limited. Sport, of course, was primarily related to the viewing of soccer games, either of national or regional importance. One of the reinforcing characteristics that was used to establish links with other countries in the region was the visitation of national teams to Egypt. Soccer is the national sport and, as such, is given emphasis. As indicated in Table I, the time allocated to sport is reasonably inconsistent.

The category of women, surprisingly, diminished in air time, while starting out strongly. The initial aggregate of 12.8 percent, falling to an aggregate of 1.7 percent, could be indicative of a change in policy, if the trend could be substantiated through the seventies. While the role of women in Egyptian society cannot be equated with the role of women in Western society, it is worthy to note that educated women, particularly, have attained prominent positions in many professions, not in the least in broadcasting. Maybe it is assumed that the programming during the ten-year period of time raised the level of consciousness of the Egyptian women to a point where special programs were considered unnecessary. That possibility is, of course, speculative and certainly cannot be substantiated with the data from this study.

The breakdown of the two categories which remained consistently high in the comparative sample has some interesting patterns.

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TABLE 2: Egypt: Channel 5

CATEGORIES	October 1961			January 1962			October 1971			January 1972		
	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%
Drama	723			595			512			370		
a. Foreign		475	64.9		475	79.8		467	91.2		235	63.5
b. Arabic		257	35.1		120	20.2		45	8.8		135	36.5
Varieties	1136			1075			918			1025		•
a. Local		215	18.9		205	19.1		638	69.5		295	28.8
b. Foreign		30	2.6		30	2.8		--	--		--	--
c. Arabic Film		300	26.4		285	26.5		235	25.6		205	20.0
d. Foreign Film		190	16.7		95	8.84		45	4.9		235	22.9

Under the category of drama, there is a perecentage favor for

programs of a foreign origin. Egypt, during the sixties, while being at

an ideological impasse with U.S. foreign policy, certainly did not close

itself off from relationships with the West. This, in part is reflect in

the allowance, and in this sample instance, the predominance of foreign

programming which was shown in subtitles. There were, of course, some

programs from the Eastern bloc countries, but, in this writer's

experience, the preponderence of material was Western. As the table

shows, in all cases there was more than a 60 to 40 percent ratio in favor

of foreign programs.

The category variety shows another picture, which further

illustrates the strength of national talent in Egypt. Arabic films

account for the major portion of air time identified under varieties,

except for January 1972 when the air time was almost evenly divided with

foreign films. Variety programming of a foreign nature was negligible.

Local varieties and Arabic films collectively substantiate the fact that

not only was there available talent among the nationals to feed as vora-

cious a creature as television, but that it was used frequently to reach

a broad population and in a language form and content with which the

audience could identify.

Channel 7, which is the station that covers the Nile Delta area,

is "on-the-air" shorter than Channel 5. The average "air time,"

according to the sample, is on the average approximately 6 hours per day.

Again, as in the analysis of Channel 5, the programming of the major por-

tion of "air time" was consumed by the four categories of variety, drama,

news, and religion, with information and enlightenment reasonably strong

TABLE 3: Major Category Breakdown -- Egypt Channel 7 (61-62, 71-72)

(Time in Minutes)

CATEGORIES	October 1961			January 1962			October 1971			January 1972		
	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank
Drama	560	44.1	1	662	27.5	2	687	30.8	1	605	23.0	2
Religion	75	5.9	4	70	2.91	5	155	6.9	4	170	6.5	3
News	130	10.2	3	180 ·	7.5	4	395	17.7	3	150	5.7	4
Education	--	--	--	60	2.5	6	55	2.5	7	145	5.5	6
Culture	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Information	50	3.9	6	30	1.3	7	70	3.1	5	150	5.7	4
Enlightenment	30	2.4	7	145	6.0	3	60	2.7	6	120	4.6	7
Documentary	--	--	--	25	1.0	9	30	1.3	10	15	.6	10
Children	60	4.7	5	25	1.0	9	--	--	--	15	.6	10
Youth	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Women	--	--	--	--	--	--	15	.7	12	30	1.1	8
Sport	30	2.4	7	30	1.3	7	20	.9	11	--	--	--
Game	--	--	--	--	--	--	55	2.5	7	30	1.1	8
Art. and Lit.	--	--	--	--	--	--	45	1.8	9	--	--	--
Variety	335	26.4	2	1180	49.0	1	650	29.1	2	1200	45.6	1
Total Air Time	1270			2407			2232			2630		

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but fluctuating. A further breakdown of these categories is found in Tables 25-28.

Drama seems to remain reasonably consistent from the beginning to the end of the ten-year time frame with an average of ten hours per week. Religion showed a marked increase, more than double, which may be due to a policy shift. Nasser's death was still, for Middle Easterners, relatively recent and, early in the seventies was the latest of the Egyptian-Israeli conflicts. Either of these elements may have been reasons for extra religious emphasis.

News remained reasonably consistent, except for the increase in October, 1971, which according to Table 31 was inundated with commentary material.

Education, as explained previously and as indicated in the table, took an upswing during the late sixties/early seventies, because of the involvement of the Ministry of Education, but the change is not as dramatic as that on Channel 5. This might be due to the audience profile of the Channel 5 coverage, in contrast to the audience profile which constitutes the Channel 7 audience. The latter, although not substantiated in this study, tends to be more urban than rural. The changes, if any, in the other categories are discernible.

As with the analysis of Channel 5, the foreign programming under drama still utilized the preponderence of air time, although the percentage of that time was somewhat lower in the seventy sample. The change is more readable in the increase in "Arabic drama" to 46 percent in October, 1971, and 30 percent in January, 1972, both of which are an improvement over the sixties percentages.

TABLE 4: Egypt: Channel 7

CATEGORIES	October 1961			January 1962			October 1971			January 1972		
	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%
Drama	560			662			687			605		
a. Foreign		505	90.2		592	89.4		367	53.4		425	70
b. Arabic		55	9.8		70	10.6		320	46.6		180	29
Varieties	335			1180			650			1200		•
a. Local		30	8.9		45	3.8		80	12.3		280	23
b. Foreign		75	22.4		235	19.9		270	41.5		360	30
c. Arabic Film		95	28.4		300	25.4		64	10.0		80	6
d. Foreign Film		--			435	45.3		25	3.9		330	27

Foreign varieties certainly showed an increase in the seventy sample, but, even in the sixties sample, they far exceeded the air time of the local programs. Even the foreign films showed more collective air time for both sample periods than did the Arabic films. It would seem, therefore, that Channel 7, on the basis of the sample, was inclined toward more foreign material of an entertainment nature than was Channel 5, perhaps because this channel covered the two most prominent cities in Egypt, Cairo and Alexandria, where the societal structure is more diverse.

The sampling, as identified by this table, is not as uniform as the preceding tables. The lack of a sample for October, 1961, does not spoil the comparison of the results, especially since Channel 9 is geared more to the foreign constituency in Cairo.

It has been opinioned that Channel 9 is superfluous to the television system in Egypt and somewhat of a luxury. After Nasser's demise, it was closed down for a year, but programming was reinstituted in late 1971. On the basis of this fact, the choice of a January 1962 and a 1972 time frame was considered to be most appropriate. An October sample of that same year was chosen to allow for a substitution, if any, of any trends that might be evident.

The air time of Channel 9, as depicted in Table 33 for the 1962 sample showed a broadcast time of an average of approximately three hours a day. The January 1972 sample indicated a drop in total air time, but the October 1971 sample indicated a dramatic 100 percent increase in air time. If this was to be a trend, and that can be only clearly defined by a further study, then it could possibly work a new emphasis of Channel 9 broadcasting in Egypt. As indicated

TABLE 5: Major Category Breakdown -- Egypt Channel 9 (61-62, 71-72)

(Time in Minutes)

CATEGORIES	October 1961			January 1962			October 1971			January 1972		
	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank
Drama				398	31.8	2	180	18.3	3	340	14.4	3
Religion				75	6.0	4	--	--	--	65	2.7	6
News				--	--	--	220	22.3	2	390	16.5	2
Education				--	--	--	30	3.0	6	45	1.9	10
Culture				60	4.8	6	--	--	--	--	--	--
Information				25	2.0	7	50	5.1	5	145	6.1	5
Enlightenment				--	--	--	--	--	--	180	7.6	4
Documentary				70	5.6	5	85	8.6	4	65	2.7	6
Children				125	10.0	3	--	--	--	--	--	--
Youth				--	--	--	--	--	--	30	1.3	11
Women				--	--	--	--	--	--	50	2.1	8
Sport				--	--	--	15	1.5	8	50	2.1	8
Game				--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Art. and Lit.				--	--	--	30	3.6	6	30	1.3	11
Variety				498	39.8	1	275	38.1	1	975	41.2	2
Total Air Time				1251			985			2365		

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previously, 1973 was the year of a dramatic confrontation between Egypt

and Israel, and the media may have been programmed to prepare that

constituency for such an eventuality. A study by Olfat Hassan Agha on

the editorials in a pre-post war period might help in underscoring the

tenor of the times.[23]

The rankings follow a similar pattern, as identified in Tables 1

and 3, with the categories variety and drama being consistently high.

However, what is interesting is that in both the 1972 samples the cate-

gory news assumed the number two rank of program air time.

News in the 1962 sample was non-existent. In January 1971, as

indicated in Table 34, the emphasis was placed upon newscasts which

averaged out to approximately thirty minutes of air time per day. However,

in the October 1971 sample, as indicated in Table 35, the newscasts were

supplemented by commentaries of twenty-five minutes duration. At least

for the sample time, this indicated a change in pattern.

Although religion was relatively the same in air-time between

January 1962 and October 1972, the difference, as indicated by Tables 33

and 35, was that, in the latter, Koranic readings were instituted,

suplementing the previous "discussions".

Both information and enlightenment categories were increased in

air time, but the programs under enlightenment weighed more heavily on

the social, rather than the political, as identified in Table 35.

Children's programming, which was completely of foreign origin,

was discontinued, as evidenced by this sample, although there was an

apparent resurgence of programs for youth, women, art, literature, and sport.

Under the category drama, foreign programming received the greater emphasis, which is consistent with the profile of the viewing audience, but in October 1971, Arabic programs were also aired and with the greater percentage of air time for that category. That pattern is carried through in the varieties category, where the preponderence of programming is "foreign varieties" and "foreign films." However, in the October 1972, sample, both "local varieties" and "Arabic film" accounted for approximately as much air time as did their foreign counterparts.

In summary, it seems appropriate to draw further attention to the reality that while the period of the sixties was socially and politically reconstructive for Egypt, the development and utilization of the television medium was maximized. There can be very little doubt, to the informed observer, that television programming served to inform and entertain. This study, of course, does not address the issues of degrees of entertainment and information in program content, but rather to a description of what amount of air time was devoted to categorized programs. From the results of the sample it can be concluded that if the intention of the programmers was to create awareness, whatever that might entail, and entertain, then the programming vehicle, as identified by this study, was functioning.

Assuming that the categories drama, children, sports, games, and variety, as identified in this study, can be appropriately described as "entertainment" and the remainder of the categories can be appropriately identified as "information," the following observations seem to raise the possibility of programming re-emphasis.

TABLE 6: Egypt: Channel 9

CATEGORIES	October 1961			January 1962			October 1971			January 1972		
	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%
Drama				398			180			340		
a. Foreign					398	100.0		180	100.0		120	35.3
b. Arabic					--	--					220	64.7
Varieties				498			375			975		
a. Local					--						340	34.9
b. Foreign					314	63.1		240	64.0		155	15.9
c. Arabic Film					--						55	5.6
d. Foreign Film					--			105	28		265	27.2

1) For Channel 5 the collective percentage of the programming

   sample for 1961-62 as identified in Table 1 was 60 percent

   for "entertainment." The figure for "entertainment" in the

   1971-72 sample was 48 percent. The indication from the

   figures in this study is that there is a general shift from

   "entertainment" to "information" programming.

2) For Channel 7 the "entertainment" figure, as indicated in

   Table 3, for the 1961-62 sample was 78 percent. The figure

   for the 1971-72 sample was 67 percent. These figures indi-

   cate a shift toward "information," but with "entertainment"

   still recording a major emphasis.

3) For Channel 9 of the 1962 sample had an "entertainment"

   figure of 81 percent. The 1972 sample figure was recorded

   as 58 percent. On this basis, if there was a shift in focus

   for Channel 9 it seemed most profound. However, the 58 per-

   cent figure still identifies a major emphasis toward

   "entertainment."

In evaluating the "entertainment" percentages for the three

channels it can be deduced that if there was a concerted effort to change

the programming focus toward "information," for whatever reasons,

Channel 5, which was considered as a primary channel, realized an

inverted radio. Channels 7 and 9, while registering a proportionate

ratio decrease of 11 percent and 23 percent respectively, still remained

strong in the "entertainment" categorization. Even if there were no con-

certed effort to change, the results remain interesting phenomenon of the

content analysis process.

As previously indicated, the categories drama and varieties were

uniformly high in air time. A question for consideration in evaluating

these categories which received the "entertainment label, and which had a mixture of "foreign" and "local" material, is, "Was there any discernable change in the utilization of either 'foreign' or 'local' programming?" To attempt to answer this question, Tables 2, 4 and 6 were used for calculation purposes and the following inferences were drawn:

1) Under the category of drama for Channel 5, based on this sample, there was an approximate 14 percent increase in the use of foreign programming material. For Channel 7 there was a 51 percent decrease in the use of foreign programming material and an increase of approximately 70 percent of foreign material for Channel 9. On a percentage basis the overall comparative picture would indicate more usage of foreign programs.

2) Under the category varieties, for Channel 5, there was a marked increase of approximately 85 percent in "local variety" programming. For Channel 7 there was a slight decrease of 1 percent in "foreign variety" programming but still leaving this category with a high amount of air time. Channel 9 showed a decrease of approximately 14 percent in "foreign" materials in this category. The overall picture would then seem to indicate that the incidence of "local variety" programming was in the ascendency.

3) Under the category varieties, Channel 5 showed an approximately 15 percent increase in the use of "Arab" as opposed to "foreign" films. Channel 7, on the other hand, showed an approximate increase of 50 percent in the use of "foreign" films. Channel 9, likewise, showed an increase of 85

percent in the use of "foreign" films. The sub-category of
"films" showed some fluctuation with Channels 7 and 9
increasing their "foreign" usage while Channel 5 showed a
decrease in "foreign" usage.

The reliance on "foreign" programming, in the major categories
of drama and varieties, has an interesting pattern. Channel 5 showed, in
all three observations, that there was a decrease in reliance upon
"foreign" materials. Channel 7 showed a decrease, under drama, of
"foreign" material; a decrease, under varieties, of "local varieties," but
an increase in the use of "foreign" films. In this regard, it must be
remembered that the audience of Channel 7 was considered to be more urban
than that of Channel 5, which might account for the increase in the
sub-category, "foreign" films. Channel 9, which ostensibly served the
expatriot audience of Cairo and environs, while showing an increase in
"foreign" material under drama and "foreign" films under varieties showed
a decrease in "foreign varieties." Of course, while these figures cannot
be used to substantiate any possibility of a policy change they do indi-
cate a possible pattern which would be interesting to follow into the
period of the seventies.

News, enlightenment, information, religion and education as
categories were all visible in the course of the broadcast day. Such
emphasis would serve to enhance the observation that the intent of the
broadcast philosophy, as expressed in the previously-mentioned broadcast
law, was indeed to use the media, in this case television, to expedite a
process of mobilization. The fact remains that in the period of the
sixties, Egypt, because of its relative media sophistication and creative
talent, was able not only to just be "on-the-air," but to be "on-the-air"

with a high percentage of its "own programming." To this end the onus of "other culture imperialism" seems, for Egypt, to be rather strained argument.

Lebanon Programming Analysis

Lebanon has always been considered "special" in the Arabic-speaking countries of the Middle East because of its political structure and socio-religious composition. The inherent struggle in Lebanon has always been the tension to maintain a status-quo which, it has always been assumed, is the most favorable condition for harmony. Recent events have served to identify the frailty of that sense of harmony when the internal power struggles were exacerbated by regional problems. However, while the period of the sixties exuded a relative calm, there were rumblings of discontent among the populace, epitomized by the identity claims of the Palestinians.

The role of television during these times was one of apparent nonchalance and, as such, was but the reflection of the Lebanese attitude, an attitude which could almost be categorized as a "trademark!" As will be seen in the following analysis, the emphasis of Lebanese television programming will be upon "entertainment" with no obvious, or surmisable, prescription for a national awareness.

The sampling for Channels 7 and 9 follow a similiar pattern as identified in the Egyptian analysis, but extracted from a Lebanese newspaper. However, there was a problem in sampling for Channel 5-11 because of a lack of parallel beginning dates to maintain consistency in the sample. Channel 5-11 did not begin broadcasting until late 1962 and the programming, based upon the observation of the writer, was rather anemic. Therefore, it was decided that rather than choose another year

in the sixties it would be just as useful, given the circumstances, to
use the protracted sample of the seventies for any basis of comparison.
With reference to Channel 5-11, the station did not gain credibility
until the late sixties, except perhaps with the English-speaking
constituency. Such a sampling judgment might be a flaw but not, in the
opinion of the writer, a catastrophe.

Channel 9 can best be described as the French-language medium.
The "on-camera" personnel spoke French with the air and aplomb of
sophisticated Parisiennes. A primary audience for the television fare
and language of this station would be the Maronite Christian community,
but this does not rule out a larger constituency, seeing that most
Lebanese are bi-lingual.

It will be noticed from Table 7 that the categories which ranked
consistently high in both sample time frames are variety, drama and news.
During the 1961-62 sample the categories previously mentioned accounted
for approximately 76 percent of the air time. During the 1971-72 sample
they accounted for approximately 84 percent of the air time, an increase
of 8 percent. The category news, which in the 1961-62 sample ranked
second, had dropped to third in 1971-72. This may have been due, as
inconsistent as it may sound, to the increased internal tension, which
while smouldering began to surface in pockets of violent confrontation.
The tendency in newscasting in Lebanon was to ignore issues of contro-
versy in order not to make a bad situation worse which is quite the opposite
to the "American" concept of news reporting and investigative journalism.

Religion, as a category, was most noticeable by its absence of
program time. This is in contrast to the Egyptian analysis. Again,

TABLE 7: Major Category Breakdown -- Lebanon Channel 9 (61-62, 71-72)

(Time in Minutes)

CATEGORIES	October 1961			January 1962			October 1971			January 1972		
	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank
Drama	180	15.9	3	210	15.5	3	630	35.6	2	450	25.9	2
Religion	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
News	290	25.6	2	325	24.0	2	210	11.9	3	240	13.8	3
Education	--	--	--	30	2.2	9	--	--	--	--	--	--
Culture	40	3.5	6	40	3.0	7	30	1.7	6	30	1.7	6
Information	60	5.3	4	30	2.2	9	--	--	--	30	1.7	6
Enlightenment	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Documentary	--	--	--	110	8.1	4	--	--	--	--	--	--
Children	30	2.6	7	60	4.4	5	120	6.8	4	180	10.4	4
Youth	--	--	--	--	--	--	60	3.4	5	60	3.5	5
Women	50	4.4	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Sport	--	--	--	30	2.2	9	--	--	--	--	--	--
Game	30	2.6	7	55	4.1	6	--	--	--	--	--	--
Art. and Lit.	--	--	--	40	3.0	7	--	--	--	30	1.7	6
Variety	455	40.1	1	425	31.4	1	720	40.7	1	720	41.4	1
Total Air Time	1135			1355			1770			1740		

because of the confessional diversity in Lebanon there was the "non-air" policy which gave preference, or even an implied preference, to no one, thus maintaining the status-quo. The only time that there was religious programming was at the major religious occasions of both the Christian and Muslim communities. These programs were of a "special" nature and not regular programming.

The only other categories that have noticeable continuity are children, culture, and information. Out of these the category children was the only one which showed an increase in air time to where it ranked fourth in the 1971-72 sample. As can be seen in the further breakdown in the children category in Tables 13-16, the preponderence of material was of foreign origin, not in the least of which was cartoons. Culture, as a category, while having some consistency in the frequency of air time, was constituted primarily as individual programs to be aired, rather than the programs being part of a cultural thematic discourse. What was usual was for the station to receive programs offered by various countries, as part of their "cultural relations" offerings. It would be judicious to assume that in the choice of these "free" programs that the preference would be given to "French programs" given the image of the station. Under information, the air frequency pattern is similar to that of culture. The content of these patterns of "cultural programs" as they were obtained for viewing, although in this category they would probably have more flexibility in program content than that of culture.

The broadcast day, while remaining reasonably consistent with its published schedule, was not above announced surprises. The average broadcast time was in the region of three to four hours per broadcast day.

Table 8 is easily discernable and it clearly indicates that
Channel 9 was dominated by a large amount of "foreign" programming.
Under the category drama, as particularized by Tables 13-16, the "foreign"
designation of the programs aired is shown. The reliance upon this "genre"
of programming was more heavily weighted in the seventy sample than in
the sixty sample.

Under the category varieties, there was some "local varieties"
programming but the preponderence of the material was foreign. In the
area of "film" programming, there seems to be an emerging pattern of a
propensity to "foreign" rather than the "Arab" material. In the 1961-62
sample the "Arab film" was dominant, but in the 1971-72 sample, there was
an overwhelming shift to the usage of "foreign films". As stated
previously, the two major entertainment categories of drama and varieties,
for Channel 9, were inundated with foreign material.

Channel 7 used as its language medium Arabic. In this regard,
it is assumed that the channel was serving another segment of the
Lebanese audience and the content of some of the "Arabic" drama aired
would serve to heighten that assumption. As pointed out previously the
daily broadcast time was usually about three to four hours per day. As
the table shows, this broadcast time frame was true for Channel 7. The
categories which were ranked high in air time were variety, drama and
news. Of the total air time in the 1961-62 sample these categories
accounted for approximately 82 percent of it. The 1971-72 sample
registered approximately the same percentage. News showed an increase in
air time in the seventies sample as compared to the sixties.

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TABLE 8: Lebanon: Channel 9

CATEGORIES	October 1961			January 1962			October 1971			January 1972		
	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%
Drama	180			210			630			450		
a. Foreign		180	100		210	100		630	100		450	100
b. Arabic		--			--			--			--	
Varieties	455			425			720			720		
a. Local		20	4.4		60	14.12		--			30	4.2
b. Foreign		75	16.5		335	78.8		210	29.2		330	45.8
c. Arabic Film		360	79.12		--			60	8.3		--	
d. Foreign Film		--			30	7.1		450	62.5		360	50.0

(Time in Minutes)

CATEGORIES	October 1961			January 1962			October 1971			January 1972			October 1972		
	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank
DRAMA	185	14.9	3	300	23.2	2	690	35.9	1	510	27.4	2	540	29.5	1
RELIGION	--	21.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NEWS	260	21.0	2	285	22.0	3	330	17.2	3	420	22.6	3	360	19.7	3
EDUCATION	60	4.8	4	--	--	--	60	3.1	6	--	--	--	--	--	--
CULTURE	30	2.4	5	--	--	--	30	1.6	9	30	1.6	6	--	--	--
INFORMATION	60	4.8	5	75	5.8	5	60	3.1	6	60	3.2	5	90	4.9	5
ENLIGHTENMENT	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
DOCUMENTARY	--	--	--	--	--	--	60	3.1	6				30	1.6	6
CHILDREN	30	2.4	5	90	6.9	4	150	7.8	4	240	12.9	4	150	8.2	4
YOUTH	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
WOMEN	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
SPORT	15	1.2	8	30	2.3	7	90	4.7	5	30	1.6	6	30	1.6	6
GAME	--	--	--	60	4.6	6	--	--	--	30	1.6	6	--	--	--
ART. AND LIT.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
VARIETY	600	48.4	1	455	35.14	1	450	23.4	2	540	29.0	1	630	34.4	2
TOTAL AIR TIME	1240			1295			1920			1860			1830		

Tables 17 - 21 show that the length of the newscast had increased. While on the one hand the news on Channel 9 had decreased, the news on Channel 7 had increased. This could mean an attempt by the same company to play down the "foreign" image of the one channel by casting a different image on the other channel. It is consistent to say that under no circumstances would the increase in the news time be in any way correlated to broadcasting events which would be issue-oriented, if they pertained to the internal tensions of the Lebanese scene.

Children as a category showed an increase in the seventies sample, as compared to the sixties sample. What is interesting here is the attempt to supplement the "foreign" programs with "Arabic" programs. This trend assumes some referential concern for the constituency to which the station was broadcasting.

Sport received more coverage on this channel than it did on Channel 9. Even then, the program time frames were short, which meant that there was no coverage of complete events like a soccer match. This points to another characteristic of the Lebanese character, in that Lebanon never used sport, particularly soccer, to identify a national image within the county that was considered worth the effort of broadcasting. This was unlike her neighbors. What is interesting is that Lebanon always seemed to be represented in prestigous international events such as the Olympics. One of the regular shows was wrestling and when possible the show was focused on two Lebanese wrestlers who became pseudo "folk heroes."

The category of information maintained some consistency, averaging about 5 percent of the air time. The programming, as pointed out previously, usually consisted of a film which was topical rather than political in nature, unless it involved some "other" country's politics!

The remaining categories are self-explanatory and relatively unimportant judging by their limited air time.

Table 10 shows more diversification than did Table 8 when viewing the deliniation of the two major categories of drama and varieties. Under drama, Table 8 shows that Channel 7 relied heavily on program material that was foreign in origin. "Arab" programs, under this category, were minimal in the sixty sample, but did show some increase in the seventy sample. What is worth noting is that there was an attempt to develop a program, Arab in character as well as in language, which would depict certain aspects of life in Lebanon and in a serious manner. This program was dubbed "Abu Milhim." Later another program was developed which was more humurous in nature but which still depicted life in Lebanon. This program as dubbed "Abu Salim." Both these programs had a long life. However, the foreign programs were not only always available but were also popular.

Initially, under drama, "local varieties" in the 1961-62 sample assumed a dominant position and if that was not reversed in the 1971-72 sample it was at least neutralized by the "foreign" programs. For Channel 7, it would seem that preference for "film" deferred in favor of "Arab film" with a supplement of "foreign" material. As pointed out in the Egyptian analysis, there was an active film industry in Egypt so there was a source for "Arab films." Later Lebanon developed its own industry but it was never as prolific as that of Egypt.

Overall, it can be deduced from reading Table 10 that while foreign material was used in abundance that Arab programs were also used and in some instances superceded the foreign materials.

TABLE 10: Lebanon: Channel 7

CATEGORIES	October 1961			January 1962			October 1971			January 1972			October 1973		
	TOTAL AIR TIME	AIR TIME	%	TOTAL AIR TIME	AIR TIME	%	TOTAL AIR TIME	AIR TIME	%	TOTAL AIR TIME	AIR TIME	%	TOTAL AIR TIME	AIR TIME	
DRAMA	185			300			690			510			540		
A. FOREIGN		120	64.9		240	80.0		390	56.5		330	64.7		420	77.8
B. ARABIC		65	35.2		60	20.0		300	43.5		180	35.3		120	22.2
VARIETIES	600			455			450			540			630		
A. LOCAL		90	15.0		160	35.2		90	20		150	27.8		170	27.0
B. FOREIGN		--	--		--	--		90	20		210	38.9		60	9.5
C. ARABIC FILM		510	85.0		205	45.1		180	40		90	16.7		210	33.3
D. FOREIGN FILM		--	--		90	19.8		90	20		90	16.7		90	14.3

TABLE 11: Major Category Breakdown -- Lebanon Channel 5-11 (71-72)

(Time in Minutes)

CATEGORIES	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank	October 1971			January 1972			October 1972		
							Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank	Time	%	Rank
DRAMA							900	46.9	1	630	39.6	1	690	35.9	1
RELIGION							--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NEWS							210	10.9	3	210	13.2	3	210	10.9	3
EDUCATION							60	3.1	7	--	--	6	--	--	--
CULTURE							--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
INFORMATION							90	4.7	6	150	9.4	4	180	9.4	4
ENLIGHTENMENT							--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
DOCUMENTARY							30	1.6	8	--	--	--	60	3.1	6
CHILDREN							180	9.4	4	210	13.2	3	270	14.1	5
YOUTH							--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
WOMEN							--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
SPORT							120	6.5	3	45	2.8	5	--	--	--
GAME							--	--	--	30	1.9	6	--	--	--
ART. AND LIT.							--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
VARIETY							330	17.2	2	315	19.8	2	510	26.6	2
TOTAL AIR TIME							1920			1590			1920		

The pattern of certain category dominance continues with the

analysis of Channel 5-11. The major categories which were ranked high

were drama, variety, news and children. These categories accounted for

approximately 84 percent of the program offerings. Drama was con-

sistently ranked first with approximately 40 percent of the air time.

Variety was consistently ranked second with approximately 20 percent of

the air time. News and children vied for third and fourth ranking, while

information was a regular fifth.

In deference to the management of Channel 5-11, there was a con-

certed effort to try and improve the format of the program for children.

They wanted children's programming to consist of more than children

reciting, playing games and watching cartoons, which was the program norm

in the period of growth during the sixties. Later on in their community

service programming they experimented. It was in this context that the

writer directed for television an Arabic translation of Hansel and

Gretel, which was aired on Channel 5-11, in an attempt to allow children

to experience good children's theatre acted by local talent. This was an

indication of "things to come" and a study needs to be done of the seven-

ties to identify any new patterns.

The information and documentary categories were noticable so

it seems that total reliance, per se, upon the entertainment factor had

some moments of respite.

Sports and games were visible but not particularly substantial.

Overall, it is obvious that the entertainment aspect of the

programming, on this channel, was the dominant factor of the broadcast

strategy.

TABLE 12: Lebanon: Channel 5-11

CATEGORIES	October 1961			January 1962			October 1971			January 1972		
	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%	Total Air Time	Air Time	%
Drama	900			630			690					
a. Foreign		720	80.0		450	71.4		570	82.6			
b. Arabic		180	20.0		180	28.6		120	17.4			
Varieties	330			315			510					
a. Local		60	18.2		165	52.4		150	29.4			
b. Foreign		270	82.0		60	19.1		--	--			
c. Arabic Film		--			--	--		180	35.3			
d. Foreign Film		--			90	28.6		180	35.3			

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The categories of drama and varieties, identified further in Tables 22 - 24 have some interesting diversity. Drama is identified as having the primary share of the total air time but "Arab serials" accounted for approximately 20 percent of the drama time frame. There does not seem to be a pattern in the utilization of air time for the "Arab" and "foreign" varieties," but out of the three sample time frames the "local varieties" had more program time.

The showing of films as program fare seemed to be rather spastic and in this sample "foreign films" received the most air time.

Overall, it can be assumed that foreign programming accounted for a major share of the total broadcast time but with at least a "showing" for programs of "Arab" origin.

In summary, it is important to note that the sixties were, for Lebanon, a time of development and stress. The television medium was introduced not as an educational tool, nor as an extension of government, but solely as a business. This is not to say that there were not political fibers in the material in which television was wrapped; the nature of the society almost demanded such an interweaving, but for the most part the medium, as it was represented through its programming, mirrored the Lebanese society. As previously indicated, the bulk of the programs aired were of foreign origin. Consistent with the sampling is the conclusion that, on the average, the "foreign material" accounted for more than 60 percent of the total air time. This material was geared toward "entertainment," and there was no recognizable attempt through information-type, or for that matter, any type programs to create or reinforce any sense of national awareness as expressed in any documented governmental policy. Indeed the laissez-faire philosophy permeated the society and television was but a reflection of that philosophy.

News as a category ranked high in all three samples but it must be pointed out that the primary focus of news content was to show the current leaders in an exemplary light. The result was that coverage of events was relegated to viewing public officials fulfilling the functional aspects of their office. Because of government censorship, the news never dealt with controversial internal matters which carried any possible taint of friction. Such possibilities were left to the reporting of events in other countries.[24]

The categories drama and varieties, which accounted for a major share of the air time of all of the samples, reveal some interesting trends:

1) Under drama, the foreign programming for Channel 9 remained unsupported by "Arab" programming in both time frames of the samples. Channel 7, on the other hand, while relying heavily on foreign material did supplement the air time with "Arab" programs. In fact, the use of "Arab" material showed an increase of 18 percent in the seventies sample. Channel 5-11, in the three sample times for the seventy period, used 28 percent of "Arab" programming, a significant showing in a foreign dominated program schedule.

2) Under varieties, for Channel 9, the "local varieties" was primarily foreign material. The sixties sample accounted for 78 percent of the air time, while the seventies sample accounted for 94 percent of the air time, an increase of 16 percent. Channel 7, which seemed to lean toward a pattern of using more "Arab" programs, for the seventies sample showed an increase of 12 percent. Channel 5-11, which also showed

a propensity toward "local varieties" continued its "Arab" emphasis, at least in that category.

3) Under varieties, for Channel 9, the "foreign" versus "Arab" programming issue showed an interesting pattern. In the sixties sample, "Arab film" accounted for 91 percent of the air time. Channel 7 favored "Arab" films over "foreign" films, although the overall percentage in the seventies sample showed a decrease in "Arab" film air time. Channel 5-11 also showed a larger amount of "Arab" film air time in the seventies sample.

It seems to be clear that while all the stations in Lebanon relied upon foreign material for their broadcast schedule, the availability of a selection of Channels, depending, of course, upon your location, did offer the viewing public a limited choice. Channel 9 was both French-language oriented and foreign-program dominated. Channel 7, while gearing its language toward the Arabic-speaking constituents, was also foreign-program dominated. Channel 5-11 could almost be categorized as a broker, trying to strike a happy medium between "Arab" and "foreign" programming. However, the results indicate that this Channel along with others was foreign-program conditioned.

Of course, Lebanon, by nature of its raison-d'etre, is a complex society. It would seem, therefore, consistent with the business philosophy of television broadcasting that the programming would seek to placate rather than stimulate the constituency. It would seem then, that in the period of the sixties, the fare available was that which titilated the pleasures of the entertainment palate of the Lebanese consumer.

Egypt and Lebanon: A Comparison

The major difference between Egypt and Lebanon must begin with
the difference in the practical application of a philosophy of broad-
casting exercised by both of these countries. It is not pertinent to the
discussion to attempt a definitive analysis of the socio-political
environment that existed in these countries during the period of this
study. However, it is pertinent to draw attention to the climate which
effected a broadcasting attitude.

Egypt was certainly being guided by strong-intentioned leaders
who were resolute in their aims and hopes. To this end, the goal of a
revitalization of the society was primary and, therefore, the methods
used to achieve those ends were well-planned and coordinated. The media
was used to "create an awareness" of the needs and goals of this revita-
lizing process. Prior to the advent of television, radio broadcasting
was well-developed and utilized as a means for both internal and external
communications. As early as the fifties, when this writer was in
Bahrain, a small Sheikhdom in the Persian Gulf, the voice of President
Nasser of Egypt exhorting "his brothers" to Pan-Arabism was listened to
with awe and respect by the Bahrainees. Although television did not have
the regional potential for reaching the external audience, as did radio,
it was none-the-less enveloped as a powerful force to reach, inspire and
exhort its viewers to the new societal ideals. The climate of Egypt then
was one of "using" the medium of television, along with the other media,
to help consolidate the aspirations for the society. There is no
contradiction, amid this fervour, to also see the Egyptian as a lover of
fun and thus to seek to entertain him is a reinforcement of a cultural
trait which adds to his identity. So the seeming multi-faceted purpose

of the broadcast law, as identified earlier, when refined to the essentials of entertainment and information, are really reflections of the same Alexandrite gem-stone which refracts differing hues that are more complementary than contradictory.

On the other spectrum is the nation known as Lebanon, a nation which, to some observers, was carved out of Greater Syria by the Major Powers in the early part of the Twentieth Century and mandated to France so that a society could be reconstructed in which both the Christian and Muslim communities would share equal political power. A hybrid system was eventually created, a society known for its fractionalism rather than unity, and surprisingly, a society that enjoyed and survived its own flaws, that is, until quite recently.

The society pitted its confessionalism against itself, cursing and complimenting in the same breath, clinging to a family-tribal past, while reaching to claim a Lebanese identity which at best was illusive. To make the system work one had to accept the bureaucracy, use it as was necessary and work around it when it was expedient. The result was the compilation of societies within a society; people who affected a joi-de-vivre when in public but who relied upon their family entity for security and survival. In this miasma of conflicting ideas an ideal was born—a "free" press, a government administered radio service, and finally a "free enterprise" television service. The fact that the latter programmed a steady and large dose of entertainment only serves to highlight the Lebanese attitude and "spirit." This system for the Lebanese, like the system of Egypt, was more complementary than contradictory.

In reflection, what can be said about both countries was that they both used foreign programming materials to augment their broadcast schedules. Whether or not this constituted a sense of false expectations

and unnecessary exposure to culture-corrupting values is at best speculative. It is the opinion of this writer that had these materials been considered inappropriate, by either of the countries concerned, but especially Egypt, then they would not have been employed in the first place. The results of the study reveal that there were patterns of less reliance upon foreign materials. This would then allow the observation that the creativity of television program producers was in the ascendency. This can only be construed as a positive element.

Lebanon in particular was so thoroughly acclimated to a multitude of foreign cultures that the limited broadcast time and program schedule of the television stations could have little effect upon the already blaise attitude of the citizenry. In fact, one had only to tour the many cinemas in Beirut to conclude that that which was available on the television screen was tame by comparison to that which was available on the large screen, and affordable, too. For Lebanon, the decision to use foreign materials was probably more of an economic decision than a philosophical one. That which won an audience was that which they received, providing the price was right.

The utilization of the media for informational purposes was, as previously indicated, a matter of degree. For Egypt, at this period in its development, information, for the most part, was equated with persuasion, or at least stimulation. For Lebanon it was more general than specific and the Lebanese had many sources from which to obtain material.

There seems to be some compatibility between the two systems when dealing with audience coverage. Channel 5 in Egypt can be compared, somewhat, with Channel 5 in Lebanon in that their major thrust was to

appeal to a more general audience. Both emphasized the "Arab" in language and character while at the same time using foreign materials. Channel 9 in Lebanon is peculiarly Lebanese and its thrust was to cater to a more specific audience. Channel 7, in Egypt, did not have the language orientation of Channel 9 in Lebanon but there is some comparability in that Channel 7 did broadcast to an audience which can be considered more urban than the Channel 5 audience, if not urbane. There is, of course, no compatability between Channel 9 in Egypt and Channel 5-11 in Lebanon.

In conclusion, if there was in the sixties a concerted effort in the broadcasting annals of the Egyptian bureaucracy to "step up" the information programming, as opposed to entertainment programming, it would be but a reflection on the use of the medium to effect a policy. If on the other hand there was any change in policy, at any level, by the television station management in Lebanon, it would be but a reflection of the use of the medium to be affected. There is a Middle Eastern saying that, "A pot rolls down the hill until it finds its lid." Maybe Egypt found the lid for its television pot in the sixties while Lebanon was still rolling.

Notes

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TABLE 13

LEBANON – CHANNEL 9 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORIES

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

DAYS OF OCTOBER 1961, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED

CATEGORY	.15	.16	.17	.18	.19	.20	.21	Total	%	Rank
DRAMA								(180)	(15.86)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	30	30	60	5.29	4
D. Detective	..	..	30	..	..	..	..	30	2.64	10
E. Historical	..	..	30	..	..	..	..	30	2.64	10
F. Western	30	30	..	..	..	..	..	60	5.29	4
G. Medical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ARABIC PROGRAMS										
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
NEWS								(290)	(25.55)	
A. Newscast	30	30	35	30	40	30	35	230	20.3	2
B. Commentary	5	5	..	5	5	..	..	20	1.76	13
C. Weather Forecast	5	5	5	5	10	5	5	40	3.52	8
CULTURAL	..	..	40	..	..	..	..	40	3.52	8
INFORMATIVE	..	..	..	..	..	60	..	60	5.29	4
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE 13 CONTINUED

DAYS OF OCTOBER 1961, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED

CATEGORY	·15	·16	·17	·18	·19	·20	·21	Total	%	Rank
CHILDREN								(30)	(2.64)	
A. Cartoons	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	30	2.64	9
WOMEN								(50)	(4.41)	
A. Foreign Program	..	30	..	..	20	..	..	50	4.41	7
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
GAMES	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	2.64	10
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATION	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
VARIETIES								(455)	(40.09)	
A. Local	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	20	1.76	13
B. Foreign	30	45	..	..	..	..	..	75	6.61	3
C. Arabic Films	..	..	..	90	90	90	90	360	31.72	1
D. Foreign Films	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
E. Plays	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	130	165	140	160	165	215	160	1135		

TABLE 14

LEBANON – CHANNEL 9 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	DAYS OF JANUARY 1962, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED							Total	%	Rank
	. 3	. 4	. 5	. 6	. 7	. 8	. 9			
DRAMA								(210)	(15.5)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	30	2.21	13
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Adventure	..	..	..	..	60	..	..	60	4.42	6
D. Detective	30	..	..	..	60	..	..	90	6.63	4
E. Historical	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	2.21	13
F. Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
G. Medical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ARABIC PROGRAMS										
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
NEWS								(325)	(23.99)	
A. Newscast	35	30	35	35	40	35	35	245	18.05	2
B. Commentary	..	5	5	30	..	..	5	45	3.31	9
C. Weather Forecast	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	35	2.57	12
CULTURAL	..	..	10	10	10	..	10	40	2.95	10
INFORMATIVE	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	30	2.21	13
DOCUMENTARY	10	60	..	..	30	10	..	110	8.12	3

TABLE 14 CONTINUED

| CATEGORY | DAYS OF JANUARY 1962, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED | | | | | | | | | |
	· 3	· 4	· 5	· 6	· 7	· 8	· 9	Total	%	Rank
CHILDREN								(60)	(4.42)	
A. Cartoons	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	2.21	13
B. Local Serials	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	2.21	13
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
WOMEN										
A. Foreign Program	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	..	30	..	30	2.21	13
GAMES	..	..	..	..	..	..	55	55	4.06	8
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	20	..	20	..	40	2.95	10
EDUCATION	..	..	30	..	..	..	..	30	2.21	13
VARIETIES								(425)	(31.37)	
A. Local	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	60	4.42	6
B. Foreign	80	..	..	80	25	60	..	245	18.20	1
C. Arabic Films	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Foreign Films	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	2.21	13
E. Plays	..	..	90	..	..	..	..	90	6.63	4
Total	190	190	175	270	230	160	140	1355		

TABLE 15

LEBANON - CHANNEL 9 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	DAYS OF OCTOBER 1971, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED							Total	%	Rank
	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7			
DRAMA								(630)	(35.59)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	30	1.69	12
B. Family Drama	30	30	30	..	30	..	..	120	6.78	6
C. Adventure	60	..	60	30	..	60	30	240	13.56	2
D. Detective	..	60	..	..	60	60	..	180	10.17	4
E. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	60	3.39	8
G. Medical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ARABIC PROGRAMS										
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
NEWS								(210)	(11.86)	
A. Newscast	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	210	11.86	3
B. Commentary	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Weather Forecast	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CULTURAL	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	30	1.69	12
INFORMATIVE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE 15 CONTINUED

| CATEGORY | DAYS OF OCTOBER 1971, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED | | | | | | | | | |
	. 1	. 2	. 3	. 4	. 5	. 6	. 7	Total	%	Rank
CHILDREN								(120)	(6.78)	
A. Cartoons	30	..	..	..	..	30	30	90	5.08	7
B. Local Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	..	..	30	..	..	30	1.69	12
WOMEN										
A. Foreign Program	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
GAMES	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATION	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	60	3.39	8
VARIETIES								(720)	(40.68)	
A. Local	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Foreign	..	30	90	..	..	..	30	150	8.67	5
C. Arabic Films	..	..	..	..	..	60	..	60	3.39	8
D. Foreign Films	90	..	90	90	90	..	90	450	25.42	1
E. Plays	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	60	3.39	8
Total	240	210	300	270	240	240	270	1770		

TABLE 16

LEBANON – CHANNEL 9 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	DAYS OF JANUARY 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED							Total	%	Rank
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9			
DRAMA								(450)	(25.86)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.7	11
C. Adventure	30	30	30	30	..	..	..	120	6.9	5
D. Detective	..	60	60	..	60	..	60	240	13.8	2
E. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Western	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	60	3.5	8
G. Medical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ARABIC PROGRAMS										
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
NEWS								(240)	(13.8)	
A. Newscast	30	30	30	30	60	30	30	240	13.8	2
B. Commentary	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Weather Forecast	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CULTURAL	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.7	11
INFORMATIVE	..	..	..	..	30	..	..	30	1.7	11
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE 16 CONTINUED

CATEGORY	DAYS OF JANUARY 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	·3	·4	·5	·6	·7	·8	·9	Total	%	Rank
CHILDREN								(180)	(10.34)	
A. Cartoons	..	..	..	30	30	..	..	60	3.5	8
B. Local Serials	..	..	30	..	..	..	..	30	1.7	11
C. Foreign Serials	..	30	..	..	30	..	30	90	5.2	6
WOMEN										
A. Foreign Program	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
GAMES	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ART AND LITERATURE	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.7	11
EDUCATION	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	3.5	8
VARIETIES								(720)	(41.4)	
A. Local	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	30	3.5	11
B. Foreign	..	..	60	..	60	60	60	240	13.8	2
C. Arabic Films	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Foreign Films	..	90	..	90	..	180	..	360	20.7	1
E. Plays	..	..	..	..	..	..	90	90	5.2	6
Total	210	240	210	270	270	270	270	1740		

TABLE 17

LEBANON – CHANNEL 7 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	DAYS OF OCTOBER 1961, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED							Total	%	Rank
	·15	·16	·17	·18	·19	·20	·21			
DRAMA								(120)	(9.68)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	30	2.42	7
D. Detective	..	..	30	..	..	..	..	30	2.42	7
E. Historical	..	..	..	..	30	..	..	30	2.42	7
F. Western	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	2.42	7
G. Medical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(65)	(5.24)	
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	2.42	7
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	35	..	..	..	..	..	..	35	2.82	6
NEWS								(260)	(21.00)	
A. Newscast	30	30	30	30	30	30	25	205	16.53	2
B. Commentary	5	5	5	5	5	..	..	25	2.01	14
C. Weather Forecast	5	5	5	5	..	5	5	30	2.42	7
CULTURAL	..	..	..	..	30	..	..	30	2.42	7
INFORMATIVE	..	30	..	..	30	..	..	60	4.84	4
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE 17 CONTINUED

CATEGORY	DAYS OF OCTOBER 1961, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	·15	·16	·17	·18	·19	·20	·21	Total	%	Rank
CHILDREN								(30)	(2.42)	
A. Cartoons	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Serials	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	30	2.41	7
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
WOMEN										
A. Foreign Program	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SPORTS	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	1.20	15
GAMES	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATION	..	..	..	30	..	30	..	60	4.84	4
VARIETIES								(600)	(48.39)	
A. Local	..	..	30	..	..	..	60	90	7.25	3
B. Foreign	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Arabic Films	..	90	90	90	..	150	90	510	41.12	1
D. Foreign Films	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
E. Plays	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	90	220	190	190	125	215	210	1240		

TABLE 18

LEBANON- CHANNEL 7 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	* DAYS OF JANUARY 1962, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED							Total	%	Rank
	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8	.9			
DRAMA								(240)	(18.53)	
A. Comedy	..	..	30	..	..	..	..	30	2.32	11
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Adventure	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	60	4.63	6
D. Detective	30	..	..	..	30	..	..	60	4.63	6
E. Historical	..	..	30	..	..	..	..	30	2.32	11
F. Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	30	2.32	11
G. Medical	..	..	30	..	..	..	..	30	2.32	11
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(60)	(4.63)	
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	30	2.32	11
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	30	2.32	11
NEWS								(285)	(22.01)	
A. Newscast	30	30	30	30	35	30	30	215	16.16	1
B. Commentary	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	35	2.70	9
C. Weather Forecast	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	35	2.70	9
CULTURAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
INFORMATIVE	..	..	..	60	..	15	..	75	5.79	5
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE 18 CONTINUED

CATEGORY	DAYS OF JANUARY 1962, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	. 3	. 4	. 5	. 6	. 7	. 8	. 9	Total	%	Rank
CHILDREN								(90)	(6.95)	
A. Cartoons	..	..	..	..	30	..	..	30	2.32	11
B. Local Serials	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	2.32	11
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	..	..	30	..	..	30	2.32	11
WOMEN										
A. Foreign Program	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	..	30	..	30	2.32	11
GAMES	..	..	..	..	..	30	30	60	4.63	6
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATION	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
VARIETIES								(455)	(35.14)	
A. Local	40	..	30	..	90	..	..	160	12.36	3
B. Foreign	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Arabic Films	115	..	..	..	..	90	..	205	15.83	1
D. Foreign Films	..	90	..	..	..	..	..	90	6.95	4
E. Plays	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	225	160	160	190	225	205	130	1295		

TABLE 19

LEBANON – CHANNEL 7 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	DAYS OF OCTOBER 1971, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	Total	%	Rank
DRAMA								(390)	(20.31)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	60	3.13	9
B. Family Drama	60	30	..	..	..	30	..	120	6.25	3
C. Adventure	..	..	30	..	..	..	..	30	1.56	17
D. Detective	..	60	..	..	..	60	..	120	6.25	3
E. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
G. Medical	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	60	3.13	9
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(300)	(15.63)	
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	60	3.13	9
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	60	60	..	120	6.25	3
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	..	..	60	60	..	..	..	120	6.25	3
NEWS								(330)	(17.19)	
A. Newscast	30	30	30	90	30	60	60	330	17.19	1
B. Commentary	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Weather Forecast	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CULTURAL	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	30	1.56	17
INFORMATIVE	30	..	..	..	..	30	..	60	3.13	9
DOCUMENTARY	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	3.13	9

TABLE 19 CONTINUED

| CATEGORY | DAYS OF OCTOBER 1971, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED | | | | | | | | | |
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
CHILDREN								(150)	(7.81)	
A. Cartoons	30	..	..	..	30	..	..	60	3.13	9
B. Local Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	60	3.13	9
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	..	..	30	..	..	30	1.56	17
WOMEN										
A. Foreign Program	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SPORTS	..	60	..	30	..	..	..	90	4.69	5
GAMES	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATION	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	60	3.13	9
VARIETIES								(450)	(23.44)	
A. Local	90	..	..	..	..	..	..	90	4.69	5
B. Foreign	..	..	90	..	..	..	..	90	4.69	5
C. Arabic Films	..	90	..	..	90	..	..	180	9.38	2
D. Foreign Films	..	..	90	..	..	..	..	90	4.69	5
E. Plays	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	300	270	300	270	240	240	300	1920		

TABLE 20

LEBANON – CHANNEL 7 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	DAYS OF JANUARY 1972,ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED							Total	%	Rank
	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8	.9			
DRAMA								(330)	(17.74)	
A. Comedy	..	..	30	30	..	..	..	60	3.23	9
B. Family Drama	..	..	30	..	30	..	..	60	3.23	9
C. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	60	3.23	9
E. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	90	..	90	4.84	6
F. Western	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	30	1.61	14
G. Medical	..	..	..	..	..	30	..	30	1.61	14
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(180)	(9.68)	
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	60	..	..	60	..	..	120	6.45	4
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	3.23	9
NEWS								(420)	(22.58)	
A. Newscast	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	420	22.58	1
B. Commentary	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Weather Forecast	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CULTURAL	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.61	14
INFORMATIVE	..	..	..	..	..	60	..	60	3.23	9
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE 20 CONTINUED

| CATEGORY | DAYS OF JANUARY 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED | | | | | | | | | |
	· .3	· .4	· .5	· .6	· .7	· .8	· .9	Total	%	Rank
CHILDREN								(240)	(12.90)	
A. Cartoons	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.61	14
B. Local Serials	..	..	60	60	..	..	..	120	6.45	4
C. Foreign Serials	..	30	..	..	30	..	30	90	4.84	6
WOMEN										
A. Foreign Program	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SPORTS	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.61	14
GAMES	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.61	14
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATION	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
VARIETIES								(540)	(29.03)	
A. Local	..	..	60	90	..	..	..	150	8.06	3
B. Foreign	..	..	..	..	90	60	60	210	11.29	2
C. Arabic Films	90	..	..	..	..	..	..	90	4.84	6
D. Foreign Films	..	..	..	..	..	..	90	90	4.84	6
E. Plays	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	270	210	240	270	270	300	300	1860		

TABLE 21

LEBANON – CHANNEL 7 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	DAYS OF OCTOBER 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED							Total	%	Rank
	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7			
DRAMA								(420)	(22.95)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	..	30	..	..	30	1.64	14
B. Family Drama	..	..	30	..	60	..	..	90	4.92	5
C. Adventure	..	30	60	..	..	..	..	90	4.92	5
D. Detective	..	..	..	60	..	60	00	120	6.56	4
E. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Western	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	60	3.28	10
G. Medical	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.64	14
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(120)	(6.56)	
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	3.28	10
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	60	3.28	10
NEWS								(360)	(19.67)	
A. Newscast	60	30	30	60	60	60	60	360	19.67	1
B. Commentary	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Weather Forecast	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CULTURAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
INFORMATIVE	..	..	..	30	..	60	..	90	4.92	5
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	30	..	..	..	..	30	1.64	14

TABLE 21 CONTINUED

CATEGORY	DAYS OF COTOBER 1972,ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
CHILDREN								(150)	(8.20)	
A. Cartoons	..	..	30	..	30	..	30	90	4.92	5
B. Local Serials	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	30	1.64	14
C. Foreign Serials	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.64	14
WOMEN										
A. Foreign Program	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SPORTS	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.64	14
GAMES	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATION	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
VARIETIES								(630)	(34.43)	
A. Local	..	..	90	..	90	..	90	270	14.75	2
B. Foreign	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	60	3.28	10
C. Arabic Films	..	120	..	..	..	90	..	210	11.48	3
D. Foreign Films	90	..	..	..	..	..	..	90	4.92	5
E. Plays	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	270	270	270	240	270	270	240	1830		

TABLE 22

LEBANON - CHANNELS 5 AND 11 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORIES

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	\. 1	\. 2	\. 3	\. 4	\. 5	\. 6	\. 7	Total	%	Rank
DAYS OF OCTOBER 1971, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED										
DRAMA								(720)	(37.50)	
A. Comedy	..	30	..	..	..	30	30	90	4.68	8
B. Family Drama	90	30	..	..	60	90	..	270	14.06	1
C. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Detective	..	60	..	60	60	..	..	180	9.38	4
E. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	60	..	60	3.13	10
F. Western	..	..	60	..	..	..	..	60	3.13	10
G. Medical	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	60	3.13	10
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(180)	(9.38)	
A. Adventure	..	..	..	60	60	..	..	120	6.25	5
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	60	..	60	3.13	10
NEWS								(210)	(10.94)	
A. Newscast	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	210	10.94	10
B. Commentary	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Weather Forecast	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CULTURAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
INFORMATIVE	..	..	90	..	..	..	..	90	4.69	8
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	30	1.56	16

TABLE 22 CONTINUED

| CATEGORY | DAYS OF OCTOBER 1971, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED | | | | | | | | | |
	. 1	. 2	. 3	. 4	. 5	. 6	. 7	Total	%	Rank
CHILDREN								(180)	(9.38)	
A. Cartoons	30	..	30	30	30	..	..	120	6.25	5
B. Local Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	30	1.56	16
C. Foreign Serials	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.56	16
WOMEN										
A. Foreign Program	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SPORTS	30	60	..	..	..	..	30	120	6.25	5
GAMES	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATION	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	60	3.13	10
VARIETIES								(330)	(17.19)	
A. Local	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	3.13	10
B. Foreign	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
C. Arabic Films	..	90	90	..	..	..	90	270	14.06	1
D. Foreign Films	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
E. Plays	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..
Total	270	300	300	270	240	270	270	1920		

TABLE 23

LEBANON - CHANNELS 5 AND 11 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEHORIES

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

DAYS OF JANUARY 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED

CATEGORY	. 3	. 4	. 5	. 6	. 7	. 8	. 9	Total	%	Rank
DRAMA								(450)	(28.30)	
A. Comedy	..	..	30	30	30	..	..	90	5.66	6
B. Family Drama	..	..	30	..	30	..	60	120	7.55	4
C. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	60	..	60	3.77	11
D. Detective	30	60	60	..	..	..	..	150	9.43	3
E. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
G. Medical	..	..	..	..	30	..	..	30	1.78	17
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(180)	(11.32)	
A. Adventure	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	3.77	11
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Detective	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	60	3.77	11
D. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	60	..	60	3.77	11
NEWS								(210)	(13.21)	
A. Newscast	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	210	13.21	1
B. Commentary	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Weather Forecast	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CULTURAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
INFORMATIVE	60	..	..	30	..	60	..	150	9.43	4
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE 23 CONTINUED

CATEGORY	DAYS OF JANUARY 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8	.9	Total	%	Rank
CHILDREN								(210)	(13.21)	
A. Cartoons	30	..	..	..	..	..	60	90	5.66	6
B. Local Serials	..	..	30	60	..	..	..	90	5.66	6
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	..	..	30	..	..	30	1.89	17
WOMEN										
A. Foreign Program	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	45	2.83	16
GAMES	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.89	17
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATION	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
VARIETIES								(315)	(19.81)	
A. Local	..	..	..	..	60	..	105	165	10.38	2
B. Foreign	..	..	60	..	..	..	..	60	3.77	11
C. Arabic Films	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Foreign Films	..	..	..	90	..	..	..	90	5.66	6
E. Plays	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	210	180	240	240	210	210	300	1590		

TABLE 24

LEBANON – CHANNELS 5 AND 11 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	DAYS OF OCTOBER 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED							Total	%	Rank
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			
DRAMA								(570)	(29.69)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	..	30	..	..	30	1.56	14
B. Family Drama	..	..	60	..	30	30	..	120	6.25	7
C. Adventure	60	..	30	..	..	..	60	150	7.81	4
D. Detective	60	60	..	30	60	..	..	210	10.94	1
E. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
G. Medical	..	..	60	..	..	..	..	60	3.13	9
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(120)	(6.25)	
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	..	60	..	..	..	60	..	120	6.25	7
NEWS								(210)	(10.94)	
A. Newscast	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	210	10.94	1
B. Commentary	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Weather Forecast	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CULTURAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
INFORMATIVE	60	..	..	60	..	60	..	180	9.38	7
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	60	..	..	..	..	60	3.13	9

TABLE 24 CONTINUED

CATEGORY	DAYS OF OCTOBER 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	. 1	. 2	. 3	. 4	. 5	. 6	. 7	Total	%	Rank
CHILDREN								(270)	(14.06)	
A. Cartoons	30	30	30	..	30	..	30	150	7.81	4
B. Local Serials	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	60	3.13	9
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	60	3.13	9
WOMEN										
A. Foreign Program	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
GAMES	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATION	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
VARIETIES								(510)	(26.56)	
A. Local	..	..	..	..	60	..	90	150	7.81	4
B. Foreign	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Arabic Films	90	..	..	..	..	90	..	180	9.38	2
D. Foreign Films	..	90	..	90	..	..	..	180	9.38	2
E. Plays	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	330	270	270	270	240	270	270	1920		

TABLE 25

EGYPT -- CHANNEL 5 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

DAYS OF OCTOBER, 1961, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED

CATEGORY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
DRAMA								(475)	(11.88)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	..	25	..	..	25	0.63	30
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	35	35	0.88	26
C. Adventures	..	..	30	..	50	..	..	80	2.0	18
D. Detective	25	75	75	25	25	..	60	285	7.13	5
E. Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Historical	..	..	..	25	..	25	..	50	1.25	23
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(257)	(6.43)	
A. Adventure	..	25	30	..	..	..	25	80	2.00	18
B. Family Drama	42	20	..	..	40	..	20	122	3.05	13
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	30	..	30	0.75	28
D. Comedy	..	..	..	25	..	..	..	25	0.63	30
RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS								(160)	(4.0)	
A. Koran	20	20	10	15	20	10	20	115	2.88	14
B. Friday Rituals	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Discussions	..	..	..	..	..	45	..	45	1.13	25
NEWS								(365)	(9.13)	
A. Newscast	20	20	20	20	20	45	20	165	4.13	9
B. Commentary	10	10	10	10	10	..	..	50	1.25	23
C. Press Review	15	15	15	15	15	..	15	90	2.25	16
D. Conferences	..	..	60	..	..	..	..	60	1.50	21
EDUCATIONAL	22	60	75	60	60	..		(277)	(6.93)	4
CULTURAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
INFORMATIVE	60	..	..	75	15	..	15	(165)	(4.13)	9
					Sub Total=			1699		

TABLE 25 CONTINUED

CATEGORY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
				DAYS OF OCTOBER, 1961, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED						
DOCUMENTARY					15	15	..	(30)	(0.75)	28
ENLIGHTENMENT PROGRAM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(130)	(3.25)	..
A. Political	..	..	..	15	..	30	10	55	1.38	22
B. Social	..	30	..	..	..	45	..	75	1.82	20
CHILDREN PROGRAM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(585)	(14.63)	..
A. Cartoons	5	..	..	5	..	..	25	35	0.88	26
B. Local Serials	60	45	30	60	100	30	120	445	11.13	1
C. Foreign Serials	50	..	55	..	..	..	..	105	2.63	15
YOUTH	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
WOMEN	60	30	30	..	30	30	..	(180)	(4.50)	8
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	..	135	..	(135)	(3.38)	12
GAMES	..	..	..	30	..	30	30	(90)	(2.25)	16
ART AND LITERATURE	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	(15)	(0.38)	31
VARIETY PROGRAM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(1136)	(28.40)	..
A. Songs	26	35	50	45	55	25	..	236	5.90	6
B. Local Varieties	50	40	10	35	25	45	10	215	5.38	2
C. Foreign Varieties	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	30	0.75	28
D. Arabic Films	90	120	..	90	..	..	..	300	7.50	3
E. Foreign Films	..	..	..	..	..	..	190	190	4.75	7
F. Plays	..	..	60	..	90	..	..	150	3.75	11
G. Opera	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
H. Ballet	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	15	0.38	31
I. Pantomime	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	570	545	575	580	595	540	595	4000		

TABLE 26

EGYPT -- CHANNEL 5 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

DAYS OF JANUARY, 1962, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED

CATEGORY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
DRAMA								(475)	(11.38)	--
A. Comedy	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	25	0.60	27
B. Family Drama	..	30	..	30	..	50	..	110	2.64	15
C. Adventures	..	50	50	..	..	25	..	125	2.99	14
D. Detective	50	..	25	30	..	30	50	185	4.43	10
E. Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Historical	..	..	..	..	30	..	..	30	0.72	23
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(120)	(2.87)	
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	30	30	..	30	90	2.16	18
C. Detective	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	0.72	23
D. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS								(175)	(4.19)	
A. Koran	20	20	20	20	10	20	20	130	3.11	13
B. Friday Rituals	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Discussions	..	..	..	..	45	..	..	45	1.08	20
NEWS								(345)	(8.26)	
A. Newscast	20	20	20	20	15	5	20	120	2.87	15
B. Commentary	10	10	10	10	..	10	10	60	1.44	19
C. Press Review	15	30	30	30	..	30	30	165	3.95	12
D. Conferences	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATIONAL	60	90	60	15	15	60	105	(405)	9.70	1
CULTURAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	..	..
INFORMATIVE	45	30	60	70	90	15	60	(370)	8.86	2

Sub Total= 1,890

TABLE 26 CONTINUED

CATEGORY

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	..	15	15	..	..	(30)	(0.72)	23
ENLIGHTENMENT PROGRAM								(225)	(5.39)	
A. Political	..	..	15	..	..	15	15	45	1.08	20
B. Social	45	10	55	40	10	10	10	180	4.31	11
CHILDREN PROGRAM								(295)	(7.07)	
A. Cartoons	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Serials	45	30	30	60	45	30	30	270	6.47	5
C. Foreign Serials	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	25	0.60	27
YOUTH	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
WOMEN	45	70	45	50	45	45	45	(345)	8.26	3
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	105	..	..	(105)	2.52	16
GAMES	..	45	30	15	..	60	45	(195)	4.67	9
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	(15)	(0.36)	29
VARIETY PROGRAM								(1075)	(25.75)	
A. Songs	25	45	25	30	30	25	20	200	4.79	8
B. Local Varieties	10	10	10	10	145	10	10	205	4.91	6
C. Foreign Varieties	..	..	..	..	..	30	..	30	0.72	23
D. Arabic Films	95	..	95	..	..	..	95	285	6.83	4
E. Foreign Films	..	..	..	..	..	95	..	95	2.28	17
F. Plays	..	65	..	145	..	..	..	210	5.03	6
G. Opera	..	35	..	..	..	..	..	35	0.84	22
H. Ballet	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	15	0.36	29
I. Pantomime	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	565	605	580	620	630	565	610	4175		

TABLE 27

EGYPT - CHANNEL 5 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY		DAYS OF OCTOBER 1971, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	TOTAL	%	Rank
DRAMA									(467)	(15.77)	
A.	Comedy	..	..	20	..	..	..	..	20	0.68	25
B.	Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C.	Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	60	..	60	2.03	13
D.	Detective	..	..	..	..	..	30	..	30	1.01	19
E.	Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F.	Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
G	Foreign Serials	37	75	55	20	85	..	85	357	12.05	2
ARABIC PROGRAMS									(45)	(1.52)	
A.	Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B.	Family Drama	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	15	0.51	26
C.	Detective	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.01	19
D.	Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS									(263)	(8.88)	
A.	Koran	10	15	15	20	20	20	20	120	4.05	7
B.	Friday Rituals	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	2.03	13
C.	Discussions	13	..	25	..	..	..	45	83	2.80	12
NEWS									(381)	(12.86)	
A.	Newscast	56	45	45	45	35	35	35	296	9.99	3
B.	Commentary	..	5	5	5	..	5	5	25	0.84	23
C.	Press Review	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D.	Conferences	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	60	2.03	13
EDUCATIONAL		..	..	..	100	15	30	..	145	4.90	26
CULTURAL		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
INFORMATIVE		30	..	..	15	35	5	..	85	2.87	11
DOCUMENTARY		21	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	0.71	24

TABLE 27 CONTINUED

DAYS OF OCTOBER 1971, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED

CATEGORY	·1	·2	·3	·4	·5	·6	·7	TOTAL	%	Rank
ENLIGHTMENT PROGRAMS								(217)	(7.33)	
A. Political	..	..	..	..	15	15	..	30	1.01	19
B. Social	27	45	15	20	5	60	15	187	6.31	5
CHILDREN PROGRAMS								(140)	(4.73)	
A. Cartoons	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Serials		30	..	..	..	40	40	110	3.71	8
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	30	..	..	..	..	30	1.01	19
YOUTH	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	15	0.51	26
WOMEN	..	..	..	15	..	..	20	35	1.18	17
SPORTS	105	..	..	15	..	..	..	120	4.05	6
GAMES	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	15	0.51	26
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	95	..	..	..	..	95	3.21	10
VARIETY PROGRAMS								(918)	(30.99)	
A. Songs	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Varieties	168	120	55	117	83	85	10	638	21.54	1
C. Foreign Varieties	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Arabic Films	110	40	..	..	..	..	85	235	7.93	4
E. Foreign Films	..	..	45	..	..	..	..	45	1.52	16
F. Plays	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
G. Ballet	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	667	405	405	372	293	400	420	2962		

TABLE 28

EGYPT - CHANNEL 5 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	DAYS OF JANUARY 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
DRAMA								(235)	(5.50)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	30	0.70	20
D. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
E. Medical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
G. Foreign Serials	30	30	55	30	30	30	..	205	4.80	7
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(135)	(3.16)	
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	30	..	30	0.70	20
B. Family Drama	105	..	..	..	..	..	..	105	2.46	14
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
E. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS								(330)	(7.73)	
A. Koran	20	20	20	20	20	10	20	130	3.04	11
B. Friday Rituals	..	..	..	..	..	..	75	75	1.76	16
C. Discussions	30	..	..	5	10	10	70	125	2.93	12
NEWS								(240)	(5.62)	
A. Newscast	30	15	45	35	30	35	35	225	5.27	6
B. Commentary	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	15	0.35	26
C. Conferences	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATIONAL	205	235	300	175	205	60	60	1240	29.04	1
CULTURAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
INFORMATIVE	15	20	..	..	120	65	50	270	6.32	4
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	..	..	..	..	25	25	0.59	23

TABLE 28 CONTINUED

CATEGORY

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	TOTAL	%	Rank
ENLIGHTMENT PROGRAMS								(325)	(7.61)	
A. Political	..	35	..	15	..	..	..	50	1.17	19
B. Social	..	45	35	80	55	15	45	275	6.44	3
CHILDREN PROGRAMS								(135)	(3.16)	
A. Cartoons	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Serials	10	..	..	35	30	..	30	105	2.46	14
C. Foreign Serials	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	0.70	20
YOUTH	..	..	..	20	..	..	..	20	0.47	24
WOMEN	..	..	..	..	..	20	..	20	0.47	24
SPORTS	..	..	20	15	..	25	90	150	3.51	9
GAMES	..	10	10	5	10	30	..	65	1.52	17
ART AND LITERATURE	..	30	..	25	..	..	..	55	1.29	18
VARIETY PROGRAMS								(1025)	(24.01)	
A. Songs	5	5	..	..	..	..	5	15	0.35	26
B. Local Varieties	85	135	15	45	15	..	..	295	6.91	2
C. Foreign Varieties	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	5	0.12	27
D. Arabic Films	..	..	..	..	..	120	85	205	4.80	7
E. Foreign Films	60	..	85	..	90	..	..	235	5.50	5
F. Plays	..	..	90	..	..	..	180	270	6.32	4
G. Ballet	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	625	580	690	505	615	455	800	4270		

TABLE 29

EGYPT -- CHANNEL 7 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

DAYS OF OCTOBER 1961, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED

CATEGORY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
DRAMA								(505)	(39.76)	
A. Comedy	35	..	25	..	25	..	50	85	6.69	6
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	50	50	3.94	10
C. Adventures	50	50	..	95	..	25	..	220	17.32	1
D. Detective	..	..	50	..	..	100	..	150	11.81	2
E. Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(55)	(4.33)	
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	55	..	..	55	4.33	9
D. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..			..	..	..
RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS								(75)	(5.91)	
A. Koran	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Friday Rituals	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Discussions	..	50	25	..	..	..	..	75	5.91	7
NEWS								(130)	(10.24)	
A. Newscast	5	15	20	15	15	30	5	105	8.27	3
B. Commentary	10	5	10	..	..	..	..	25	1.97	17
C. Press Review	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Conferences	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATIONAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
CULTURAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
INFORMATIVE	..	..	..	..	..	..	50	(50)	(3.94)	10

Sub Total=   815

TABLE 29 CONTINUED

DAYS OF OCTOBER, 1961, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED

CATEGORY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
ENLIGHTENMENT PROGRAM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(30)	(2.36)	..
A. Political	..	..	..	20	..	..	10	30	2.36	13
B. Social	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CHILDREN PROGRAM								(60)	(4.72)	
A. Cartoons	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	10	0.78	19
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	..	50	..	..	..	50	3.93	10
YOUTH	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
WOMEN	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	(30)	(2.36)	13
GAMES	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
VARIETY PROGRAM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(335)	(26.38)	..
A. Songs	..	14	5	..	..	10	..	29	2.28	16
B. Local Varieties	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	2.36	13
C. Foreign Varieties	60	..	15	..	..	..	..	75	5.90	7
D. Arabic Films	..	..	..	..	95	..	..	95	7.48	4
E. Foreign Films	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Plays	20	26	45	..	..	..	..	91	7.17	5
G. Opera	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
H. Ballet	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	15	1.18	18
I. Pantomime	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	180	190	195	180	190	180	155	1270		

TABLE 30

EGYPT -- CHANNEL 7 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	DAYS OF JANUARY, 1962, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
DRAMA								(592)	(24.60)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	..	45	..	..	45	1.87	17
B. Family Drama	50	30	..	..	..	..	..	80	3.32	8
C. Adventures	..	60	80	..	32	100	..	272	11.30	3
D. Detective	..	50	..	20	..	25	50	145	6.02	5
E. Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	50	50	2.08	14
F. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(70)	(2.91)	
A. Adventure	..	..	45	..	..	..	..	45	1.87	15
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	25	..	..	25	1.04	21
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS								(70)	(2.91)	
A. Koran	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Friday Rituals	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Discussions	45	..	..	..	..	..	25	70	2.91	11
NEWS								(180)	(7.48)	
A. Newscast	5	20	20	20	15	20	20	120	4.98	6
B. Commentary	10	10	10	10	..	10	10	60	2.49	12
C. Press Review	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Conferences	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATIONAL	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	(60)	(2.49)	12
CULTURAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
INFORMATIVE	..	..	..	..	30	..	..	(30)	(1.25)	18

Sub Total =   1002

TABLE 30 CONTINUED

DAYS OF JANUARY, 1962, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED

CATEGORY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	..	..	..	..	25	(25)	(1.04)	21
ENLIGHTENMENT PROGRAM								(145)	(6.02)	
A. Political	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.25	18
B. Social	10	10	10	10	10	55	10	115	4.78	7
CHILDREN PROGRAM								(25)	(1.04)	
A. Cartoons	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	..	..	25	..	..	25	1.04	21
YOUTH	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
WOMEN	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	..	30	..	(30)	(1.25)	18
GAMES	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
VARIETY PROGRAM								(1180)	(49.02)	
A. Songs	..	15	14	15	10	10	15	79	3.28	9
B. Local Varieties	..	..	..	..	..	15	30	45	1.87	15
C. Foreign Varieties	40	25	..	45	..	..	125	235	9.76	4
D. Arabic Films	..	..	..	90	90	120	..	300	12.46	2
E. Foreign Films	95	125	120	95	..	..	..	435	18.07	1
F. Plays	45	..	26	..	..	..	..	71	2.95	10
G. Opera	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
H. Ballet	..	..	..	..	15	..	..	15	0.62	24
I. Pantomime	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	300	375	325	365	297	385	360	2407		

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TABLE 31

EGYPT – CHANNEL 7 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY		DAYS OF OCTOBER 1971, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
DRAMA									(367)	(16.44)	
A.	Comedy	..	..	..	..	35	..	..	35	1.57	17
B.	Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C.	Adventure	..	..	..	..	67	..	..	67	3.00	12
D.	Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
E.	Medical	..	..	40	..	..	40	..	80	3.58	8
F.	Western	75	..	..	..	..	..	..	75	3.36	10
G.	Foreign Serials	45	40	..	..	..	..	25	110	4.93	7
ARABIC PROGRAMS									(320)	(14.34)	
A.	Adventure	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.34	18
B.	Family Drama	..	30	30	110	30	30	30	260	11.65	2
C.	Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D.	Comedy	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.34	18
E.	Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS									(155)	(6.94)	
A.	Koran	20	20	20	10	20	20	20	130	5.82	6
B.	Friday Rituals	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C.	Discussions	..	..	..	25	..	..	..	25	1.12	22
NEWS									(395)	(17.70)	
A.	Newscast	35	25	25	40	25	25	15	190	8.51	4
B.	Commentary	20	30	30	30	35	30	30	205	9.18	3
C.	Conferences	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATIONAL		..	..	..	25	..	30	..	55	2.46	29
INFORMATIVE		40	20	..	..	..	..	10	70	3.14	11
DOCUMENTARY		..	..	30	..	..	..	..	30	1.34	18

TABLE 31 CONTINUED

CATEGORY	DAYS OF OCTOBER 1971, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	·1	·2	·3	·4	·5	·6	·7	TOTAL	%	Rank
ENLIGHTMENT PROGRAMS								(60)	(2.68)	
A. Political	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Social	40	..	15	..	5		..	60	2.68	14
CHILDREN PROGRAMS										
A. Cartoons	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
YOUTH	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
WOMEN	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	15	0.67	27
SPORTS	..	15	..	..	5	..	..	20	0.89	25
GAMES	..	..	40	15	..	..	..	55	2.46	15
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	40	..	..	..	40	1.79	16
VARIETY PROGRAMS								(650)	(29.12)	
A. Songs	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Varieties	..	..	10	..	..	..	70	80	3.58	8
C. Foreign Varieties	..	50	95	30	55	..	40	270	12.10	1
D. Arabic Films	..	65	..	..	..	..	..	65	2.91	13
E. Foreign Films	..	..	..	..	..	..	25	25	1.12	22
F. Plays	..	..	..	..	..	190	..	190	8.51	4
G. Ballet	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	0.89	25
TOTAL	325	325	335	325	277	380	265	2232		

TABLE 32

EGYPT – CHANNEL 7 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	DAYS OF JANUARY 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
DRAMA								(425)	(16.16)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Adventure	..	45	..	..	..	..	30	75	2.85	13
D. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
E. Medical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
G. Foreign Serials	105	30	55	100	..	..	60	350	13.31	2
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(180)	(6.84)	
A. Adventure	30	30	30	..	30	30	..	150	5.70	5
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	30	..	30	1.14	14
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
E. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS								(170)	(6.46)	
A. Koran	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	140	5.32	9
B. Friday Rituals	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Discussion	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.14	14
NEWS								(150)	(5.70)	
A. Newscast	15	15	..	30	30	30	30	150	5.70	5
B. Commentary	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Conferences	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATIONAL	..	..	..	30	30	25	60	145	5.51	10
CULTURAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
INFORMATIVE	..	30	60	30	30	..	..	150	5.70	5
DOCUMENTARY	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	0.57	20

TABLE 32 CONTINUED

| CATEGORY | DAYS OF JANUARY 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED | | | | | | | | | |
	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	TOTAL	%	Rank
ENLIGHTMENT PROGRAMS								(120)	(4.56)	
A. Political	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.14	14
B. Social	..	..	30	..	..	30	30	90	3.42	11
CHILDREN PROGRAMS								(15)	(.57)	
A. Cartoons	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	15	0.57	20
B. Local Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
YOUTH	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
WOMEN	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	30	1.14	14
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
GAMES	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.14	14
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
VARIETY PROGRAMS								(1200)	(45.63)	
A. Songs	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Varieties	..	60	30	..	..	180	10	280	10.65	4
C. Foreign Varieties	..	15	..	80	100	45	120	360	13.69	1
D. Arabic Films	..	..	80	..	..	..	..	80	3.04	12
E. Foreign Films	90	90	..	150	..	..	..	330	12.54	3
F. Plays	..	..	..	..	150	..	..	150	5.70	5
G. Ballet	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	335	365	320	470	390	390	360	2630		

TABLE 33

EGYPT -- CHANNEL 9 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	DAYS OF JANUARY, 1962, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
DRAMA								(398)	(31.82)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	48	..	..	..	..	48	3.84	11
C. Adventures	30	..	..	45	..	..	..	75	5.99	6
D. Detective	50	30	..	25	70	25	25	225	17.98	2
E. Western	..	..	..	..	..	50	..	50	3.99	10
F. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(0)	(0)	
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS								(75)	(5.99)	..
A. Koran	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Friday Rituals	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Discussions	30	25	..	..	20	..	..	75	5.99	6
NEWS								(0)	(0)	
A. Newscast	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Commentary	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Press Review	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Conferences	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATIONAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
CULTURAL	..	15	..	10	10	10	15	(60)	(4.79)	9
INFORMATIVE	..	..	25	..	..	..	..	(25)	(1.99)	12

Sub Total= 558

TABLE 33 CONTINUED

DAYS OF OCTOBER, 1962, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED

CATEGORY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%	Rank
DOCUMENTARY	..	..	25	15	..	..	30	(70)	(5.59)	8
ENLIGHTENMENT PROGRAM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
A. Political	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Social	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CHILDREN PROGRAM								(125)	(9.99)	
A. Cartoons	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Foreign Serials	25	25	25	..	25	25	..	125	9.99	3
YOUTH	..	..	..		..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
WOMEN	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
GAMES	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(0)	(0)	..
VARIETY PROGRAM								(498)	(39.80)	..
A. Songs	..	..	14	40	30	10	..	94	7.51	4
B. Local Varieties	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Foreign Varieties	25	80	24	40	25	60	60	314	25.10	1
D. Arabic Films	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
E. Foreign Films	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Plays	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
G. Opera	..	..	..	..	..	..	90	90	7.19	5
H. Ballet	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
I. Pantomime	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	160	175	161	175	180	180	220	1251		

TABLE 34

EGYPT – CHANNEL 9 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	DAYS OF JANUARY 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	TOTAL	%	Rank
DRAMA								(180)	(18.27)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
E. Medical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
G. Foreign Serials	30	30	40	..	..	50	30	180	18.27	3
ARABIC PROGRAMS										
A. Adventure	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS										
A. Koran	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Friday Rituals	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Discussions	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
NEWS								(220)	(22.33)	
A. Newscast	30	15	45	30	30	25	30	205	20.81	2
B. Commentary	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	15	1.52	9
C. Conferences	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATIONAL	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	3.05	7
CULTURAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
INFORMATIVE	..	..	..	..	..	35	15	50	5.08	6
DOCUMENTARY	45	15	..	..	25	..	..	85	8.63	5

TABLE   34   CONTINUED

CATEGORY	|DAYS OF JANUARY 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	·1	2	·3	·4	·5	·6	.7	TOTAL	%	Rank
ENLIGHTMENT PROGRAMS										
A. Political	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Social	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CHILDREN PROGRAMS										
A. Cartoons	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
YOUTH	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
WOMEN	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	15	1.52	9
GAMES	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ART AND LITERATURE	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	3.05	7
VARIETY PROGRAMS								(375)	(38.07)	
A. Songs	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Varieties	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Foreign Varieties	45	30	15	20	70	15	45	240	24.36	1
D. Arabic Films	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
E. Foreign Films	..	..	75	..	30	..	..	105	10.66	4
F. Plays	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
G. Ballet	..	..	..	30	..	..	..	30	3.05	7
TOTAL	180	120	190	80	155	140	120	985		

TABLE 35

EGYPT - CHANNEL 9 : BREAKDOWN BY CATEGORY

(AIR TIME TOTALS IN MINUTES)

CATEGORY	DAYS OF OCTOBER 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	TOTAL	%	Rank
DRAMA								(120)	(5.07)	
A. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Family Drama	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Adventures	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Detective	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
E. Medical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
F. Western	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
G. Foreign Serials	15	15	15	25	25	25	..	120	5.07	10
ARABIC PROGRAMS								(220)	(9.30)	
A. Adventures	..	35	..	..	..	..	..	35	1.48	16
B. Family Drama	35	..	35	45	35	35	..	185	7.82	4
C. Comedy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Historical	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS								(65)	(2.75)	
A. Koran	15	15	15	..	..	..	..	45	.1.90	15
B. Friday	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Discussions	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	0.85	22
NEWS								(390) ⁺	(16.49)	
A. Newscast	30	30	30	35	30	30	30	215	9.09	3
B. Commentary	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	175	7.40	5
C. Conferences	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EDUCATIONAL	..	..	..	15	..	30	..	45	1.90	23
CULTURAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
INFORMATIVE	..	..	45	30	30	..	40	145	6.13	9
DOCUMENTARY	25	..	..	..	..	..	40	65	2.75	11

TABLE   35   CONTINUED

CATEGORY	DAYS OF OCTOBER 1972, ON WHICH SAMPLE WAS COLLECTED							TOTAL	%	Rank
	·1	·2	·3	·4	·5	·6	·7			
ENLIGHTMENT PROGRAMS								(180)	(7.61)	
A. Political	..	..	..	..	..	30	..	30	1.25	19
B. Social	..	..	60		60	30	..	150	6.34	8
CHILDREN PROGRAMS										
A. Cartoons	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Foreign Serials	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
YOUTH	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	30	1.27	17
WOMEN	..	15	..	35	..	..	..	50	2.11	13
SPORTS	..	..	..	..	15	..	35	50	2.11	13
GAMES	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ART AND LITERATURE	..	..	..	..	..	30	..	30	1.27	17
VARIETY PROGRAMS								(975)	(41.23)	
A. Songs	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Local Varieties	10	75	35	25	145	45	5	340	14.38	1
C. Foreign Varieties	..	75	..	80	..	..	..	155	6.55	7
D. Arabic Films	..	..	..	..	..	..	55	55	2.33	12
E. Foreign Films	..	..	90	..	..	75	100	265	11.21	2
F. Plays	160	..	..	..	..	..	..	160	6.77	6
G. Ballet	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	335	315	350	315	365	355	330	2365		

Women, the Media and Social Change
in Pre-Revolutionary Iran[1]

by

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Introduction

Learning theorists and development specialists have extolled the

power of television imagery in capturing the attention of romote and

non-literate peoples and in suggesting ways of thinking and behaving

that carry them beyond their own village or neighborhoods. (Bandura

1977:39; Inkeles 1966:148) Through the projection of vicarious models,

the television media enables them to learn new ways of responding with-

out ever having engaged in those behaviors themselves. Subsequently

television has been perceived as a potential instrument for inducing

social change.

However, the role of television in the development process has

been a controversial one -- ranging from the multiplier, "clarifier"

role posited by Lerner in his 1958 book, The Passing Traditional Society

to the "mystifier" role posited by Beltran in his 1976 paper on the

effects of television images on Latin American audiences. In both views,

the television media is held to be influential in introducing expecta-

tions of and creating psychological acceptability for modern -- that is,

western -- ideas and styles of life. The question is, do these pro-

jections expand one's capacity to respond to changing situations or do

they direct one's interactional responses and desires toward lifestyles

[1]Paper prepared for the Conference on Television in the Developing
World, University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Canada, March 29, 1980.

that are "out-of-step" with the real conditions under which one lives.

One of my respondent families themselves summarized this dilemma very well in an argument one evening around their television set. "Yes," said Mahnaz, the uneducated wife, "programs like this are informative and useful in showing women some of the alternatives they have." "Rubbish," insisted her husband, "They're all useless." "Moreover," said their high-school-age daughter, "these programs make one dream about things that will never be. I wish I did not spend so much time thinking about these things."

In assessing television's contribution to individual preparedness for change, Lerner's concept of empathy (the ability to imagine oneself in the situation of another person) is misleading. Lerner has confused psychological outcomes with the skill levels involved in learning. His emphasis on the psychological runs counter to his own "empathy index" (which contains questions that really measure the amount of information to which one has already been exposed) and to his discussion of the "modernity system" (in which there is a critical minimum of antecedent information which must exist for media participation to effect "moderni- zation"). It is informational load then, rather than psychological propensities that is important in developing empathy.[1] (See Lerner's discussion of these concepts, 1958:49-75.)

Beltran's analysis, which focuses on the content of the media message (both implicit and explicit), is insufficient for understanding the effect of the media on specific groups of people who vary by amount of previous learning experience, as well as by the context in which they are situated.

Observational learning is not a simple or automatic procedure. Social learning theory -- from which much of the supportive data on modeling effects derives -- points to the interrelationship between information and the structural contingencies in which the evaluation and learning of observed behavior takes place. A person's attentiveness to and evaluation of the status and function of various behaviors will depend upon past learning experiences or supportive skills and the relevance of the new information to one's own circumstances.[2] Furthermore, there is much social-psychological evidence that, in the evaluation of both information and context, what is attended to and learned will be affected by the social others with whom one interacts.[3] While the concepts of antecedent information and the intervening role of social networks are not specifically developed in most studies of symbolic (or media) modeling, this paper suggests that an analysis of the patterning of previous learning and information, as well as the nature of social networks will be instrumental in understanding the impact of television on the mostly illiterate population of migrant women in South Teheran, Iran.[4]

Sources of Information: Availability, Access and Images.

When migrant families move to Teheran, they are overwhelmed with new sources of information from educational and social service organizations, the radio, television and print media and a multitude of potential social contacts.

Teheran's monopoly on information resources in indicated by the following figures. The Central Province (i.e., essentially Teheran) has 41 out of 138 technical and vocational schools, 14 out of 37

technical and sanitary schools, a larger number of colleges/universities

than any other city, one-third of the nation's cinemas, 100% of the

total weekly magazine circulation, 96% of the total monthly magazine

circulation and 97% of the total daily newspaper circulation of Iran.

Moreover, urban residents are more likely than rural dwellers to possess

radios and televisions (47% own television sets and 74% own radios) and

to have contact with people of diverse social backgrounds. Eighty per cent

of the adult population of Teheran is defined as migrant because they

have come from other -- mostly rural -- areas of the country. In migrant

areas like the one where this study was based, as many as 97% of the

population have been categorized as migrant. (1973/74 Statistical

Yearbook of Iran; the Women's Organization of Iran's Study of Yakchiabad;

the 1976 National Census of Population and Housing; Iran, a Country

Study.) (See Table 1)

By contrast, fewer information resources exist in the rural areas

from which the migrants come. There are many institutional services and

organizations designed to introduce social change into the village --

the Women's Organization's Family Welfare Centers, the Imperial Organization

of the Social Services, the Cultural Houses, several literacy organizations

and the rural cooperatives. However, in the nine villages included in

my survey only lower-level elementary schools and the sepah-e danesh

(the education corps) were operating at the rural level. Print media

is almost non-existent except when brought from the city by a villager

or a visitor. Substantially fewer rural households have televisions

and radios. Census figures show that approximately 3% of the rural

households in Iran possess television sets while 55% have radios.

Television ownership in my rural sample was limited to two villages near Teheran. Fifty per cent of the households in the one village possessed battery-operated sets but only 2 out of 28 households in the other village had TV's.[5] Heterogeneity is also more limited in the countryside. Although precise figures vary by district, fewer than five per cent of the rural population are usually immigrants from other urban or rural places. Indeed, the most continuous and reliable transmission of new ideas and behaviors occurs when migrants return from the cities to visit relatives or when villagers themselves visit family in the towns. (See Bauer 1979) (Figures in this section are derived from the 1976 National Census of Population and Housing.)

Given these constraints, most rural women come to the city with little prior information, little exposure to diversity and sometimes, little knowledge of the Persian language. Their access to information in the city is also restricted in comparison to that of their husbands and children. Because of the increased feasibility of limiting women's economic roles and the increased numbers of strangers or unfamiliar people in the urban environment,[6] women are increasingly confined to interaction in the domestic and interdomestic domains. Their mobility is limited to excursions to shops near their homes and to visiting with neighbors and friends. Women are rarely allowed to attend the cinema. They have few literacy skills (for the census figures on literacy rates in urban and rural areas see Table 2) and are sometimes discouraged from attending classes in the city. Among my base sample of 45 families[7] in one migrant neighborhood of South Teheran (which I shall call Y), only nine (20%) of the wives of household heads were literate

and only one of these women was over 25 years of age. This means that
newspapers are of only marginal interest to women and that women's
journal consumption is limited to a perusal of graphic illustrations.
(Although journals cannot be purchased in the area of Y itself, women
sometimes go to neighboring areas or ask others to purchase magazines
for them.) Television and radio, on the other hand, provide constant
diversion for the women as they perform their daily household tasks.
In Y, only one of the original 45 households (consisting of an old
widow) did not have a television; none were without radio.

At the same time, urban migrant women have more leisure time since
the chores and housework they engage in are less time-consuming then
the agricultural work they were doing in the provinces (e.g., the
care and raising of livestock, food processing, and light harvesting
activities). With their children at school for much of the day, women
are left at home alone to watch educational television, to listen to
the radio, to flip through magazines or to gossip with their neighbors.

How do the images that women found in the media relate to their
own lives? Of special interest to this analysis are the roles and
behaviors which involve interaction between men and women. One of the
most significant challenges which women face in modernizing Moslem
societies is change in the existing patterns of behavior between the
sexes. While it is difficult for women to work, to travel, or to attend
school without close encounters with male strangers, this kind of
contact is discouraged by religio-cultural conceptions of appropriate
female behavior.

The most popular magazines in the migrant areas of Teheran
contained vivid pictures of current fashions, popular screen and vocal

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stars (both local and foreign), women who have experienced personal

misfortune (rape, divorce, suicide, prostitution), and women in love

relationships, as well as the presentation of a wide variety of products

(from washing machines to vacuum cleaners to fancy new sewing machines

which few migrant families could afford). The women demonstrating the

new products and the portraits of stars and illustrations accompanying

the love sequels -- all presented unveiled "modern" women while the

women pictured with cases of rape and prostitution were inevitably

veiled lower income women -- more similar in some ways to the migrant

women themselves. (Table 3 presents a brief analysis of the pictorial

content of three popular women's magazines for a randomly selected month

in 1978.)

The movie theaters in South Teheran, where most of the migrants

live, showed the kinds of sex flicks (both western and Iranian) which were

objectionable to the Moslem sense of propriety. However, when Indian

(Hindi) movies were showing women were sometimes allowed to accompany

male members of the household. These movies were said to be amuzend'ast

(instructive on matters of life) and oriented toward the family.

Radio and television provided women with their most direct contact

with "images" of life beyond their immediate neighborhoods. Radio, of

course, does not provide the visual modeling which makes television so

attractive. However, radio broadcasts offered a variety of religious,

musical, news-oriented and women's-interest programs, which gave advice

on religious practices and the special problems of women (e.g. the

handling of divorce, child custody and disagreements between spouses).

Census data shows that music programs actually accounted for more than

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50% of annual broadcast hours. (1973/74 Statistical Yearbook of Iran.)

Three television stations (two Persian-language and one English-language) offered a variety of Iranian programs including entertainment specials (with both traditional and popular Iranian vocalists), serials and movies. Western programming was dubbed in Persian and was largely imported from the United States although programs from Britain, Japan and other countries were also aired. The foreign programs included cartoons, westerns and other old movies and the very popular serials like "Bionic Woman" and "Charlie's Angels". The regular broadcast day began at 5 p.m. and normally continued through midnight with lengthier weekend schedules. Educational programs appeared at various times throughout the day.

Table 4. summarizes a typical evening of program choices, including samples of advertisements which were run in 10-15 minute sequences between programs. In Table 5. the serials which women listed as their favorites during the 1978 viewing year are briefly annotated.

Both the television advertisements and the regular programs presented as models women who were unveiled (often bearing western features and displaying western mannerisms) and who transgressed the accepted social norms of the lower income social milieu. These movie women tended to exercise autonomy from neighborhood networks and made decisions for themselves, independently of their families. They had choices in marriage, work, education and travel. They interacted freely with men of varying degrees of kinship and familiarity and went places alone with these men before marriage. These media characters represented what was chic (or stylish) in wearing apparel. They lived

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in comfortable homes with separate bedrooms for each family member and possessed the latest in consumer items -- indoor baths, kitchen facilities, wishing machines, running water and electricity. These images were in contrast to the lives of the average migrant women in Y whose family of 7-8 members lives either in a single family dwelling of one to two rooms or in a multiple family compound where each family rents a room. Migrant women were publicly veiled and they made few decisions that were not based on a consideration of the social networks through which they operated. They were discouraged and sometimes prohibited from extra-domestic activities -- that is, from travel work and education.

Relating to the "Images": Attentiveness and Status Evaluation

Socio-religious factors affected media participation (particularly radio and television viewing) in the migrant urban and rural areas of pre-revolutionary Iran. Although many respondents considered television viewing (and even radio) as sinful with respect to Islam, few said they did not watch television because of religious prescriptions against it. In fact, they rationalized that it was sinful only if one watched or listened to the wrong kinds of programs (although even this rarely prevented anyone from watching a particular program). They justified their media habits by claiming that everyone else enjoyed these programs too.

Radio and television usage were also affected by periodic socio-religious events -- the fasting month of Ramadan, the mourning month of Maharam, several religious holidays and the observance of personal mourning (the funeral). On these occasions it was especially disrespectful

to listen to the radio or to watch television. In the case of funerals, urbanites were less likely to be constrained in their use of the media by the death of a neighbor's relative. In the village, where everyone is either related or acquainted with one another, social pressures dictate the observance of the ban on media use during times of mourning. As a result, for much of the year, villagers' radio listening was interrupted by local mortality patterns.

Variations in attentiveness also existed by type of media used and program content or preference. Married women were more likely to report listening to the morning radio programs (9-12 noon) on religion and women's interests. There was a "dear Abby" program where literate women listeners could write in for help in solving personal problems and wait for replies to be given on the air. Women listened to the radio while they were sweeping their houses or washing their clothes.[8] Children -- usually older adolescent girls -- who were home during the day also reported listening to these programs. However, teenagers generally preferred the popularized Iranian music programs which they turned on when returning from school in the afternoons. Husbands preferred news programs.

Men and children occasionally read to their wives and mothers from newspapers or journals. But women also enjoyed simply glancing through the pages of the latest Javanan[9] magazine. The younger and more literate women also avidly read the story sequels and feature articles. Women reported getting ideas for new clothes from these magazines (as well as from imported pattern books) and ideas about new products. Stories gleaned from magazines like Javanan were circulated among women when

they sat down in front of their homes to chat during the day. The story

of the woman who lost all of her children when they climbed into a

washing machine (none of these women had washing machines as there was

no piped water supply in Y) was used to impress upon women why they

should not restrict their childbearing potential -- i.e., some unfortu-

nate circumstance might deprive them of their future security. Stories

of young girls who ran away to the city or ventured into some less

less desireable neighborhood impressed upon them that strange places were

dangerous. Women, then, attended to stories about people in circumstances

that could more readily be related to their own lives.

Children, by contrast, attended to stories about the lives of music

and screen idols, about disappointed love and to other articles which

were translated from foreign journals and which dealt with people in

situations very _different_ from their own.

Similar patterns were evident in television. Radio and TV had

become the center of the family's leisure activities.[10] My survey

indicated that most migrant families spent their holidays, weekends and

evenings around the television set or sometimes in visiting relatives

because (according to their own estimation) they did not have the money

and the easy access to transportation facilities that are required for

taking trips, going to the cinema, making an outing somewhere in the

city, or participating in recreational activities.[11] During a typical

evening these families turned on their televisions at 5 p.m. and kept

them on until the end of the last program.

Given specific choices, residents of the migrant neighborhoods

preferred Iranian serials and movies but were also attentive to foreign

serials and movies. Animal and information programs (i.e. educational

programs) ranked lowest in preference. And the older women preferred

entertainment programs featuring the more traditional Iranian singers.

While everyone could sit down in front of the television set,

attentiveness to and understanding of the media message -- and the

extraction of the rules and values underlying specific episodes --

depended upon and varied by 1) the type of previously acquired informa-

tion or skills required for the behavior and 2) the context-dependency

of that information.[12]

Products -- which required the least change in present behavior

skills and which could easily be transferred out of background contexts --

were readily picked up and disassociated from the model displaying them.

Appliances, filter coffee pots, white wedding gowns, bathrooms and

showers were easier than abstract behavior patterns or value to

comprehend and to adopt (if the structural resources permitted it). As

one of my respondents said of her mother-in-law, "Well, you can teach

her to adopt new products and expose her to new ideas with television

but she is not going to learn new values and behaviors -- it's rather

like a child's development, you know -- one step at a time."

There were other behaviors that did not necessitate learning new

skills or actions but which people perceived they could enact only if

they changed their present social situation -- that is, if they could

move to a new neighborhood or a new city. Then, they reasoned, it

might be possible to go without the veil, to talk to nonkin males, to

wear different kinds of clothing or to ride in automobiles (to do so in

the migrant neighborhoods at present -- even if accompanied by a

relative -- meant arousing the suspicion of curious neighbors who did

not know who your relatives were).

There were also modeled behavior patterns which did require

learning new behavior, as far as these women were concerned. Examples

of behavior complexes which could not easily be learned or comprehended

are suggested by the following questions which migrant women and children

often inquired about:

-- Don't all Americans in Texas wear guns and shoot other people?

-- Don't all American teenagers leave home at age 18 and become

independent?

-- Don't all American women smoke and drink?

-- Don't all American girls go places with boys, hold hands and

kiss?

One mother admitted that Iranian women had not kissed their husbands

until the movies and television came along and showed them about this

custom. I have never kissed my husband, she said.

In addition to requiring the acquisition of new skills, the latter

group of behaviors were also more context-dependent. That is, they could

not easily be separated from the situation in which they were viewed nor

the status of the different models who enacted them.[12] Women viewers

differentiated themselves in terms of resources and education from the

media women who worked, went to school, who travelled to unfamiliar

places and who interacted on equal terms with men in the public domain.

Yet, despite the fact that these behaviors and underlying values

were generally exemplified in a foreign or upper middle income Iranian

context, they were beginning to gain status among migrant women --

along, of course, with the new consumer and luxury items. On a series

of interview questions designed to measure value orientations toward

the following behaviors - going without a veil, working in public with

men, talking to nonkin males, travelling alone, attending school, dis-

cussing interpersonal problems with one's spouse, and choosing one's

own marriage partner -- a significant number of women who did not engage

in these behaviors indicated that they were beginning to place a value

one them -- that is, for people who knew how to handle themselves, who

knew how to get along in different situations, who were educated. This

did not include themselves.[14] However, it is significant that women

were exposed and attracted to these new behavior patterns, ideas and

images of women's activities. To a large extent television viewing

contributed to this.

The women who were more attentive to the media (who reported

longer viewing hours, who could comprehend more readily and converse

about new behaviors, who could indicate specific program preferences,

and who gave the new behaviors higher status valuation) were those

women who had higher mobility-exposure scores (that is, who ranked

higher on an index composed of education, work, travel and other variables

that indicated the degree to which women had access to various sources

of information and learning. They were usually the younger women, with

more education or longer urban residence. It was these women who were

enthralled by the Bionic Woman because of the exhuberance and self-

assurance she displayed as an active woman in a man's world. It was

grandmothers and older married women, on the other hand, (often Turkish-

speaking monolinguals), who did not watch television as many hours a

day as the other women nor attend to it when others were watching. "It

is a sin for me to watch," reasoned one of these women, "because I have

housework to do. But for my children, it is all right."

Context and Content: Social Networks and Social Change.

The networks of women with higher mobility-exposure scores (M.E.

scores) were characterized by vertical contacts (that is, linkages with

people from social strata with more control over information and

resources and identified by residential neighborhood). These higher

M.E. women were more likely to have female friends and relatives who

held teaching positions, who worked in an office or who had studied.

This meant that the migrant women could observe new behaviours modeled

by "intermediary" models more similar to themselves and in contexts

more comparable to their own (compared with that usually observed on

television).[15] As a result, in interviews these women were more likely

to verbalize the possibility of themselves being able to adopt certain

behaviors.

However, most of the women in Y (and especially the older and less

educated) have few opportunities to develop contacts with women from

outside the immediate migrant neighborhood.[16] By restricting women's

access to public places where they encounter strangers (especially male

strangers) men and the social networks of family and neighbors in the

migrant areas circumscribe the range of female interaction. This

limits their ability to develop the vertical aspects of their social

networks. In Y, women's movements outside the household are largely

limited to within a 15-minute radius of their homes. They gather informally,

they attend rosehs (religious events frequently held in the migrant areas),

and visit with relatives in other neighborhoods across the southern part of

the city (accompanied by male or female relatives). The exchange of

information or modeling of new behaviors through these horizontal net-

works (that is networks which give access to individuals from the same

strata of society)[17] does not expand women's informational resources

since these other women are very much like themselves. Moreover, these

horizontal networks exert a greater amount of social control over women's

behavior than would vertical networks by reinforcing already acceptable

social standards of behavior.

In contrast to women's network formation, men and children have

access to numerous experiences and vertical contacts beyond their

neighborhood.[18] Men and children (especially male children) travel

more widely for recreational purposes -- they visit the cinemas, the

parks, and the tea houses.[19] Children go to school everyday and men go

to work. In these situations men and children often developed friend-

ships with people who are neither kin nor neighbors -- women rarely

could. Men and children -- even in the rural areas -- have an edge

on bilingualism, education and mobility. They often serve as "gatekeepers"

for women on information from other sectors of society. For example,

teachers often send home information about health or safety for children

to transmit to their mothers. Moreover, women's lack of experience is used against them by men and their social networks to justify the restrictions placed on women's mobility and access to urban activities -- e.g., literacy classes, cottage industry, vocational classes -- where women might gain the skills to more effectively exploit the opportunities of the city.

This differential on information control has repercussions for family relationships.[20] Children come to challenge the authority positions of parents, especially of their mothers, and to question their right to make decisions that significantly affect the children's lives -- such as marriage arrangements, employment decisions and the formation of friendships (especially in contact with the opposite sex). While the role of the father as head of the household appears to strengthen with the migration of the family to the city and away from the influence of extended kin networks, older brothers play an increasing role in major family decisions because they are more knowledgeable even than fathers in dealing with some aspects of the urban system. Mothers, on the other hand, who could look forward to more influence in family affairs with advanced age or widowhood, find that their life experiences are no longer so relevant.

Conclusion: Information and the "Multiplier" Effect

Women, who are exposed not only through television but also through a variety of other channels (the radio, the print media, interpersonal networks) to new information, begin to value new roles and behaviors. They come to admire people who know how to deal with the changing circumstances in which they live. This is evidenced in the definitions

which women gave for _rowshan fekr_ (enlightened) and _emruzi_ (modern),
which women interpreted to mean "being able to handle oneself" and
"knowing what to do in a new situation".

While information variables -- skills and knowledge -- have become
the basis upon which status is assigned and from which control over
yet other resources can be derived, there is a differential operating
on access to some kinds of information and learning by age and sex.

Men and children in the migrant neighborhood have developed networks
which give them greater access to information which references the TV
information as well as the context for actually engaging in that
behavior. Women's networks on the other hand do not provide them with
the supplemental information/skills and the appropriate context for
interpreting and using the information which is modeled on the television
media.

There is a "multiplier" effect[21] operating on media participation.
It is not, however, found in the accumulation of psychological prepared-
ness, as Lerner suggests, but in the compounding of information. In
emphasizing the psychological aspects of media mobility and learning,
Daniel Lerner has not only obscured the importance of information and
the contingencies which give rise to it but he has located the blame --
the burden of becoming modern -- within the individual. Such an approach
does not allow for the assessment of differences in learning which arise
because people occupy different positions in the social structure. It
is not the ability to hold opinions or to imagine oneself somewhere else
which has changed (Lerner 1958:71-72). Rather it is the type of informa-
tion and the people who have that information which has changed.

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Edwin Parker (1976) has pointed out that in today's world system information has become a commodity. A cross-sectional view of Iranian society reveals that differential access to information and situation in media usage operates not only by age and sex but also by geo-social level (that is distinctions based on social and geographical factors[22]). It is the upper and upper middle income urban groups who have a more adequate informational background and a more appropriate context in which to understand and to implement media information.[23] The products, behaviors, values, models, and life styles exemplified in both the Iranian and the foreign media, to a large extent, are those of the more advantaged income groups.

Thus, the answer to the original question -- does television clarify or mystify in the process of development -- can best be answered in reference to one's informational intake in relation to their structural situation. For people who have the resources to implement the behaviors seen on television, the media may provide motivation and clarification. For people who have inadequate information or who lack the means to achieve that which they learn to emulate, television will mystify. In this way, television exacerbates differentials that already exist among various groups. Those who have, use new information to attain additional skills and resources while whose who don't have, learn to emulate status behaviors but lag behind in achieving them.

Postscript on Women and the Revolution: Intermediate Models

Although this lag in achieving the promises of modernization (which the media flaunted) is often used to explain the participation of the masses of lower income Iranians in the revolutionary movement -- it is

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only a partial explanation. The formulative and leadership positions

in the opposition movement reflects rather closely the information

differentials just discussed. It was the middle income (more

educated, more financially secure) people who spearheaded the early

demonstrations and propaganda campaigns. Many of the lower income

migrants were too busy trying to attain what was their notion of the

good life. They compared themselves more to the people in the villages

(who were worse off then themselves) rather than to the upper income

neighborhoods -- where they had less intimate contact.

During the revolution -- and the snowballing of revolutionary

events which occurred -- many lower income people were drawn into the

Islamic protests. It was not the media (the radio and TV) which played

the most instrumental role in the dissemination of information but the

informal networks (both religious and interpersonal) which brought news

of yesterday's killings and tomorrow's marches. Veiled women were active

in both the street demonstrations and the carrying of information. Most

of these women were students or housewives and workers from the middle

and upper middle income neighborhoods of Teheran. These women served

as models for the illiterate and less publicly active veiled women in

the migrant areas, who were not themselves involved in the revolution.[24]

Since that time, the Iranian television and various journals, in

portraying the "new Islamic woman", have made veiled women in positions

of responsibility highly visible to the public. By showing veiled women

in active roles and acceptable, understandable social contexts, the new

"Islamic media" may be providing the intermediary models that will induce

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a degree of social change among the lower income women of South Teheran.

<div align="center">Notes</div>

1. Although Bandura (re social learning theory) stresses the importance of structural contingencies vs. personality types in determining the adoption of behavior, his comments are also relevant to the learning of new behaviors and ideas. (1977:54)

2. Social learning theory alludes to the importance of supporting or antecedent information for both learning and behaving.

"Preconceptions partly determine which aspects of experience are extracted and how they are perceived." Furthermore, the "observers" capacities to process information govern how mcuh they will benefit from observed experiences. People's perceptual sets, deriving from past experience and situational requirements affect the features they extract from observations and how much they interpret and what they see." (Bandura 1977:24/25)

Attentiveness to and learning of behavior also depends upon one's assessment of the social consequences of that behavior or the evaluation of relevant contexts. "Reinforcement does play a role in observational learning, but mainly as an antecedent...influence... Anticipation of reinforcement is one of the several factors that can influence what is observed and what goes unnoticed. Knowing that a model's behavior is effective in producing valued outcomes or in averting punishing ones can improve observational learning by increasing the observers' attentiveness to the models." (Bandura 1977:37)

3. Bem (1970:75) concludes that the mass media does not dictate our

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beliefs and attitudes and posits an influential role for one's "social

others". Bandura (1977) also indicates the influence of social others

on the learning process -- in making judgmental comparisons, in assess-

ing situational appropriateness and in observing modeled behaviors, one

makes reference to the individuals around him/her.

4. The arguments in this paper are based on anthropological fieldwork

(case studies, questionnaires and participant observation) carried out

from July 1977 through December 1978 in both urban migrant and rural

areas of Iran. The comments made are specific to the lower income

migrant and rural populations under conditions existing prior to the

Islamic Revolution.

5. Structural conditions limited TV reception in the rural areas.

Only one of the nine villages in four areas of Iran surveyed for this

study had electricity (as of summer, 1978).

6. The restrictions on female behavior and movement (including

veiling practices) are part of a complex of formal behaviors which

represent behavior that was status among higher prestige groups several

generations ago. When families move from the rural areas to the city

their ability to require those behaviors from women increases. In the

village it was neither feasible nor necessary to restrict women's

movement outside of the family compound or to insist on confining

clothing (like the veil) which interferred with agricultural work. More-

over, there were few strangers in the rural environment to prompt the

use of status behaviors (assuming that the distinctive feature underlying

formal behaviors is not kinship or sex but relative familiarity). Actual

formal status behaviors vary across idfferent social-residential spheres

and in the migrant urban areas they are overlaid with religious conceptions

of appropriate female behavior.

7. Although over 200 families were surveyed in the total rural/urban

sample, the "base" family households were selected from one urban migrant

neighborhood. The additional urban and rural families were contacted

through a limited snowball sampling procedure, using the original 45

families as a base. The family household was defined as the residential

kin unit which shares living quarters, eats together and has some

financial interdependence.

8. Many women reported getting specific information from the radio

programs about the rights of women with respect to religious and civil

law. Despite women's self-reporting of daily listening habits and the

Iran Communications and Development Institute's figures confirming such

habits among a larger sample of women, only 3 out 45 wives of household

heads in Y were consistently found attending to radio programs when

the interviewers arrived or while the interviewers were participating

in household events over the 18 months of this study.

9. It is worth noting that the most popular magazine among migrant

women and young girls, Javanan, was not listed in the Statistical

Yearbook data on print media. The journal is considered by many in the

middle income and more educated sectors of Iranian society to be

undesireable reading material.

10. Children were not restricted from viewing particular programs

because of content. However, a recent innovation prior to the revolution

was the use of program ratings which appeared in the television screen

as follows: ⌢ (over 17 years) and ◯ (general audience).

11. Figures from a recent cross-sectional survey substantiates these

findings on the use of leisure time in low-income neighborhoods of Iran.

(Survey of Social Attitudes 1976:31)

12. Both Bandura (1977:53) and G. Barnett (1978) discuss the differences

in adoption rates for different kinds of behavior. Barnett diffentiates

between "simple" and "complex" innovations. He defines simple innovations

as those which cause less alteration in the structural or normative

patterns of a group. It is suggested here that the same distinctions

exist for the learning of different kinds of behavior.

13. Although Bandura suggests that it is primarily the function and

value of the modeled behaviors which affect the attention that will be

given to them, he points out that when the consequences of behavior are

not clearly understood, the attributes of the models will exert

influence over learning. (Bandura 1977:89-90)

14. The productiveness and accomplishments of very skilled models

exhibiting new behaviors may dissuade less-skilled observers from

engaging in or learning those behaviors. In addition, observers are

more likely to attend to behaviors if the models display characteristics

with which they can identify. (Bandura 1977:49;88)

15. Seeing behaviors modeled in actual contexts supports and reinforces

behaviors modeled through symbolic modes. (Bandura 1977:41)

16. Occasionally women did have limited association with other women

from outside the migrant neighborhood -- who had more exposure, education

and experience -- when they visited their children's teachers or con-

sulted the staff of the Women's Organization's Family Welfare Center.

However, descriptive interview data suggest that these models lost

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some of their status and influence with increased interaction and integration into the daily lives of the migrant women. I suggest that this occurs because, with extended frequency of contact and exchange, these higher status women (whose lives in many ways violated what was condoned in the local neighborhood) had to be evaluated in terms of the migrant woman's social environment and judged according to the neighborhood's conceptions of proper behavior. Close family and friends or absolute strangers (including TV models) escaped these judgments. In the one case, they were trusted and familiar and did not have to be measured by external characteristics and behavior. In the other case (that of relative strangers) the models were too remote to figure realistically into the life of the migrant neighborhood and so escaped the social judgment imposed upon teachers and administrators more frequently encountered.

17. The characterization of individual social networks as horizontal or vertical was based on the number of linkages in that network with mobility-exposure scores higher than that of ego.

18. Assadi and Vidale's data from Iran indicates the extent to which men and younger people are more mobile than women and older people. Women reported more time spent in social visiting (which presumably can occur within their own neighborhood) while men and youth reported more time spent in activities which drew them out of those neighborhoods. (See Table 6. in Appendix.)

19. It was the younger, more educated and more urban who scored higher on Assadi and Vidale's modernity measure and media participation scales. (n.d.:57)

20. Bandura's recognition of the different motivational functions that

modeling cues can serve, implies that there is a differential operating
on learning. Observational learning instructs those who don't know;
disinhibiting cues motivate those who already know but are constrained
by the social context. (Bandura 1977:49)

21. The term "multiplier" effect has been used in various ways in
different bodies of literature to denote a compounding of effects.
Lerner calls mass media a psychic mobility multiplier (1958:52).
Edward O. Wilson says "a small evolutionary change in the behavior
pattern of individuals can be amplified into a major social effect by
the expanding upward distribution of the effect into multiple facts
of social life." (Sociobiology: the new Synthesis, 1975:11) Bandura refers
to the multiplicative power of symbolic modeling (e.g. media) (1977:39)

22. The term geo-social spheres has been developed in indicate differences
in behavior, resources, and information which vary by both social class
and residential location. While there are socioeconomic differences in
behavior and resources among rural residents, as a group they generally
differ from the various urban groups. Therefore the term geo-social is
presented as a more accurate term than class concepts of a simple
urban-rural continuum.

23. In fact, it was the wealthier, better educated and more exposed
families who had TVs in the two villages I sampled near Teheran. The
social attitudes survey conducted in Iran also indicates that it is
the old, the uneducated and the poor who fall "behind" in the process
of development." (Survey of Social Attitudes 1976)

24. Bandura (1980) has shown that the superficial or "spurious"
characteristics of models (with which individuals can easily identify
can motivate people to learn and try new behaviors they would not other-
wise attend to. (page 10.)

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Telecommunications Policy 3-20.

TABLE 1:   Availability of television and radio in the urban and rural
            sectors.   (In percentages of households)

	urban			rural		
radio	1.	76%	2.	89%	1.	55%	2.	67%
television	1.	47%	2.	66%	1.	3%	2.	8%

1. Figures taken from the 1976 Iran National Census of Population and
    Housing (5% Sample).

2. Figures taken from Assadi and Vidale (n.d.) based on a 1975 survey.

TABLE 2:   Literacy rates by age, sex and rural/urban residence*

age/sex	total	urban	rural
male			
7-14	84%	92%	83%
15 over	48%	64%	27%
female			
7-14	64%	89%	36%
15 over	24%	43%	7%

*From Iran. National Census of Population and Housing (5% sample)(1976).

Urban figures, however, are often misleading. The literacy figures for
females in District #7 of Teheran (the area which includes the migrant
neighborhood of Y) show that while the overall literacy rates for
women in Teheran city was 53.5%, the literacy rates for District #7 were
34% for women over the age of 7. When differentiated by age the figures
are 69% literacy for women between the ages of 7 and 14 and 20% for those
over 15. (These figures are taken from volume 10 of the National Census
of Population and Housing. 1966. Statistics by district are not yet
available for the 1976 census.)

TABLE 3:   Images of women in the journal media.*

The figures below summarize the pictorial representation of women in
three popular women's magazines for a randomly selected month in 1978.
(computed in numbers of pictures)

	Zan-e Ruz (119 pages, two covers)	Javanan (60 pages, two covers)	Ettelaat Banovan (90 pages, two covers)
topic			
women alone			
cover		2	4
with product	40 (58%)	8 (26%)	23 (35%)
working (out- side house)	2		
working (at home	6		19 (29%)
news story (divorce, rape)	14 (18%)	12 (39%)	10 (15%)
women and men			
love story	9	4	6
working to- gether	1		1
with products	2	1	1
news		1	
women and children			
(with or without products)	2	3	2
TOTAL	76 pictures	31 pictures	66 pictures

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TABLE 4.   Channel selections on television (Iran)*, including examples
of advertisement spots.

Simultaneous showings – viewing choices:

1. talk show, animal show (international –- English language), Indian
    dancing

2. animal show, Rawhide, Rembrandt informational program

3. cartoons, children's program, sports

4. science program, program on Iran, Iranian movie

Two advertisement sequences (shown in slots of 10-15 minutes) with con-
text -- appropriate comments provided:

ad for Iranian bank (note that most Iranians in the migrant areas do not
    have savings or checking accounts)

ad for swimming and tennis lessons (note that only males were allowed to
    go swimming and participate in group sports)

ad urging children to motivate their parents to attend literacy classes

ad for ceralac (baby formula)

ad for saffola cooking oil (rarely used in the migrant neighborhood)

ad for color TV (none of the families had color TV)

ad for chewing gum

ad for disposable diapers (note that the use of disposable diapers in the
    migrant areas is negligible)

ad for countess shampoo (portrays a blond woman on a white horse)

ad for a furniture store (showing a man and blond women in the forest
    with furniture (few lower income families had furniture in their
    homes)

*this data is taken from field notes on the viewing habits of lower
income urban families.

TABLE 5:   Favorite television programs in the migrant neighborhoods/
                        content description.

Iranian: 1. Homy and Komy (serial) an unrealistic adventure program
                  about two small Iranian boys who were taught various
                  survival skills (including driving) as part of a sociali-
                  zation experiment. The boys were set loose in Iran with
                  all kinds of equipment to see how these children would
                  manage to cooperate and survive.

               2. Talak (serial) a popular program presenting divorce
                  scenarios in contemporary Iranian society. A roving
                  photographer, accompanied by his unveiled fiancee
                  (whose father is very impatient at the length of her
                  engagement) investigates various divorce cases and the
                  characters involved. Human interest stories focusing
                  on the plight of children and parents in divorce.

               3. Khosrow (serial) a comedy about an older much-married
                  man whose aunt constantly intervenes in his life.

                  Two other popular serials included one about a rural
                  man who goes to the city to earn money for his marriage,
                  becomes a photographer and gets caught up in mis-
                  adventures in the city. By the time he returns to the
                  village, his fiancee has married someone else. The
                  other was a program about an old man who thought he was
                  Napoleon.

English Language
  (U.S.A.):
               1. Dare/Nadare (Rich Man/Poor Man) -- serial about a
                  politician and the escapades of his family (including
                  his nephew and stepson). The stepson, in particular,
                  was constantly involved with women.

               2. Little House on the Prairie -- the popular serial about
                  an American frontier family.

               3. Bionic Woman -- the adventures of the reconstructed she-
                  man.

               4. Charlie's Angels -- the escapades of glamorous lady
                  detectives fighting injustice.

               5. Get Christy Love -- the adventures of a black lady cop
                  who always solves her case.

               6. Emergency -- program on the medic squad.

TABLE 6: Self-reporting of time spent in various leisure activities by age and sex. (Derived from cross-sectional data which includes all income groups, rural and urban. Assadi and Vidale. n.d.)

	social visiting	tea houses	cinema	sports
men	43%	17%	27%	11%
women	53%	1%	11%	1%
15-24 years	39%	5%	39%	16%
25-44 years	51%	9%	16%	3%
45 and over	52%	16%	6%	1%

Evaluating TV in Third World Countries:
A Retrospective on the Evaluation of the Satellite
Television Experiment in India[1]

by

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This paper is divided into three sections. The first section describes
the general purposes, problems, processes, and utility of evaluation
researches. The second section describes the specific history, research
design, findings and organisation of the evaluation research conducted on
the Satellite Instructional TV Experiment (SITE), frequently considered
the largest communication experiment of modern times. In the last section,
the functionality of the questions addressed by the SITE social evaluation
plan are evaluated: do the findings tell India and other Third World
countries (TWCs) how to design a national TV system for development
education? Alternative evaluation foci are proposed in light of alternative
questions that might have been addressed. The spirit of the paper is in
the nature of a self-evaluation since the first author was one of the two
social scientists who designed the plan and saw it through all stages of
implementation over a period of five years; the second author was a TV
program producer in SITE for three years.[2] The objective is to raise
questions on the nature of the design of evaluation researches on TV in
TWCs.

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[1] Paper presented at the Conference on TV in the Developing World at the
University of Winnipeg on March 29, 1980.

[2] Bella Mody is Assistant Professor of Communication at Stanford University
and coordinator of the Master's Program in Communication and Development in
which Basrai is presently enrolled. Both authors worked on the Satellite
Instructional TV Experiment in India.

EVALUATION RESEARCH

This section will briefly describe the history of evaluation research,
the different evaluation objectives of different political interests
involved in a project (e.g., TV) in a TWC, the different categories of
evaluation studies, some problems faced in designing an appropriate
evaluation plan, the pragmatics of utilizing evaluation research findings,
and, finally, who really benefits from evaluation researches.

History

Formal evaluation research is of recent origin. However, the
history of applied social research goes back to the early years of this
century in the United States when innovations in education and health care
delivery were being attempted. The needs of the two World Wars for sure-
fire mass persuasion techniques and post World War II's national
reconstruction attempts in Europe and the United States led to projects
with built-in evaluation mechanisms that addressed specific questions
raised by planners. In the 1950s, centrally planned economies in TWCs
began to be concerned about how to optimise the returns on each unit of
expenditure allocated to a variety of alternative areas such as agriculture,
family planning, nutrition, education, housing and job creation, given
their limited resources. Simultaneous improvements in social research

methods and the availability of the computer made it possible for social
researchers to address large questions of public policy that were now
being raised by planners, politicians and aid-givers globally. Today,
the sine qua non of any systematically designed project or experiment is
an evaluation component that answers questions such as Did It Work, Why,
How, and Can It Be Improved? TV projects in TWCs should be no exception.

Purposes

Apart from its significant cosmetic value, what functions can evaluation research serve on issues related to TV in TWCs? Theoretically speaking, evaluation[2] is capable of helping TV station managers improve their functioning from day to day by indicating areas of programming modification or organisational improvement; evaluation can help guide the communication policy maker who wants to know in what direction s/he should plan media mixes and organisational structures for development project support in the long run; evaluation can indicate the quantum of benefits per unit of investment in TV to the national budget organisation; evaluation can tell the politician whether s/he backed the right medium, and the practice of evaluation can aim to improve the state of evaluation research methodology too.

Which of these functions evaluations actually will perform in a TV project in a TWC will depend in part on who commissioned the study and where their interests lie (i.e., he who pays the piper, calls the tune), irrespective of what the formal statement of research objectives may be. This is another way of saying that evaluation research is also a political activity and hence, a pragmatic activity. The following examples will illustrate possible political interests that different parties involved in the same TV project might have: the donor of TV station equipment may want evaluation research to show that TV is the most appropriate medium for low-literacy countries since it carries a picture and sound simultaneously so the manufacturer can sell more units of equipment to untapped

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[2]Having established that we are dealing with evaluation research in the applied social science tradition here, we will now use the term evaluation to refer to evaluation research in the rest of the paper for the sake of brevity. It is acknowledged that they are not the same thing.

TWC markets; the TV station manager may want evaluation to show that his TV

programs in the classroom brought all the drop-outs back to school so his

promotion is guaranteed; the finance ministry may want evaluation to support

their feeling that investment in communication hardware for development

project support is premature when there is no fertiliser, credit and road

infrastructure; the TWC evaluation researcher may want to flex his

methodological muscles acquired in a North American graduate school by

designing an extremely sophisticated research plan to answer very simple

questions that a project may want answered. It is conceivable that all

these different interests may be working simultaneously in some situations,

and in other situations only a few or none of these may be operating. It

is also conceivable that all or some of these agencies may not want any

evaluation research at all, if they can help it. These different political

and personal interests will thus determine how evaluation research findings

from the same project will be used by different parties in different

fashions to suit their own purposes.

Categories

Given limited evaluation budgets, it is only the very carefully designed

evaluation research plan that can provide answers to the project manager,

the policy maker, the finance minister and the social scientist. Traditional

evaluation studies have addressed some of Suchman's (1967) categories,

i.e., effort, performance, adequacy of performance, efficiency and process.

Effort is usually monitored in terms of the levels of project activity,

i.e., how many TV stations were set up, how many hours of programming

were transmitted, how many TV sets were installed in villages. Performance

is concerned with proof that the project "effort" helped alleviate the

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problem being attacked, e.g., poor reading skills. Adequacy of performance

measures tell us how much the project "effort" has helped alleviate the

problem being attacked, i.e., have 10 per cent of slow readers improved as a

result of the TV programs or have 80 per cent of slow readers improved? Data of

this kind is available infrequently. Efficiency is concerned with the

evaluation of alternative paths or methods in terms of cost -- in money,

time, personnel and public convenience. This is crucial but is rarely

done because few field projects can actually afford to manipulate alterna-

tive inputs in the field; those project evaluations that have made

assumptions about the hypothetical costs, outcomes and benefits of

alternatives invariably have their assumptions questioned by those who

disagree with their findings. An analysis of process deals with how and

why a project works or does not work. Clearly, process evaluation has

enormous administrative significance in promoting understanding of the

root causes of success or failure, but such studies are rarely done

(Mayo, 1971; Grant, 1977) because they involve intensive participant

observation over the life of a project, some subjectivity, "softer" data

and an enormous amount of interpersonal sensitivity and discretion on the

part of the researcher.

The early preponderance of studies of impact (summary report cards

of effort and performance adequacy at the end of the project) are now

giving way to evaluation studies that help the project head to _form_ a

better project and improve its performance _during_ its present life rather

than in a possible re-incarnation. Scriven's "formative" and "summative"

evaluation categories (1972) reflect this tendency and Stufflebeam's model

(1971) helps spell out the project design/formation and project service

functions of evaluation research in greater detail, i.e., the project

implementor needs information on the context s/he is operating within to

help design an appropriate needs-based input (e.g., TV programs), s/he

needs to pre-test the input on the target population before giving it its

final shape, s/he needs careful feedback on the process of input performance

in real-life conditions so it can be perfected mid-course, and when the

input is perfected and is in its operational phase, s/he needs to know

its impact.

Problems

However, most social evaluators have tended to design impact studies,

classical before-after experiments with control groups. They have been

trained to aspire towards clean experiments in the laboratory and in the

field rather than rough-and-ready applied research that will answer

specific policy and practice questions yesterday. This phenomenon is

facilitated by the frequent lack of objectives and policy questions that

greets the typical evaluator in most project situations. With no frame

of reference from the funding agency, the policy maker or the project head,

s/he ends up planning a "pure" field experiment for his/her peers. Given

the "learning experience" spirit of most TV pilot projects in TWCs, it

might be more useful to have fewer field experiments and more illuminative

evaluation (Parlett, 1976) or process evaluation (Suchman, 1967) to

document the nature of project implementation, the kinds of problems faced,

and, insights on the configuration of a suitable TV project model for

large-scale operationalization and replication in similar situations.

Concern has also been expressed about the futility of only measuring

performance and performance adequacy in evaluation researches (Carnoy and

Levin, 1975) since these are specific to micro-level project goals, e.g.,

improving reading skills (also called proximal measures), and neglect of

measurement of the relationship of this goal to the larger socially

significant objective that may have generated it, e.g., reducing the

number of primary school drop-outs from low-income families (also called

distal measures). It is assumed at problem discussion and medium intro-

duction stages that improving reading skills by providing remedial TV

programs would have an effect on the number of low-income primary school

drop-outs. This assumption is rarely validated partly due to the limited

time and budget the evaluator has, and partly due to the lack of concerted

and simultaneous implementation of several development projects that

together might have an impact on the macro-level problem. No matter

what the reasons are, the danger of such lack of validation attempts is

that any person or corporation's pet project or profitable technology may

thus be introduced by association with a significant national problem,

without having to prove its contribution subsequently. This is particularly

pernicious in TWCs where cold hard analyses of the roots of macro-level

underdevelopment dictate radical macro-level solutions such as re-

distribution of wealth by even mainstream agencies such as the World Bank

(Chenery et al., 1974) rather than small surface-level projects that

primarily tinker with the fringes of the problem at great expense that

can be ill-afforded.

It was mentioned earlier that many attempts at introducing an

expensive communication technology such as TV into TWCs are frequently

billed as attempts to promote social change, modernisation, national

development, or cultural integration. Even assuming for a moment that these

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intentions are genuine and justified, the sad fact is that these high-sounding laudable aims are rarely broken down into measurable goals and implementation plans with deadlines that are required to direct the activity of the TV producer and the evaluation researcher towards these ends. Result: diffuse TV programming nominally related to the project's aims, and barely noticeable impacts on social change or national development. The TV producer feeds the insatiable appetite of her/his medium with whatever s/he can place his hands on or whatever s/he fancies; the traditional evaluator blindly throws an omni-directional net as far and wide as her/his budget will permit, to look for any and all possible effects. The luxury of such incompetent use of TV for national transformation in a TWC is criminal; the challenge to the evaluation researcher is to carve a role for herself/himself that enables her/him to contribute to specification of project goals, action plans and try-outs on the way to audience-responsive project design and implementation.

Pragmatics of Research Utilisation

The more integrated the evaluation component with the project design and formulation, the less of a problem there is in utilisation of findings. Utilisation of findings from impact studies of field experiments that normally constitute summative evaluations (post-mortems) is problematic: utilisation will differ from party to party involved in the project, depending on how the findings match with their personal and political agendas. The radio agency may be threatened by a new TV agency in government; TV manufacturers will support the expansion of TV; the education ministry may not want to use TV in schools unless this new medium is under their academic and budgetary domain - these are only a few of the vested interests that TV faces in TWCs.

In addition, there are some totally different problems related to financial constraints faced by Third World countries: imagine a situation in which evaluation research findings support the continuation of an adult education TV project, funded by UNESCO in its pilot phases. The Third World country finds itself in a financial bind which does not permit it to pay the recurrent expenses for a TV system for adult education; should the TV system be given over to commercial operators to run for advertising revenue with cheap entertainment programming imported from abroad? In another situation, a Third World country may find that implementing a small scale TV pilot project is so expensive in terms of initial investment, preparation, infrastructure and staffing that there is no way the project can be terminated after this initial outlay, even if the evaluation research findings recommend fuller radio use and termination of TV. Another Third World country is presented with TV evaluation findings that advocate the use of low-cost 3/4 inch video portable systems that villagers can handle themselves rather than the use of the high-definition broadcast-quality system that was donated by a foreign manufacturer. What to do with the equipment: more often than not, the elites lobby for "high-quality" Western-type TV programming for the cities they live in, leading to a Fourth World country paying the recurrent costs of running a TV system for the richest five per cent of the country. Equipment orders are placed on the wise manufacturer-donor for replacements, spares, accessories and sometimes, TV sets.

This section is meant to give a flavor of the problems specific to utilisation of TV evaluations in Third World countries. The general problems faced by other project evaluations in the Third World countries hold here too, but are not repeated since they are adequately treated elsewhere (Patton, 1979).

The Evaluator

Given the problems of rational decision-making in the real world, it is worth questioning whether anyone really benefits from the rational guidelines of evaluation researches. Should they therefore be suspended? Should evaluation research be conducted in some low-cost form that bears these operational constraints in mind at the design stage and abandons the quest for The Truth in exchange for What Is Workable in a specific Third World country context? How do we then guard against the bias of the researcher? It is not infrequent that TV evaluators teach TV courses and have been closely associated with the implementation and evaluation of one or more forms of educational media. This is definitely true of applied research institutes for instructional design, learning systems, educational technology and communication research associated with leading universities all over the world. They have worked directly with and for TV hardware pioneers and innovators that they have evaluated, and often their evaluations have been funded, planned, approved and monitored by an agency with an interest in the outcomes of the project. The bias of the researcher is a perennial question, and well it should be. Having said this however, it is necessary to explore what the alternatives for funding evaluation researches are, in different national contexts with different systems of financing education and research.

It is felt that the selective use of evaluation findings by different parties in the project in subsequent national debate and decision-making is equally worthy of attention.

THE SITE SOCIAL EVALUATION PLAN

History

In June 1967, a joint Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO)-

National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) study found that a

terrestrial-cum-satellite delivery system for TV in India would be cheaper

than a totally ground-based or totally satellite-based TV system. A one-

year long pilot project was proposed by ISRO to the Government of India

(GOI) to provide insights and experiences on the design and management of

the satellite component of this TV system. This was called the SITE project,

Satellite Instructional TV Experiment, conducted in 2,330 villages in India

in 1975-76, using a NASA satellite for four hours of TV program transmission

per day.

Social scientists were first formally involved in SITE when they were

invited to the proceedings of the National Satellite Communications Committee

set up by the Cabinet of the GOI to study ISRO's satellite proposal. Members

of the committee included heads of all government ministries that would

be involved in the project: broadcasting, agriculture, health, family

planning, education, telecommunications and space. Their report to the

Cabinet Secretary recommended that a one-year pilot instructional TV project

be conducted, using the NASA Satellite. ISRO and NASA signed an agreement

which included a clause that required ISRO to ensure development of an

objective and quantitative social evaluation plan that would provide

information to all nations. ISRO started seminaring and negotiating with

leading Indian social research institutes and universities. The hope was

that an independent consortium of regional social science organisations

could be established who would study the impact of TV in villages near their own locations as part of their normal project activity: ISRO would pay incremental costs only, to facilitate their undertaking but not buy it outright and risk loss of objectivity and exorbitant budgets. The evaluation was perceived from this early stage as strictly summative. The proposals that came in budgeted for complete ISRO funding, and in one case included provision to develop a whole new faculty of communication research since this academic hybrid did not exist in India then (around late 1960's). The economics of social research and the state of the art did not permit otherwise. In between prolonged negotiations, the SITE pioneer/Chairman ISRO died prematurely and suddenly, throwing the project out of gear. When a new director of the applications center of the space agency was appointed, substantial time had elapsed, and the national social science community was no less indigent. Thus ISRO felt forced into recruiting social scientists who would conduct SITE social evaluation in-house, expeditiously and economically.

Research Design

Two Indian social scientists trained in U.S. graduate schools finalized the SITE Social Evaluation plan, one a cultural anthropologist and the other a communication researcher (the first author of this paper). Advisory committees of sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists were set up to facilitate constant consultation and review. Its major design characteristics were that it was multi-disciplinary in scope and methodology and that it saw evaluation as an on-going process rather than as a summative act.

The phases of the evaluation plan[3] were based on Stufflebeam (1971) as follows:

STAGES AND DATES OF THE SOCIAL EVALUATION PLAN

Formative

STAGE ONE (PRE-SITE)   December 1973–December 1974

Context Evaluation

    1. Audience profiles
    2. Needs Assessment

STAGE TWO (PRE-SITE)   December 1973–June 1975

Input Evaluation

    3. Pre-testing of prototypes

STAGE THREE (DURING SITE)   August 1975–July 1976

Process Evaluation

    4. Quick feedback on program impact
        in the village
    5. In-depth feedback on the impact
        of selected programs

SUMMATIVE

STAGE FOUR (BEFORE-DURING-AFTER SITE)   January 1975–September 1977

Product Evaluation

    6. Impact surveys of adults
    7. Impact studies of children
    8. Content analysis of adults and
        children's programs
    9. Participant observation studies
        of the impact of SITE on the
        village

   10. In-depth focused studies of single
        variables impacted by SITE

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[3]Details of methodology and findings are available in individual technical reports prepared for each study that may be requested from the Software Systems Group, Space Applications Center, Ahmedabad 380053, India. For a summary, see Mody (1978).

Formative Research

The primary responsibility of SITE social scientists hired by ISRO was undoubtedly the summative evaluation of project impact. Not unlike many educational technology projects before SITE, the two lone social scientists in the Indian space agency found that SITE, too, had no precisely spelt out behavioral goals that specified what the viewer ought to be able to know or feel or do at the end of a year. The need to help develop programming goal specifications and evaluation indicators led to the larger conception of the evaluation plan that included rough-and-ready attempts at audience profiles, needs assessment studies and program try-outs.

Audience profiles for each of the seven programming clusters of villages presented non-technical generalised pictures of dialects spoken, food habits, dress, religion, rituals, and a typical work day. The attempt was to define the rural context for SITE TV producers based in city studios far from their audiences with no time, transport or travel budget. The TV producers felt the reports were either too simple or too time-consuming to read, given their imminent production deadlines.

Needs assessment studies were unsolicited: they were born out of the evaluators' experience in rural development which presented many examples of great differences in perceptions of needs by the development agency and the client. The first phase involved in-depth focused interviews on needs observed by officials responsible for agriculture, health and education who come in direct contact with villagers in the course of their work. The second phase of the needs assessment studies that was never implemented for lack of time and skilled manpower involved participant observation and in-depth interviews with villagers themselves. Needs

assessment reports for the TV producers suggested overall goals and specific program topics. Analyses of SITE program content indicate that the reports were not used: apart from being pronounced "wordy" rather than visual, they too came when TV producers were working frantically to can programs a year before transmission day and had no time to read or think. Lists of program topics were handed to TV producers by the ministries of agriculture, health, family planning and education that they then fleshed out, scripted and produced as best as they knew how, given enormous time and equipment constraints. When lists of topics did not arrive, they made educated guesses about what would be relevant for the village situation.

Their early productions were taken to the village by the evaluators and played in front of small groups of villagers on a portable TV set. Local dialect-speaking investigators were hired and trained in focused individual and group interview techniques. The findings were summarized in point form at the request of the over-burdened TV producers who had little time to read. These suggestions from the pre-testing sessions led to a lot of ill-feeling between the producers and the evaluators, partly because the last thing that the producers working under great pressure needed were critical and common sensical suggestions on how to do it better, and partly because of historical organisational tensions between ISRO that hired the evaluators and the broadcasting agency that hired the TV producers.

SITE started on schedule on August 1, 1975. Periodic feedback reports on daily program performance were made available to TV producers in the four production centers at Delhi, Cuttack, Hyderabad and Ahmedabad. Each of the seven "clusters" of villages had four feedback researchers.

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Each researcher lived in a village for the whole SITE year, exclusively collecting data on daily audience size, viewing conditions, and program impacts every morning and evening in accordance with a pre-structured interview guide and a fixed sampling plan that specified which village he visited every day and how many respondents he picked randomly. These data were mailed to a central computer which printed out tables per program per day for the guidance of its producer. The objective was mid-course modifications in program design where possible. All these formative research attempts cost only around 18 percent of the social evaluation cost, the most expensive undertaking being the during-SITE program feedback that accounted for two-thirds of this expenditure on formative research.

Summative Research

Large-scale impact surveys in the tradition of the Knowledge-Attitude-Practice Studies of the 1960s were undertaken. A total of 108 villages (72 experimental and 36 control) were surveyed before, during and after SITE. The pre-SITE survey interviewed 7772 adults; the during-SITE survey located 6623 of the same pre-SITE respondents; and, the post-SITE survey located 6499 of the respondents it started out with. Change scores were directly related to the frequency of viewing.

The field research team consisted of six investigators (four male, two female) and one supervisor for each of the seven SITE "clusters" of villagers. At the headquarters, three senior social scientists ran the project with guidance and help from a dozen outside consultants. All computerised data analysis and report writing was done in-house. This study was the largest item of expenditure in the SITE Social Evaluation Plan, costing 25 per cent of the total social evaluation budget.

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The study of SITE impact on primary schoolchildren involved interviews with approximately 600 children and 600 teachers in 60 randomly selected TV schools and no-TV control schools in six SITE states. Variables that were investigated before and after exposure to TV included school attendance rates, language development, teacher-student interaction, interest in acquiring new knowledge, and achievement on school tests. Field staff included four investigators per state and two senior scientists at headquarters -- to coordinate the study, analyse the data and write the report. This would probably have explained around 10 per cent of the total social evaluation budget if the salaries of the two senior scientist-project directors on the staff of the National Council for Educational Research and Training were included in ISRO costs.

Content analysis of 25 per cent of four SITE transmissions was conducted to establish a record of what SITE programming actually did consist of, so instructional content could be related to actual impacts in the field. The analysis categories included the plot and theme, the actors' characteristics, and the nature of program treatment. While it was principally quantitative, the "action" in the program was annotated to permit a more insightful analysis too. Each program was coded on three separate sheets simultaneously by two coders each, to ensure reliability. This study cost ISRO a little over one-half per cent of the total social evaluation budget.

One-village participant observation studies by anthropologists were undertaken in seven SITE states. These "holistic" studies were undertaken to provide a micro-level in-depth understanding of the process of social and cultural change that might have been triggered by the introduction of

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TV in the village. Anthropologist field staff were recruited from the

local area, trained and placed in the selected village three months before

SITE started. They continued to live in the study village all through

the twelve months of SITE and for three months after the withdrawal of

TV transmissions, The data they collected were in the form of field

notes on dimensions listed by the project leader at headquarters, field

photographs, taped interviews, daily observation sheets, some survey data,

and some archival data from village and district records. Individual village

project reports and a national report are available. This study cost

around 8 per cent of the total social evaluation budget.

In-depth focused studies were undertaken to explore single variables

such as TV impact on leadership patterns or alienation or science-education.

One such study investigated which economic class benefited most from TV

exposure. A little over 8 per cent of the total social evaluation budget

was spent on these studies that were of professional interest to the

individual project leaders in the ISRO social research group.

Summative Evaluation Findings

These are reported in brief for the larger studies to indicate the

outputs obtained since methodology and findings are not the main burden

of this paper and are adequately covered elsewhere.

The content analysis showed that more than half the time of the in-

school transmission was dedicated to science-related topics. The

highlights of the Hindi regional-language adult community evening transmission

are 30 per cent of the total time to agriculture, animal husbandry, health,

nutrition and family planning, 28 per cent to cultural songs and dances,

14 per cent to current affairs, and around 9 per cent to social modernity

issues. The daily national language evening transmission was divided

between 43 per cent of time for news and current affairs, 20 per cent for

folk and classical dances from different parts of India, 12 per cent for

weather for farmers, 9 per cent on travelogues dealing with different parts

of the country and 16 per cent for sundry other items.

The survey of adults found that more males than females reported

viewing in a ratio of 2:1. Half of the regular male viewers were in the

15-24 age group and were highly exposed to other mass media too. The

most frequently cited source of information for village women viewers

during SITE was TV, twice as often as it was for men, since Indian village

men have greater mobility and extra-village exposure. Those of lower

social and economic status watched TV more often than those of higher

socio-economic status. There were statistically significant gains in

knowledge of preventive health measures. Frequent TV viewers showed large

gains in animal husbandry knowledge but there was no gain in awareness

of agricultural practices. There was an increase in the proportion of

respondents of both sexes who were favorable to the small family norm.

Frequent female viewers showed significantly higher gains than equivalent

male viewers on role-playing empathy and overall modernity.

The studies of SITE impact on children found significant gains in the

language development of TV-exposed children, no impact on school enroll-

ment and attendance, no impact on end-of-year academic achievement tests,

but greater use of school libraries that could suggest that TV had

triggered a greater curiosity for new knowledge from any available source.

The participant observation studies conducted by resident anthropolo-

gists reported findings such as: those who lived closer to the SITE

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community-viewing set watched TV more frequently; TV viewing frequency
was related to agricultural work seasons and festival seasons; villagers
who speak local dialects had problems in following the broadcasts which
were in standardised regional languages; direct instructional programs
were preferred over social and cultural "entertainment;" those instructional
programs that demonstrated practices were appreciated most; new practices
receiving reinforcement from TV presentations were more frequently tried
over practices that were introduced to the village system for the first
time by TV; repetition of instructional programs was found useful. Many
of these post-project findings were confirmation of pre-SITE guidelines
provided in the formative research studies.

Organisation

The in-ISRO SITE social evaluation group consisted of five research
directors (two communication researchers, three anthropologists) with a
skeletal-support staff at headquarters and over 100 field staff
(anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, education researchers).
The average SITE researcher was 26 years old, had a Master's degree in
one of the social sciences and a couple of years' rural data collection
experience. All SITE staff and consultants were Indian citizens by birth.

The cost of the SITE social evaluation plan was a little over 2 per cent
of overall SITE costs.[4] The formative evaluation component of the social
evaluation studies accounted for around 18 per cent of the total social
evaluation budget. The summative evaluation studies accounted for 44 per cent.
Early exploratory studies in program prototype development before recruit-

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[4]The cost of SITE social evaluation implementation was Indian Rupees 37
lakhs approximately (1 US Dollar: 8 Indian Rupees). The figure does not
include the cost of selecting 2330 villages for the SITE project.

ment of in-house social researchers, final research report publication and overheads accounted for 38 per cent.

EVALUATING SITE EVALUATIONS

This section compares the objectives, planning, and utility of SITE evaluation with the issues raised in the first section on the purposes, categories, problems, pragmatics and utility of evaluation researches in general.

Purposes

Pilot project SITE was undertaken to help configure the satellite component of a development-support national TV system for India that would give remote villages equal opportunity of exposure to education and entertainment as urban Indians would have had. All sub-systems of the pilot project would therefore have to be self-consciously and critically assessed constantly to help generate guidelines for the design and implementation of this future hybrid satellite-cum-terrestrial national TV system - the programming sub-system, the hardware on the ground (earth stations, community TV receivers, antenna), the satellite itself, costs and management. This then should be the basis for the evaluation of SITE evaluation researches from the Indian point of view: practical do's and don'ts should be available to the systems manager who needs to know how his TV programs are faring and how to improve them, and to the policy maker who needs to know the advantages of a satellite TV component for remote rural areas and what its management and cost challenges would be.

NASA needed evaluation too, and proposed that India would have to plan for a social evaluation as a condition precedent to the loan of its

direct-broadcast satellite for four hours of program transmission a day. NASA's need was to justify its decision to assign experimental use of its satellite to India over other contenders. As a R&D organisation funded by the U.S. taxpayer, NASA needed to test its know-how and transfer its technology to industry. A credibly conducted evaluation and positive results from SITE would encourage TWCs similar to India to consider the use of satellites for domestic development purposes and thus generate purchase orders for U.S. satellite builders that would create employment in the U.S. economy.

Given ISRO's dominant hardware development role and the broadcasting agency's last minute preparations for programming, it is unlikely that a well-budgeted SITE social evaluation of the magnitude described earlier would have taken place had it not been for the contractual obligation to NASA and the foresight in planning and project budget allocation for evaluation shown by the Chairman of ISRO who pioneered SITE.

Categories

The social evaluation of SITE was seen as a primarily summative act by the space agency. Such evaluation was equivalent to its own third-party "test and evaluations" organised to assess the performance of its own R&D products such as community TV sets, antenna and a whole host of other hardware devices they developed for other applications of space technology such as remote sensing and meteorology. Their attempt to get an objective third-party social evaluation did not succeed in SITE for a variety of reasons that probably included substantively and financially inappropriate proposals, poorly funded social research institutions in India, unrealistic expectations in ISRO, poor negotiations on both sides

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and a variety of other possibilities. The need for "formative" research

preparatory to product design was recognised in ISRO since its equivalent

existed in their own hardware development activity: the design engineer

had to do his/her research to develop specifications, test alternatives

and pre-test prototypes. The natural thing to assume would be that the TV

program designer should have the facilities and time to do the same in

his/her own organisation if they were professionals. Unfortunately, no

TV programming agency in a TWC has the provision for design research nor

is the organisational culture open to "test and evaluation" as in hardware

R&D organisations. The Indian TV programming agency in the GOI was no

exception. Descended from a law-and-order and cultural programming radio

system set up by the British in the 1930s, India's radio and more recent

TV system had grown considerably in coverage, but not in terms of distinct

organisational structures and program design systems suitable to development-

support tasks in a TWC. With only two years to the first day of SITE

inauguration, the specially-created SITE division of All India Radio-TV

had a lone director, one typist, no budget and no staff, and a 1300-odd

hours transmission requirement.

In project after project, the media hardware has worked well, while the

programming was neglected. History repeated itself in SITE too: while R&D

on SITE hardware started five-six years before the project, programming

activity started only a year before; while 82 per cent of SITE costs were

spent on hardware only, only 9 per cent were spent on programming. Full-

time formative researchers should have been working with TV scriptwriters

and ministry content experts for years in advance, developing specifications

and prototypes like the engineers were doing for the hardware. SITE's

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audience profiles, needs assessment studies and program try-outs were

valiant attempts in idealism that did not have a chance, given that the

TV producers that they were supposed to inform were recruited at the

eleventh hour and dispatched directly to the video console with incredible

monthly quotas of 90 minutes of programs to can per month. Needless to

say, they had no time to glimpse at any suggestions. When the first two

SITE social scientists were recruited by ISRO to design the summative

evaluation, exploratory discussions on formative research began with the

broadcasting agency chiefly because the summative evaluators needed to

know what the programming specifications and goals for the SITE year were,

so they could design appropriate instruments to test if the goals had been

reached. It was not because they had even done any formative research or

understood its importance. The programming agency had not seen the need

to have goals beyond the statement in the ISRO-NASA SITE Memorandum of

Understanding that said that the project must contribute to family planning,

agriculture, national integration, general school and adult education,

teacher training, occupational skills, and health and hygiene – in that

order. The need for evaluation goals lead to questions like: who is the

target audience, what do they want to know, what kinds of TV programming

will meet their requirements?

Not unlike traditional evaluation studies, the SITE researchers re-

stricted themselves to Suchman's effort and performance categories only.

In terms of effort, a total of 1220 hours of TV programming were produced by

three SITE studios located in Delhi, Hyderabad and Cuttack. Four of India's

16 major languages were used, corresponding to those spoken in the village

"clusters" located in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar (all Hindi-speaking

areas), Orissa (Oriya), Andhra Pradesh (Telegu) and Karnataka (Kannada).

Four hours of programming were transmitted daily: 1½ hours to primary

schools in the mornings, and 2½ hours to adults around community sets in

the evenings. Two thousand three hundred thirty direct-reception sets

were located in six states. Picture quality was better than conventional

VHF receivers in cities. After initial teething troubles, the average

maintenance position of village sets was 88 per cent. The Ahmedabad and

Delhi earth station up-links to the satellite had a reliability higher

than 99.8 per cent. Based on feedback study audience size data (100 per

set per evening) and TV set maintenance records, it is estimated that more

than 200,000 adults and children were reached by SITE programs every day.

In terms of performance, there were statistically significant gains in

health, family planning, political information, empathy and overall

modernity (see Footnote 2). Since there was no task analysis in agriculture,

health or education areas that specified the nature and per cent of impact

SITE programs were expected to have in a year, there is no measure of how

adequate or inadequate were the effects found in the summative studies of

impact on adults, children and the village community. The SITE social

evaluation did not attempt to measure the efficiency of the satellite TV

delivery system. The fact is that the village clusters that were chosen

for SITE were samples of remote and backward areas that could receive TV

by no alternative means other than a direct-broadcast satellite and

community reception system. Whether radio was a more reasonable development-

communication medium for India was never an evaluation question in this

project since it was initiated by the space agency as an application of

satellite technology for remote areas TV transmission. The importance of

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this question is undeniable but in terms of timing, it definitely is a national policy issue that should have been looked into <u>before</u> a national TV system was contemplated. The SITE project was based on the assumption that India had decided in favour of national expansion of TV and thus built itself around the impossibility of reaching significant chunks of the country with TV, without a satellite system for community TV reception; hence, the proposal for a learning experience in understanding how to handle such a system, i.e., SITE.

In the present authors' opinion, the tragedy of the SITE Social Evaluation Plan was the lack of provision for what Suchman calls "process evaluation," i.e., a documentation/diary of the life of the project and an insightful analysis of how and why it fared the way it did. Given that the purpose of SITE was not to bring about some hypothetical level of development or family planning practice or innovation adoption in a year, and that its chief purpose was to be a learning experience for India on how to design and run such a satellite-based TV system for rural development on an operational basis, it is clear that such a study would have been eminently more useful than the large impact studies that are specific to particular kinds of hastily made programs at a certain political juncture in Indian history, i.e., the declaration of an Emergency by Indira Gandhi.[5] Valuable data could have been collected at little cost by having participant agencies and individuals in the project jot down their efforts, problems, joys, sorrows, scars, and observations in a log book or diary as often as they could, in confidence, so these could be collated by a non-participant

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[5] A State of Emergency was declared by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi a month before SITE started. During this period, all fundamental rights were abrogated and all media were under censorship.

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researcher and interpreted along with project staff interviews, archival

records, content analysis, audience composition studies and small impact

studies that have no need to be representative of the total village popula-

tion reached by SITE. SITE has been declared a magnificent technical

success and an incredible management feat for any country. Much of this

is due to the idealism and missionary zeal with which its extremely

dedicated staff worked: what was the secret of such motivation in a TWC

government organisation, and how can it be sustained are questions that

only a process evaluation could have addressed, and are in fact, probably

the crucial things that need to be passed on to other TWCs and to the opera-

tional Indian national TV system that SITE was a pilot test for.

Problems

Analysis of the nature of the SITE social researches undertaken by

each in-house research director in ISRO indicates the biases of their own

training. Each specialist designed studies that s/he knew how to do –

impact surveys, content analyses, feedback panels – and explored variables

that s/he was interested in, rather than what the "learning experience"

focus of the project demanded. In all fairness, it should be stated that

this focus is clearer in retrospective perspective than it was during the

authors' years of association with SITE. Their queries on the purpose of SITE

elicited different responses from different individuals with different role

responsibilities. Early suggestions to refer to the ISRO-NASA contract for

project goals gave way when it was pointed out that the listing of

"instructional objectives" was merely a listing of instructional areas

rather than project performance goals. Stress was then placed on the

fact that a year's TV exposure was not expected to bring about major changes

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and that SITE input included the presence of a new hardware in the village

and a new meeting place in the evenings apart from merely the program

content: the evaluators were urged to explore ripples of all kinds created

by the total presence of this new medium in the village to document what

happened when TV first came to village India. This blank check was a

researcher's delight but it did not put the long-term policy and practice

implications of the project's purpose into perspective for the evaluators.

This perspective became clear to the first author only a couple of years

after the SITE project ended. The importance of clearly thinking through

TV project goals by all participants so a unity of purpose is established

and understood cannot be stressed enough, given the limited resources of

a TWC and the high cost of the TV medium.

The SITE project evaluation addressed performance measures such as

knowledge, attitude and practice in agriculture, health and education but

it did not attempt to investigate how these changes would/could attack

the external and internal roots of underdevelopment in India. The short

duration of the project and the obvious lack of coordination among agencies

supplying different development inputs (e.g., information, extension,

physical inputs) at the central government level and at the village level

made such an evaluation attempt wasteful and unnecessary. Nevertheless,

the importance of relating single project goals to macro-level goals

at project design implementation and evaluation stage cannot be stressed

enough. This calls into question the whole process of piece-meal development

planning and bureaucratic implementation by separate water-tight government

departments in TWCs and the need for genuine integrated rural development.

Another problem faced by SITE evaluators was their attempt to design

an evaluation plan that was more precise and focused than the chief SITE

inputs they were investigating, i.e., SITE programming. While SITE

evaluators felt that they were recruited too late to have any influence

on project design or program design, the fact of the matter is that TV

program producers themselves were recruited much later, with minimum

training and no exposure to theories of development and the design of

supportive communication strategies. SITE TV producers were part of a

broadcasting system that was organised structurally to handle news,

public affairs, and music programming rather than work in production

teams with content experts and formative researchers required by goal-

oriented instructional design.

Research Utilisation

One of the results of SITE was realization of the need for more pre-

production research to help design TV programming for development goals. As

a result, formative researchers were recruited and trained to work

alongside TV producers in India's four rural TV stations in an attempt to

introduce the "course team" organisational model.

SITE evaluations reported great success on Suchman's "effort" measures:

programs were transmitted to the NASA satellite very reliably, TV sets

were installed on time and maintained better in the villages than in the

cities, words and pictures were transmitted four hours a day with no breaks

for the year, more than 200,000 villagers were exposed to TV programs every

day. This was phenomenally good implementation for a TWC and showed that

the systems analysis-based management system of SITE had worked well and

that countries such as India could handle advanced satellite communication

technologies. SITE evaluations reported some significant impacts on

performance criteria in the areas of preventive health, family planning and overall modernity. How were these findings utilised?

The GOI has decided in favour of an operational national satellite system for revenue-earning long-distance telephony within the country. The satellite system will have the capability and capacity to transmit TV programs to remote villages as in SITE, but the policy-level decision to use the Indian National Satellite (INSAT, launch due 1981) for television is still under consideration, due to the high costs to government of installing community TV sets in all remote villages. Whether the inclusion of performance adequacy measures or efficiency comparisons in the SITE Social Evaluation Plan would have helped expedite this decision is moot. Assuming such data existed, it must be added that availability of these findings in the public domain would not be enough: they would need a vocal lobby to air them loud and long in the right decision-making arenas. While national decisions are rarely based on effectiveness data alone, the authors of this paper hold that data supportive of policies in favour of the rural majority that live far from urban centers cannot but help in TWCs today.

The Evaluator

Due to the process described in an earlier section, SITE social evaluation studies were conducted, for the most part, by social scientists hired on the staff of ISRO. Any categorical claims that this did not bias the design, implementation and outcomes of the social evaluation researches by the present authors would be suspect, and well they should be. However, the fact of the matter is that SITE implementation agencies never perceived the social or technical evaluations as designed to prove or disprove that TV was suitable for rural India over other media. Also, the case of satellite

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use was made on the basis of a cost evaluation of alternative ways of

covering the whole nation with TV a little less than a decade before SITE

was conducted. The only case for bias would be in the area of performance

impacts assessed by the SITE adults survey, the children's impact studies

and the participant observation studies: in all these three cases,

consultative committees of external social scientists were involved in

research design and data analysis in large numbers.

At the end, the reports of all SITE social researches conducted by

ISRO were submitted to a leading social scientist (who was director of an

autonomous research institute and Chairman of the Indian Council for Social

Science Research) for criticism, evaluation and summary report preparation

for UNESCO. For the healthy sceptic, this might be the most advisable

document to refer to (Gore, 1979). This was the way ISRO handled its dual

problem of getting a social evaluation done, and, ensuring its objectivity.

Clearly, the situation will differ from country to country so no blanket

prescriptions can be made from SITE beyond recommending that the spirit

of independent evaluation be allowed to live, and that evaluation be

employed to answer the practitioner and policy maker's specific questions

if it is to be usable.

Conclusions

A plea is made for social evaluation researches in TWCs to address

specific problems of practice and policy through greater attempts at

formative research and process evaluation that have been neglected to date.

Formative research includes all rough-and-ready social research attempts at

designing a project or program so it meets the needs of its target

population. Process evaluation refers to close and insightful observation

and critical analysis of project planning and implementation that would generate guidelines for mid-course corrections and future improvements in project implementation.

The decision to introduce TV or not to introduce TV in a TWC is frequently a political and/or financial one. Few countries seem able to resist its glamour. If global TV expansion is inevitable, it is particularly relevant that formative research be employed to help design suitable local programming, and that process evaluation take place to help improve the functioning of a medium that is expensive and seemingly difficult to resist.

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Media Imperialism Defined: Levels of Generality

by

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Exportation of Television Programs

The heavy dosage of Anglo-American programs appearing on television around the world has caused great concern in many sectors.

We need explore this topic around five central problems: (a) the symbiotic relationship between Hollywood and the U.S. television networks; (b) the role of Hollywood film conglomerates in foreign program sales; (c) the extent of "alien" (mainly American) program importation by the Third World countries; (d) the media flow among the industrialized nations; and (e) "product life cycle" -- co-production of television programs.

Hollywood and the U.S. Television Networks

It is difficult to comprehend the complexity of "media imperialism" without exploring the symbiotic relationship between the two most powerful American communication conglomerates: television netowrks in New York and the motion picture industry in Hollywood. The earlier competitors, forced by a historical accident, are now so interdependent that it seems unreasonable to speak of one without reference to the other.

The ascendency of television in the late 1940's drew away the bulk of attendance at cinema houses. Of course, motion pictures managed to survive. Recognizing that television would stay, the Hollywood movie industry finally decided to cooperate with their rivals. The train of

events, to be sure, was complex.[1]

In 1948 the U.S. Supreme Court decided in United States v. Paramount et al that the defendants, the nine major Hollywood film companies, kept out foreign products and prevented domestic competition by control over theater ownership. The court ordered an end to block-booking and demanded dissolution of theater holdings from production and distribution. Paramount consequently split into two companies -- Paramount Pictures Corporation and United Paramount Theaters. The latter, together with its executive Leonard Goldenson, later merged with the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) in 1953. This constituted a strange outcome, with Paramount having more working capital but a dim future and ABC having less working capital but an apparently bright future (Barnouw, 1975:116).

ABC had spun off from the Blue Network of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) in 1943, one year after the Supreme Court upheld the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) rule against networks' control over affiliates (Head, 1972:175). It was partly in a move to catch up with the other two older networks that ABC merged with Paramount; Goldenson, who had just come from Hollywood to head ABC, further struck a deal with Walt Disney to produce a Disneyland series for ABC's showing in the 1954 season (Barnouw, 1975; Melody, 1973). The high profit of Disney productions helped to soften Warner Brothers' aloofness, who later agreed to produce 40 films for ABC's 1955-56 season. Once this lead was taken, other networks followed. National Broadcasting Company (NBC) was lining up with MCA, while Columbia Broadcasting Company (CBS)

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[1]We draw heavily on the seminal work of media historian Erick Barnouw (1975) for historical background.

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was drawing on diverse sources.

The relationship between film producers and television went further. One by one major producers started to release for television use their pre-1948 features, owned outright by the studios and requiring no residual payments. As a result, many television stations across the country reduced their staff, closed expensive studios, and opened their doors to the Hollywood films (Barnouw, 1975:193-8). This represented a complete reversal of the film industry's earlier hostility to television showing their films.

What implications does this new alliance between Hollywood and New York have?

First, the center of television programming shifted from New York to Hollywood. This reliance on Hollywood as a source of program supply for television was to be further enhanced, not weakened, over the years. Since the early 1970's the three television networks have been spending $15 to $18 billion per week on filmed television programs.[2] Nine major Hollywood producers have supplied 70% to 85% of the programs (with slight fluctuation each year) shown on network television.[3] Their influence on the network prime-time schedule, albeit less conspicuous, is still enormous; as a group their joint share of prime-time series between 1964 and 1974 varied in the range of 26% to 51% (Owen, Beebe, and Manning, 1974:21-2).

[2] Guback and Dombkowski (1976) estimated that nine major producers received about $7.8 million per week for series and $3.8 million per week for feature films, while independent producers received about $4 million per week.

[3] The nine "majors" include Allied Artists, Avoco Embassy, Columbia, MGM, Paramount, Twentieth Century-Fox, United Artists, Universal (MCA), and Warner. In a sociological study Cantor (1971) has shown that television networks exercise an important control over the creative and technical decisions of Hollywood producers.

Secondly, this amalgam also produced an alliance with advertising agencies which use television as a medium to promote consumer goods. The relationship has now developed to the extent that advertising agencies call the economic tune for the networks and for Hollywood producers to dance to (Brown, 1971).

Some fundamental statistics reveal a vast concentration of income in products of general interest for television, and of the advertising flow in a few large agencies. In the early 1970's, for example, 15 advertisers provided about one-third of television's $3.6 billion annual income. The top 20 advertisers provided more than 40% of television income and was responsible for nearly two-thirds of total television time sales. One advertising agency alone, J. Walter Thompson, accounted for nearly 15% of all television sales in 1969 (Schramm and Alexander, in Pool and Schramm, 1973:591-3).

A third implication of the New York-Hollywood relationship is that it enables Hollywood to continue its dominant position in worldwide telefilm distribution. This simply continued the global domination that Hollywood has earlier enjoyed in motion pictures (Guback, 1969; 1974a). With a strong domestic market to support it, Hollywood became the undisputed world capital of motion picture and telefilm production and distribution.

Hollywood and Television Program Exports

The global hegemony of the Hollywood-made television programs was a logical extension of the earlier motion picture history. Hollywood film-makers wasted little time in pushing for foreign telefilm sales. In 1959 a division in the Motion Picture Export Association of America (MPEA), made up of the "nine majors", was formed: the following year

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three television networks organized the Television Program Export Association. Henceforth, profits accrued from telefilm sales began to expand at an accelerating rate (see Table I).

Networks and Hollywood made strange bedfellows. They had been adversaries in the business of television program exports from the late 1950's until 1970. In 1970 the FCC ruled that the networks be prohibited from engaging in the domestic syndication of programs, or in the foreign syndication of programs of which they were not the sole producers (Read, 1976; Guback and Dombkowski, 1976).[4] In addition, the networks could no longer acquire financial proprietary interests in programs of which they were not the sole producers, except for the simple interest in network exhibition. The FCC further stopped the networks from engaging in cable television business.[5] This federal regulatory action illustrates the tension and the conflict of interest existing between the broadcasting networks and the Hollywood producers.

The Hollywood producers by and large are commissioned by the networks to produce films for "first-run" telecast during prime-time hours,

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[4]Newsfilms had traditionally garnered only a small share of profit for the network. CBS now distributes the video tape highlights of its daily news programs via London into the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) news exchange service. ABC News operates a small service, featuring sports coverage. NBC News's distribution is through an agreement with the London-based Visnews. As to the more lucrative entertainment film exportation, CBS spun off its cable and syndication branches to Viacom in June 1971, while NBC sold its syndication arm to National Telefilm Associates in early 1973. ABC disposed of its own direct syndication operations to Worldvision. See Read (1976).

[5]In contrast, Hollywood conglomerates have huge investments in cable industries, with the Warner Communication reported to be the third largest investor in the country (Guback and Dombkowski, 1976).

TABLE I: Earnings from Foreign Syndication of Television Programs by American Distributors, 1958-1976 (Unit: U.S. Million dollars)

Year	Earnings (in million dollars)	Source*	
1958	15		(1)
1959	25		(1)
1960	30		(1)
1961	45		(1)
1962	55		(1)
1963	66		(1)
1964	70		(1)
1965	60-76	(1)	(2)
1966	70	(1)	(2)
1967	78	(1)	(2)
1968	80	(1)	(2)
1969	99		(2)
1970	97		(2)
1971	75-85	(2)	(3)
1972	84-93	(2)	(3)
1973	115-130	(2)	(3)
1974	110		(3)
1975	175		(4)
1976	180-190	(4)	(5)

*These estimates were derived from industry sources, principally the Motion Picture Export Association of America, as reported in:

    (1) Barnouw (1975)
    (2) Read (1976)
    (3) Guback and Dombkowski (1976)
    (4) Television/Radio Age (13 September 1976, 11 April 1977)
    (5) Broadcasting (18 April 1977)

Where occasional differences in reported earning occur the range is given.

with the cost of each episode averaging as high as $250,000 per hour.

It is not unusual for a producer to take occasional losses with the

network production and then recoup their losses by making profits from

subsequent "off-network" syndications (i.e., reruns or exhibition by

individual stations) and international sales (Brown, 1971). The pro-

portion of domestic profits accrued from the networks' "first-run" has

been on the decline since the early 1960's (Owen et al., 1975:32-4).

Whereas about 24% of the industry's sales are reportedly found outside

the U.S., some individual distributors such as Worldvision obtain as

much as 50% of their gross business in foreign markets.[6]

Table I sums up the industry's foreign earnings by year. We see

a worldwide boom during the 1960's; then the profits had ups and downs

over a decade but remained stationary until 1972. This led some observers

(e.g., Read, 1976) to conclude that the American overseas television

program sale was hitting a plateau with little prospect of further growth.

In recent years, however, we have seen a revival of growth and an upturn

trend leading toward much larger profits. For example, in 1976 alone

American companies reaped a profit of $180-$190 million from world sales,

almost three times, in absolute terms, the returns a decade ago. The

industry sources have reported a series of small price increases in

recent years and are expecting to expand foreign markets.[7]

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[6]Broadcasting (18 April 1977)

[7]American telefilm exporters expect to expand markets spanning from the
oil-rich Middle East countries in the Persian Gulf (Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrein,
Oman, Abu Dhabi), South Africa, Italy (said to be considering a two-
channel system) to France (expanding its single channel into multi-
channels). Even some Communist nations have shown a strong interest too.
See Television/Radio Age (13 September 1976).

Among Hollywood conglomerates MCA stands out as the most significant

exporter, accounting for approximately 20% of the American companies'

overseas earnings (Table II). Its estimated foreign sales were $25

million in 1973, $25.8 million in 1974, soaring to $33.8 million in 1975

and reaching a record high of $37.2 million in 1976. These foreign gross

sales figures represented close to half of MCA's annual syndication

revenues, excluding the "first-run" network income. MCA's operation is

truly global, with 13 para-national offices in London, Paris, Amsterdam,

Rome, Munich, Beirut, Tokyo, Sydney, Sao Paulo, Mexico City, San Juan,

Toronto, and Montreal. In addition to the Nine Majors there are other

non-MPEA distributors and independents too.[8]

Amidst various optimistic industry predictions and a recent foreign

sales boom, the United States Department of Commerce has warned that the

future market may be decreasing. There may be sound reasons for such

concern. First, the expansionary era of the 1960's is past. In 1964

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[8]Distributors such as Viacom handle other independent organizations'
production. Viacom was a CBS spin-off but is boasting its decreasing
reliance on CBS as a source of program supply (34% in 1976). It has
established 11 international offices, selling programs to approximately
113 countries, and accruing significant profits from foreign markets
($10 million in 1972). Because it was founded by National Telefilms
Associates (which recently purchased the stock of NBC films and certain
assets of NBC International) and by Independent Television (a British
firm), Viacom is disqualified as a MPEA member. Other small independents,
such as Metromedia, produce and distribute programs but are not MPEA
members. They usually operate through agents to sell TV products to
foreign broadcasters instead of establishing a string of offices around
the world. The agent gets a 15% commission if a deal is made. See
Read (1976), Kane (in Browne and Sherman, 1976) and the annual reports
submitted by each company to the Securities and Exchange Commission
(Form 10-k).

TABLE II: Earnings from TV Synidcation by MCA, 1974-1976
(in million U.S. dollars)

Earnings	1974		1975		1976	
U.S. Industry						
Total Foreign Earnings	110		175		180	
MCA-TV Foreign Earnings	25.8		33.8		37.2	
MCA's Share	(23.5%)		(19%)		(21%)	
MCA-TV Distribution						
Earnings	158.5		189.6		249.7	
(Network reruns)		105.3		117.6		149.0
(Syndication)		32.2		72.1		100.7
MCA-TV Syndication						
Earnings	53.2		72.1		100.7	
(U.S. off-network reruns)		(52%)		(53%)		(63%)
(Foreign distr.)		(48%)		(47%)		(37%)

Source: Annual reports (Form 10-k) filed by MCA to the Securities and
Exchange Commission.

overseas sales accounted for 60% of all American telefilm syndication activities and represented the difference between profit and loss for the industry (Dizard, 1966). It should be compared with the shrinking share (24%) of the foreign earnings in industry's total profit structure today, despite a phenomenal growth in absolute terms.

Second, mounting waves of nationalism and cultural protectionism have prevented American media exporters from making as much headway as they used to. They have to compensate for the differences by selling a smaller quantity for higher prices; they have engaged in co-production with other nations, participated in partnerships with foreign firms, and created "spin-offs" abroad.

Third, other emerging production subcenters in the Third World (such as Mexico) and telefilm producers in other industrialized world (such as the BBC) must have presented some competition for Americans. This competition is not as yet posing a threat to the American dominance but the trend will nevertheless be continuing.

In brief, the peak of overseas expansion for American conglomerates may have been reached in the mid-1960's, and since then they have concentrated their efforts on holding to that commanding lead. America is still dominant but the future may show a different pattern.

Alien Television Programs in the Third World

What the cash value means is rather difficult to understand, unless it is translated into the proportion of alien (primarily American) programs imported by the Third World countries. Some studies have been done (such as Nordenstreng and Varis, 1974); information has begun to be collected by international organizations (such as UNESCO Statistical

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Yearbooks, and World Communications, 1976). But data remain sketchy,
scattered, conflicting, and at times suspect. The majority of this
information, supplied by the country being surveyed without much
efforts to secure independent validation, should be interpreted with
caution and cannot be taken literally.

We have ascertained from various sources, and have carefully com-
pared and reviewed, the information concerning the proportion of TV
program imports by 85 nations, where such information is available. Among
them 57 nations are conventionally regarded as members of the Third
World; their general import pattern is revealed in Table III. The modal
category is 50% (n=12), with 47 nations importing more than 40% or 27
nations importing more than 60% of their television programs.

The U.S. is the undisputable No. 1 exporter, selling 150,000 hours
of programs annually. It is then followed by the U.K. and France at a
far distance, each selling 20,000 hours of programs abroad annually;
West Germany comes in fourth with about 6,000 hours (Guback, in Browne
and Sherman, 1976:5). The U.S. thus exports more than three times as
many programs as all the next three largest exporting countries combined.
These programs have had virtually universal penetration into every
regional or national market despite the barriers of political regimes
and ideology. Traditionally, however, the American strength has been
among other industrial nations and among its Latin American neighbors.
British programs are generally popular with ex-colonies in Southeast
Asia, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. The French have maintained
close cultural ties with 26 ex-colonies, from Tunisia round West Africa
to the equator, as part of its overt commitment to promoting the grandeur

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TABLE III: Proportion of Imported Foreign TV Programs by Third World Nations (n=57)

Area	<20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	Total
S. Amer.		Argentina	Colombia Paraguay	Venezuela Brazil	Peru Bolivia Uraguay	Ecuador Chile Panama		11
C. Amer.			Mexico		Dominican Republic	Trinidad/ Tobago Jamaica Puerto Rico	Barbados Costa Rica Guatemala Nicaragua Bermuda	10
E. & S. Asia	India Taiwan	Pakistan Indonesia	Korea	Hong Kong Malaysia Philippines Thailand	Singapore			10
Middle East	Syria	Turkey	Iran Egypt	Kuwait Saudi Arabia Jordan Israel	Iraq Lebanon Cyprus Yemen		Qatar Dubai	14
Africa	Ghana Tunesia Uganda		Ethiopia Sudan	Algeria Nigeria	Kenya	Maritius Zambia Senegal	Madagascar	12
Total	6	4	8	12	10	9	8	57

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and the cultural glory of the past.

Media Flow Among the Industrialized Nations

Some writers (see Read, 1976) have attempted to discount the sig-
nificance of imbalanced communication flow between the U.S. and the

Third World. The analysis of this one-way traffic of television programming

is not problematic, they assert, inasmuch as the U.S. derives nearly two-

thirds of its foreign earnings in such exportation from other industrialized

nations, rather than the Third World. For example, the U.S. telefilm

merchants made a profit of $85 million in 1971, of which Canada accounted

for 19%, Australia 18%, Japan 17%, and England 12%.[9] The remaining

countries accounted for only 34%, of which Brazil, France and West

Germany stood out. These estimates have been confirmed by several industry

sources, although some minor adjustments might be made (such as including

Mexico).[10] They suggest the Third World as a whole does not have enough

media resources to be squeezed or extracted. Sales to it may add to

the total profit of the American media conglomerates, but it is by no

means the most crucial part of profit contribution. The industrialized

nations, it can be argued, may remain an autonomous market system in

the media field even without the participation of the Third World.

Another argument that has been put forward to counter the "cultural

imperialism" theme is in terms of audience size. The U.S., plus the

Big Four (Canada, Britain, Japan, Australia) and the Minor Three (Brazil,

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[9]Calculated by TV Guide (29 April 1972) on the basis of estimates by
the Motion Picture Export Association, as quoted in Read (1976:26).
See also DeLuc (in Browne and Sherman, 1976:95-6).

[10]Broadcasting, op. cit.

France, West Germany) account for 62.5% of total world television audience. The U.S.S.R. accounts for another 12.8%, with the rest of nations sharing only 24.7%.[11] Therefore, it is argued, communication flow from the U.S. to other large industrialized nations is what really counts, whereas the flow from the U.S. to Third World is of peripheral importance.

Such a contention can be disputed. First, some industry executives are of the opinion that a company, particularly a non-MPEA exporter, often can bring in more profit from smaller nations than from the seven or eight biggest. While major patrons may pay a considerably higher price for a smaller number of episodes, smaller countries may pay a lower price but buy in bulk.[12] It is conceivable that some American exporters, expecially those with less clout, may depend more heavily on the Third World markets than the Big Four or Big Eight. What is more, industry sources concede that in the majority of situations the small markets can make the critical difference between modest profits and big profits.[13]

A second, and more fundamental, objection centers on what should be judged to determine whether the imbalanced communication flow between the U.S. and the Third World is problematic. The cash value which the American exporters can produce is only one -- and not necessarily the

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[11]These figures differ from those given by Read (1976:32-3). Our figures are calculated from Television/Radio Age (November 1977), which estimates a total of 390 million television sets in the world. The U.S. has 36.4%, U.S.S.R. 12.8%, followed by U.K. (6.8%), Japan (6.7%), West Germany (4.9%), France (3.6%), Italy (3.6%), Canada (2.5%), and Brazil (2.3%). TV Factbook (1977) estimates a total of 379 million television sets in the world as of mid-1976.

[12]Broadcasting, op. cit.

[13]Television/Radio Age (13 September 1976) pp. A45-A50.

most meaningful one -- of many yardsticks. The majority of Third World

nations are economically poor, so the outflow of foreign exchanges due

to the purchase of television programs, even if it seems quite insigni-

ficant to the total profit structure of American conglomerates, may

impose a strain on most governments. The amount of profit American

conglomerates can reap may also be quite irrelevant to the Third World's

general concern for an endangered cultural integrity as a result of the

dominant presence of alien media products. It appears wholly untenable

and unfair to dismiss the lopsided communication between the U.S. and

the Third World as a "straw man" or a spurious problem.

By the same token, some scholars argue that the analysis of tele-

vision programming flow among Third World "nations" raises a false issue

because the huge mass publics do not count and "mass communications" are

essentially restricted to an elite phenomenon. To speak of "nations"

as such is not at all genuine, in their opinion. It is equally plausible,

however, that this "two-nation" polarization within one geographically

and legally held political/territorial entity has very powerful implica-

tions for policy-making, and that the study of media imbalance may

offer partial diagnosis.

"Product Life Cycle": Co-Production

The fit of Vernon's (1966) "product life cycle" theory in television

programming flow is less than satisfying. If general American multi-

national enterprise expansion fits it rather neatly, it is because

manufacturing industries depend upon transferrable technology to produce

standardized products. When it comes to producing cultural products such

as television programs, other countries (industrialized or underdeveloped)

do not offer competitive advantages. Such factors as low labor cost,

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raw material supply, and the coercive power of the state are extremely important to manufacturing products but not to cultural products. Producing cultural products demands, instead, a constant supply of talents, markets, and supportive media infrastructure.

The product life cycle theory predicts that the American television program flow would lead to (1) establishment of local production facilities abroad, (2) co-production efforts with local film makers abroad, (3) local acculturation of imported television culture, and (4) erosion of the American television market and rise of foreign-produced programs in the United States.

So far American media conglomerates, if there is indeed a "product life cycle", have not moved beyond the stage of telefilm exportations. Attempts to acquire direct control of foreign television outlets have been made in vain, as we shall examine in the next section. The "runaway" production of the motion picture industry abroad has not been repeated with telefilms, primarily because of strong labor union opposition (Read, 1976). American television programs still depend on foreign markets to make a profit, and there seems no indication that those markets are seriously eroding. There are scattered reports about the acculturation process of imported television programs in certain Third World nations (Katz and Wedell, 1977), but to what extent it has to do with the "product life cycle" is debatable.

Of interest is the recent development that American film producers have engaged in co-production efforts with foreign interests. It is still a rather new experience for telefilms, although co-production of theatrical motion pictures is the dominant method in Europe and has been for at least the last decade (Guback, 1969, 1974a, 1974b, also in

Gerbner, 1977). American investments in theatrical co-production have

been masked in dozens of nominally "national" firms in Western Europe;

the European interest, in turn, use co-production as a key to gain entry

into huge American markets. They operate in symbiosis. This idea is being

tried out with telefilms.

Dizard (1966:171-2) noted that American telefilm producers in fact

started the idea of co-production in the early 1960's with an aim to

reduce production costs, to get around the tax and quota restrictions

abroad, and to use exotic foreign locales and currencies to enhance the

acceptance of their products in the highly competitive U.S. markets.

But, Dizard says, it remained only as an idea. It was not until the

late 1960's that foreign telefilm producers began to apply pressures

for co-production deals with a view to opening the vast American market.

Such activities have been limited to the English-speaking countries,

notably Great Britain.[14]

The leader of the co-production business is Lord Lew Grade. He

owns Associated Television Corporation (ATC), a constituent member

station of the Independent Television Authority (ITA) in Great Britain,

and its American subsidiary, International Television Corporation (ITC).

The key to his success is his ability to cater deliberately to American

tastes and exploit the American market.[15]   ITC offers elements Americans

[14]Wear (1977) reports that the newly established French government-
funded television program production center, SFP, is hoping to have co-
production efforts with the English-speaking markets. This is designed
to gain market entry by overcoming the language barrier and France's
lack of creative resources necessary to sustain contribution to the
international market over a long period of time.

[15]ATC-ITC's sales to the U.S. alone in the first eight months of 1977
topped $100 million. In the same period, their offerings also were
purchased in 106 other countries. U.S. News and World Report (9 January
1978) p. 45. See also il Forbes (15 May 1976) p. 64; Business Week
(31 May 1976) p. D36.

can identify with: American stars, hosts, legendary heroes, relatively

universal rock music, and American-sized budgets. In fact it is "so

American that the London headquarters appears to be the only factor

making ITC a British-owned company."[16]

ATC's impact goes deeper. First, it has forced the BBC to produce

its own version of "international" crime and action serials. Second, the

increasing tendency for producing more expensive materials than the

BBC audience revenue will finance has presented a strong pressure toward

co-production with American interest (Tunstall, 1977). There were 153

co-produced programs on BBC-TV in 1972, a 50% increase from 1971. Compared

with the ATC-ITC "offshore" American involvements, however, BBC has had

difficulties in getting more co-production off the ground because of its

insistence on retaining editorial controls.[17]

To sum up, co-production has been largely limited to Anglo-American

interests, stemming from financial considerations wither than cultural

significance. As a mockery to cultural diffusion, the co-produced

products have been deliberately Americanized.[18] "Product life cycle"

can be applied with only a great deal of strain; in fact, it is difficult

to know the extent to which co-production has anything to do with "product

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[16]Television/Radio Age (7 June 1976) pp. 26-8, 60-4. The Muppet Show, co-
produced by ITC/Henson Associates and CBS-owned stations, reached 67.4%
of American television homes.

[17]See Jeans (in Browne and Sherman, 1976); Variety (4 April 1973);
Television/Radio Age (7 June 1976). The BBC sold 9,000 hours of program-
ming in 1975-76, realizing a gross of $14 million or a 45% increase over
the previous year. See BBC Handbook (1977) pp. 87-8.

[18]As a rare exception to this Anglo-American co-production pattern, three
German-language television organizations (ZDF-West Germany, SSR-Switzerland,
ORF-Austria) have participated in co-productions in order to gain more
independence from the extra-European market. They started out with 15 co-
productions in 1967, reached a peak of 115 projects in 1971, and have
since stabilized at 89 to 100 per year. This is built upon language

life cycle" at all.

Ownership of Foreign Media Outlets

Theoretically, the next level of generality above the simple exporta-
tion of program products is the acquisition of proprietary rights, by
the multinational media conglomerates, to media outlets in foreign
countries. For a brief period during the 1960's the American companies
(and the British Thomson Organization) were actively engaged in activities
that would assure them either major or minor ownership of foreign tele-
vision stations. Many of the plans were enormously ambitious and
frightening, as symbolized especially by the conception of Worldvision.
This has led some writers to exaggerate, in retrospect, the potency of
American multinational corporations' "imperialistic forces". Now that the
expansionary decade of television has passed, fervor has subsided; it is
easier to make a more detached evaluation of their performance in this
field. The overall result, in short, shows that American companies were
far from successful in light of the promises and expectations offered
earlier by the media conglomerates themselves.

The desire to gain ownership and control of media outlets drew
impetus from several factors. During the late 1950's while the three
American networks were in the midst of sorting out relationships with
the Hollywood production companies, there was naturally a competitive
edge for a weaker firm (ABC, in this case) to attempt to catch up. ABC
had been exceedingly successful in forming alliances with Hollywood
film-making interests; it consolidated and concentrated control of

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similarity and a long tradition of joint Saturday evening entertainment.
In any case this effort to protect regional media autonomy may be seen
as an antithesis to the Anglo-American market hegemony. EBU Review
(1977) vol. 28, pp. 28-30.

production, distribution, and entertainment divisions. It planned to

replicate its scheme in foreign areas (Bunce, 1976). Important moves were

taken toward the formation of different cartel-like arrangements that

would give ABC (and other American companies as a result) superior

access to foreign markets. The area most seriously affected was Latin

America.

A second impetus for this expansion derived from the market condition

surrounding the late 1950's and throughout the 1960's. By the late 1950's

the development in several industrialized nations had completed its

process, with a near saturation of domestic markets in the U.S., Britain,

and Japan.[19] The prospect of investing in foreign television was becoming

increasingly attractive (Dizard, 1966). The manufacturers of television

receivers and equipment (like RCA eagerly cultivated new foreign markets,

while the Madison Avenue advertising agencies were willing to go along.

Television networks turned out to be the chief beneficiaries of this

foreign expansion process.

The whole phenomenon of media growth and expansion may be seen as

product of the prevailing climate of the "American Century". Schiller

(1969) has dwelled on this military-industrial complex, whose impact

extended far beyond but certainly included the control or acquisition

of foreign media outlets. The general political atmosphere was not only

favorable but also encouraging to foreign investments abroad by American

companies. American companies were not only aided by the post-war "tied

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[19]About 15 years after the beginning of commercial radio broadcasting
three-fourths of the homes in the U.S. were equipped with radio.
Television has reached the same proportion in less than a decade (from
7% in 1950 to 82% in 1957). See Bogart (1958) and DeFleur and Ball-
Rokeach (1975).

aid" program which restricted the recipient nations to purchase only American goods (including media products), but also were encouraged to invest their foreign earnings overseas through U.S. tax benefits.

That said, there is also evidence to suggest that in certain cases American media companies did not enter with the initial intention to buy out foreign media outlets. They were invited, or they invited themselves, to offer management service contracts and technical assistance or other consultancy work. Their primary interest may have been to pursue and guarantee additional markets for their finished television products, but they were then gradually convinced of the merit and effectiveness of acquiring media outlets.

Latin America.

How did the American corporate interests "replicate their domestic scheme"? Latin America provides the most obvious case. The principal actors were the three American networks plus Time-Life, Inc., with ABC being the "premier" character.[20]

There are, as usual, differences of opinion regarding the motives of the American corporations. It appears, however, that in the case of Latin America the manipulative intention on the part of American firms is much clearer. It is also the geographical area where the Marxist interpretation might find the strongest support.

When Castro came to power in Cuba, the American government and business community had grave apprehension over the possible influence of Castro's ascendency on other Latin American states and the stability

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[20]Hollywood went into Latin America in the 1950's primarily to sell feature films and television films rather than to acquire studios or television stations.

of American interests in the region. With strong political muscle

exerted, the U.S. succeeded in obtaining an agreement with Costa Rica

in 1960, whereby American businesses could be established in one Latin

American country and export goods to all other countries without paying

taxes (Bunce, 1976:80-1). That year ABC International of New York

provided funds to institute television stations in five central American

states: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua.

These nations later formed the Central American Free Trade Zone. Shortly

after, ABC announced the creation of the Central American Television

Network (CATN), organized without arrangements for live program exchange

among the constituent members. ABC owned 51% of the CATN; the ABC-

owned stations in each of the five nations would be linked with World-

vision (Bunce, 1976; Beltran and Cardona, 1977).

Worldvision was established under the auspices of ABC in 1960 with

a clear objective to invest abroad, provide technical assistance to new

stations, and line up foreign affiliates. Its operation was brought to

bear on commercial television systems where direct financial investments

in stations by ABC were not feasible. Since Worldvision had a worldwide

contract to provide the stations with the services of program buying,

sales representations, and networking, it is claimed (Bunce, 1976;

Schiller, 1969) that ABC actually acquired a control mechanism similar

to indirect ownership of foreign media outlets.

In 1968 Latin American Television International Network Organization

(LATINO) was formed by ABC-Worldvision, operating in six South American

countries. Adding to both networks in Central and South America, ABC

also had established the Arab Middle East Network, all under the auspices

of Worldvision. By the late 1960's Worldvision operated in 16 Latin

American countries and in 11 countries elsewhere (Wells, 1972:102-6),

boasting an ability to distribute almost 900 programs to 90 countries

and to reach 20 million television homes (or 60% of the world television

homes in areas with commercial television outside of the U.S.).

It is tempting to be carried away with these kinds of descriptive

accounts and similar corporate publicity materials and then to build a

scenario to exaggerate the power of Worldvision and the like. Despite

its global "networking", however, the majority of Worldvision's plans

did not materialize. It remains as a "paper" company (Tunstall, 1977).

It is today a distribution company, like any other, that handles the

selling of television programs produced by ABC and other independent

producers. It depends on foreign sales for 50% of its total earnings,

but that is about all.

What has happened since to such ventures? The poor profit picture,

complicated by mounting nationalism and the prospect of stern government

interference or nationalization measures, has made American corporate

enterprises sharply reduce or phase out their investments (Read, 1976).

ABC withdrew from many of its stations. In retrospect, the networks

took a beating in their Latin American investments and the initial

decision of the networks to enter that market was felt to be unwise

(Cardona, 1977). The decision was made during an expansionist phase

of the U.S. economy and is not likely to be repeated in the future.

It was, in short, a happy beginning with complex cartel plans for

American corporate interests but an unhappy ending with major American

investments withdrawn.

Elsewhere

Although American corporate interests did not pursue the rest of

the world with the same degree of vigor as they did in Latin America,

their hope for foreign ownership has had the same result. According to

Dizard (1966:60-4), in three years beginning with 1960, American,

British and Japanese investors put funds and credits into the television

systems of over two dozen countries throughout the Third World. In most

cases they were investing in operations just being started. In a few

cases they were putting fresh capital into existing operations. By the

end of the 1960's most of these investments seemed to have failed.

Transfer of Metropolitan Broadcasting Systems

Having examined the programs exportation and foreign ownership

patterns, we now come to the third level of generality on "media

imperialism" -- a transfer of the metropolitan broadcasting system's

styles and norms to the Third World. We shall first compare major

prototypes of broadcasting. Then we will discuss the role of American

influences in the history of amending the British system and of spreading

worldwide media commercialism. Thirdly, we shall examine the relation-

ship between European colonialism and the transfer of broadcasting norms.

Finally, the role of American multinational advertisers will be briefly

discussed.

Public Service vs. Commercial Interests

There are three major prototypes of broadcasting systems in the

world: the Communist state-controlled system as represented by the

Soviet Union, the American commercialized private-enterprise system,

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and the British BBC public-authority system.[21] The chief functions of the

Soviet television, roughly put, are to educate (to politicize, or to use

Lenin's familiar description of the press's function: "to propagate, to

agitate, and to organize"), to inform, and occasionally to entertain.

The American system is designed to entertain and to inform, to entertain,

and to educate (Hoggart, 1968).

The Soviet state-controlled television has been rationalized by

regimes in power as a true representation and guarantee of collective

popular power; it is criticized by the West, however, as a nominal

political slogan or disguise for control and interference by an oligarchical

bureaucracy (cf. Williams, 1976:68). This model has been exported to, and

found important applications in Eastern Europe (Paulu, 1974). Since

Eastern Europe does not belong to the Third World by conventional

definition, we shall not dwell on this aspect of what might potentially

be considered a socialist "media imperialism".

American broadcasting, in contrast, is a private enterprise rational-

ized by individualism and freedom from political interference by the

government. The commodity definition rather than the social or cultural

significance of media takes primacy; media are viewed as tools to sell

valuable commercial products worthy of capital investment. In addition,

the libertarian belief holds that an open market mechanism, instead of

bureaucratic agencies, would be best capable of sustaining "free competition".

This has resulted in a few large oligopolistic media corporations (see

Schiller, 1973, for example). Thus, some critics (cf. Williams, 1976:68;

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[21]We are referring to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)
essentially; the genesis of commercial television in England will be
discussed shortly. Other prototypes of broadcasting system (see Chapter
4 for the Canadian "mixed" system) can be viewed as a synthesis of
dominant models.

Hardin, 1974) have commented that the liberal rhetoric of "democracy"
is a "democracy" for capitalists and the rhetoric of "freedom" a
"freedom" of capitalist monopoly.[22]

Compared with the American system, the historical evolution of the
British Broadcasting Corporation has been deliberately designed to be
market-insulated by means of parliamentarily mandated monopoly. It
depends on and responds to a rather paternalistic definition of "public
service" rather than the wishes of a state apparatus of media barons.
Naturally this "public service" definition is not to be confused with
the state-controlled monopoly modeled on the Soviet system or other
variants found in many Third World countries. The crucial differences
are: (1) while the British definition is paternalistic, competitive
versions of "public service" are at least tolerated, if not encouraged;
(2) the British "public service", albeit elite-dominant, owes no binding
loyalty to the regime which happens to be in power; and (3) consequently,
it is not obligated to serve as spokesman for the government.

Whether this elite-defined "public service" is in tune with the
reality or the mass needs has been subject of controversy. In theory,
nevertheless, since its financial viability is almost assured by the
commission of public funds in the form of annual license fees, the BBC
model ought to be more responsive to some preconceived social goals
such as national culture or the needs of ethnic or cultural minorities.
Where there is a privatized commercial system, as in the U.S., it has
to comply with the economic imperative of advertising support. It is

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[22]Gans (1974a:48) argues: "As commercial firms, the (American) media
are freer from political pressure than they would be under government
controls" even if the governments in latter cases (e.g., France, Italy)
are democratic. On the other hand, Pool (1974a) thinks that the social vs.
private ownership debate is an "archaic nineteenth-century ideological
argument".

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more likely to be a medium that will cater to the "taste structure" of

the majority ("middle market") audience to the exclusion of minority

needs. Women and racial minorities had been safely ignored by

television in the U.S. until there was an outbreak of what Herbert Gans

(1974b) calls "The Equality Revolution" of the 1960's.[23]

While the economic organization of media always finds its natural

defenders among political conservatives in the U.S., the "majority rule"

of television content seems to have allies among liberals too. Gans

(1974a) contends, for example, that the hierarchy and characteristics

of "taste cultures" and "taste publics" are quite similar to the

hierarchy and characteristics of the American class structure. In

America, unlike Europe, high (elite) culture is politically too weak

to appear in the mass media. He argues from a "cultural relativism"

point of view, assuming that all taste cultures are of equal worth to

their taste publics. He defends what he calls "cultural democracy" and

"cultural pluralism" -- a peaceful coexistence of all possible cultures

in accordance with the distribution of taste publics in society.[24]

The relationship between technological innovation in media and the

larger social structure must be examined in a historical context.

Raymond Williams (1975:32-9) has compared the early (pre-1950's) history

of broadcasting development, noting that Americans and the British found

distinctively different solutions for adjusting the emerging broadcasting

technology to the existing governmental structure. The British had

developed a "nationalized culture" and a dominant version of "public

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[23]Cf. Singer (1973) for the role of media in changing the black American
identity.

[24]We must hasten to note, although Gans (1974a) defends the worth of
the lower-middle taste culture of television in the face of elite
criticism, he did not really address the problem about the needs of
women and racial minorities being excluded from television in the same
context.

service" due to a compact ruling class, thus enabling the establishment of an effective and independent public-authority control mechanism of broadcasting. Hence, Williams views the BBC as essentially a hard bargain struck between the government and the commercial interests on the basis of a limited separation of powers.

The Americans, however, adopted a wholly different approach. The government regulatory agency (the Federal Radio Commission which later became the Federal Communications Commission) was created only as a result of a chaotic technological consequence -- in terms of transmission interference of radio frequencies (Williams, 1975; DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach, 1975:82-99; Head, 1972; Krasnow and Longley, 1978). The major task of the FCC seemed to be maintaining an open market competition, and vigorous actions were taken occasionally to frustrate or prevent the attempts of market monopoly.[25]

By the 1950's the course governing the incorporation of the broadcasting institutions into the complex social structures seems to have settled in both the U.S. and England. The market solution encouraged the enlargement of U.S. communication capitalist interests at home and abroad following the 1950's. This posed a threat to the British model; the American expansion has had a partial effect of altering the British public-authority model to accommodate commercial elements.

Institutionalization of Media Commercialism: The American Influences

The American commercial television system can perhaps find its

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[25]The FCC forced RCA to divest its Blue Network into ABC in 1943, for example. The FCC later twice approved a proposed merger between ABC and ITT in the 1960's, but the merger did not materialize because of the threat from the Justice Department to challenge it in court (Bunce, 1976; Head, 1972).

foremost influence in the United Kingdom, Latin America, the Philippines

and Canada. More specifically, it can be examined from three aspects:

the less inclusive aspect refers to the way in which foreign media

may hinder current indigenous and intellectual activities; the second

aspect is the decline of traditional cultures and arts; and the most

inclusive aspect means the likely changes in the shared symbolic meaning

of the society.

Artistic and Intellectual Activities

The strong presence of sleek foreign media products may take away

opportunities that could otherwise be accorded to native artists,

writers and performers. Historically, for example, many promising Canadian

artists and performers have migrated to the American media centers of New

York and Hollywood, causing a serious "talent drain".

More important, native television will model the "metropolitan"

styles and norms and involve a wholesale borrowing of the Western

assumptions. In most of the Third World countries where the market

economy is weak, conditions for talent training and development are not

as competitive as those in the "metropolitan" countries. Local performers

are often compared unfavorably with the polished metropolitan "stars".

There is a genuine pressure on local talents to conform to the arbitrary

"world standard" of technical excellence which may be at variance with

native cultural needs.

The Decline of Traditional Cultures and Arts

Television as one form of popular culture was originally evolved

from the technological development and social adaptation of the West.

According to McCormack (1969), popular culture is the culture of urban,

industrial bourgeoisie; it has the widest (mass) appeal, excluding fewer

persons, and avoiding as nearly as possible any offense to major

religious, regional, occupational or sectional groups.[26] Unlike elite

culture, it does not require a great deal of training, education or

intelligence to produce it and much less to enjoy it. Unlike folk

culture, it has some degree of professional status rather than pure

amateurism.

Traditional cultures may have been on the decline as a result of the

social change process, irrespective of "media imperialism". Elite

culture (a culture of the leisure class) and folk culture (a culture of

the lower class) might have been shrinking in some Third World countries

as the industrialization process expands a new middle class. Folk

culture evolved out of an instantaneous and less structured creative

process of local and perhaps more parochial experiences, to be participated

in (rather than performed) collectively by lower classes (such as agrarian

populations) for given occasions (such as festivals). The changing

social structure and massive urban migration make its survival increasingly

difficult; this is especially so among the young and the upwardly mobile.

In contrast, elite culture was primarily carried by a small elite of

scholars and priests who often used a very literary language few could

understand. As a product of hierarchical social stratification it

required lenthy training or education for performers and consumers as

well. Some of its themes may be highly ascriptive and nonegalitarian and

thus unsuitable to modern morality, as seen, for example, in Arab and

Hindu cultures that have a fixed subservient position for women, the

young and the occupationally less favored (Tunstall, 1977). In a similar

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[26]We are indebted to McCormack (1969) and Gans (1974a) for excellent
discussions on popular culture.

vein, folk culture in some countries might also have been marked by the unequal status or class (serfs, artisans, etc.) of the society.

Television as popular culture delivers immediate consummatory pleasure with very little effort required for enjoyment on the part of the publics (McCormack, 1969). It not only reflects the aspirations, values and fantasies of the middle class (Wilensky, 1964) but also offers vicarious participation and escapism for the pent-up working class in modern society (Gans, 1974a; Katz and Foulks, 1962). It is mass-produced and mass-packaged by modern communication institutions for mass consumption; neither elite nor folk culture would be a match for it on a market test (McCormack, 1969; Rosenberg and White, 1957).[27]

It is increasingly difficult to neatly distinguish the indigenous origin of popular culture from its foreign import, or from a synthesis of both. Traditional cultures and arts may not suit the logic of modern television programming either. Modern media demand performance on an arbitrary cue, according to an entirely different rhythm; the wrenching of traditional art from the event that gives it meaning (such as festivals) may drain it of authenticity and significance (Head, in Gerbner, 1977). Additionally, traditional cultures may also have a limited repertoire built on a small number of classical themes, hardly adequate to cope with the voracious demand of television for materials day after day (Katz and Wedell, 1977).

Despite the alleged technical incompatibility, modern television

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[27]Karl Marx used to regard religion as the opium of the masses. The most avid consumers of comic books and motion pictures (Jowett, 1976) in the U.S. before and during the depression were the lower-class European immigrants who could not be fully integrated into the mainstream of society. Means for escapism and fantasies (such as alcoholism and gambling) have always existed in all societies, but televisions is probably the most sophisticated technology nowadays that performs this function.

institutions appear to have helped revive some traditional forms of arts (such as Peking opera) in Taiwan. Researchers have found elsewhere a trend toward making efforts to mold traditional sources into contemporary reference for television programming, such as the notable case of the Thai mau lum (song-story) and the telenovela in Latin America (Katz and Wedell, 1977).

To sum up, research on the likely influences of alien television programs on the decline of traditional cultures and arts is inconclusive. This subject will have to be more thoroughly researched.

Distortion of Shared Symbolic Meaning

The most inclusive manifestation of cultural invasion is concerned with the changed symbolic meanings of the society. These symbolic meanings are expressed in various structures of tastes, values, preferences, views about the society, human relations and life.[28] "Cultural invasion", in essence, refers to the externally forced changes in common thinking, feeling and believing. This macroscopic concept has received the least satisfactory codification. The literature seems to suggest three dimensions: rising frustrations; fostering of a conspicuous consumption culture; and creation of "false consciousness".

First, rising frustrations: When Lerner (1958) first projected mass media (he referred to radio and newspapers) as the "magic multipliers" of modern personality or as a tool to provide a window to the outside cosmopolitan world for the traditional citizens, television was hardly on the horizon yet. But this theorizing could be applied to television as well. During an era of "rising aspirations" in the 1950's, media were

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[28]Cf. Carey (1975; in Curran et al., 1977), Grossberg (1975) and Williams (1975) for cultural interpretation of communication.

held out as a promise in modernizing what could be called the "psychic

structure" of the Third World nations.

Then, a decade later, came an era of "rising frustrations". Lerner

(1967) was apt to warn that expectations and aspirations were easily

aroused but hard to satisfy; television, thought to be a most effective

want-creating machine, was believed to bring about mass frustrations

due to the unmet aspirations.

Yet because of the marginality of television in the Third World and

its conservative function of social maintenance, neither existing data

nor much of the current thinking about mass media social effects seem

to support such a theory (Hornik, 1977). Media arouse aspirations and

produce frustrations only insofar as other elements of the social

environment reinforce social change.

Second, "conspicuous consumption" culture: It has been argued that

foreign images present an exaggerated attractiveness for the "metropolitan"

goods and products. Many policy makers (such as David Ben-Gurion and

Golda Meir of Israel and the government of India) were uneasy with the

possibility that inflowing foreign television programs might bring

with them consumer goods that would (1) be unsuited to the level of

economic wealth in the Third World, (2) be damaging to the native indus-

tries, and (3) create a "conspicuous consumption" pattern.

A number of Asian advertising executives warned that television

advertising could be a harbinger of a commercial culture which ran

counter to the ethos and welfare of the developing countries.[29] For

example, baby food formula promotion in Asia and Africa, which slashed

the percentage of mothers breastfeeding their babies, might imply the

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[29]Advertising Age (29 November 1976) p. 20.

formula is an improvement. A children's television program as

sophisticated, seemingly harmless and widely acclaimed as <u>Sesame Street</u>,

when imported into Latin America (Beltran and Cardona, 1976: Contreras,

et al., 1976) and Italy has been criticized on grounds of ideological

persuasion.[30]

Wells (1972:137-43) made a similar but more serious charge: tele-

vision has fostered what he called a "consumerism" in Latin America at

the expense of "producerism". He argues that television in Latin America

has been functionally linked to the U.S. manufacturers through branches

of major U.S advertising agencies (cf. Beltran and Cardona, 1977). As

a result, Wells observes, it has led most governments in the region to

believe that commercial television is free whereas educational television

is a luxury, thus preventing television from being used for productive

or developmental purposes ("producerism") such as literacy, skill training,

public health projects and information dissemination.

It could have been <u>capitalism</u>, rather than the influences of tele-

vision that fostered "consumerism" and a dualistic elite-mass consumption

gap; television could have been a reinforcing but not a major causal

agent of such consumerism. It is unclear if "consumerism" is as strong

in other capitalist countries where multinational media corporations'

influence is less vigorous as would be in Latin America. The general

scenario of the linkages between television, domestic elite control and

foreign multinational corporations may have been built upon limited

cases and insufficient evidence.

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[30]Cf. Melody (1973) for an economic policy analysis on the exploitation
of children by television advertising in the U.S. It is also feared
in Italy that <u>Sesame Street</u> would bring along frivolous toys, made
after the television characters, to exploit children (<u>U.S. News and World
Report</u>, 17 April 1978, p. 44).

Third, changed value structures and fostering of "false consciousness":
The "metropolitan" television materials presumably reflect the value
structure of their societies and peoples. Even this much has been called
into question. Few producers in the U.S. seem willing to take a market
risk to produce themes that come to grips with socially significant
problems. Norman Lear, a Hollywood television producer, remarked that
the comedies of the 1950's and 1960's were saying the following
messages: no race problems, no economic concern, no trouble in Vietnam,
equality of medical attention, no problems with the poor and the elderly,
and absolute harmony of family relations.[31]

It is felt that much of these media-created, socially irrelevant
images of the "metropolitan" countries, when exported overseas, could
be absorbed in the recipient culture, resulting in changes in the struc-
tures of tastes in food, clothing, aesthetic appreciation, native
customs, preferences for human relations (such as the family system).
In some Asian cultures, for example, Coca Cola and coffee drinking have
become a status symbol among the urban sector, making the native-grown
tea look inferior. While rock music claims increasingly more popularity
than native songs, long hair as symbolized by the American Hippies of the
1960's could be idealized by some youth abroad as a desirable way to
"beat the system" or to "seek personal identity".[32] Irish school children
regarded London as their national capital.[33] School children in Taiwan
named a fictionalized cavalier (local equivalent of Robin Hood) in a
popular puppet show as the "most admirable national hero" (T. Lee, 1975:

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[31]Detroit Free Press, TV Book (29 January 1978) p. 2

[32]Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan have banned telefilms that contain
long hair.

[33]New York Times (4 December 1975)

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122); it makes educators there increasingly worried that the American-made bald and flamboyant television detective, Kojak, may someday replace historical Chinese figures as the most recognized hero among children (Hsu, 1977).

What Lazarsfeld and Merton (1949) warned of the "narcotizing dysfunction" of the media three decades ago may still aptly describe much of the contemporary circumstances in many Third World nations. Neo-Marxists (Marcuse, 1969; Nordenstreng and Varis, 1973) accused the media (television specifically) of providing a "false consciousness" -- a spurious sense of well-being and catharsis -- to the vast segment of the politically and economically disadvantaged (oppressed) population. Barnet and Muller (1975:175-7) have cited research to show that the poor in Peru embraced the television culture and ethos because it offered new fantasies that permitted escape from the class struggle of their country. Furthermore, the marginal members of the society in Venezuela (those who are barely hanging on) have "lost their perception of class differences"; happiness, to them, meant the ability and luck to get access to, and consume, products advertised on television. Johnson's wax conducted a survey of marginals and found that a common reaction in hovels with dirt floors was "I don't have a floor to wax, but I can buy the wax if I want to."

The complaints of media critics and intellectuals about the imported American programs have not necessarily been shared by the general public in many countries. The French, while patronizing about the American culture, show great affection for American television fare. The Japanese perceive the imported American programs as showing more equal -- thus more humane and moral -- relationships between men and women, between

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bosses and workers. They even reacted favorably to "Roots", a program tracing the tortuous history of American black slavery; instead of citicizing American society for having allowed slavery, they praised the U.S. for its honesty in exposing such cruelty.[34] It has reportedly sparked a further examination of Japan's internal problems in dealing with Koreans and other minority groups.

While anecdotes and scattered research are available it is obviously difficult to gauge the exact pattern and magnitude of alien media "invasion". Research findings on television social effects are generally inconclusive.

Debates are expected to continue. Many questions do not appear to be answerable in light of the present data. The following questions deserve serious research in the future:

1. To what extent and in what ways do the alien television programs distort or affect the shared symbolic meanings of the adopting societies?

2. What share do the alien media products play, compared to the general social change process, in changing symbolic meaning structure -- or in what ways do the two factors interact?

3. In many Asian and most African countries where television is a luxury of the few, how do the alien television materials influence such symbolic meaning? What differences do they make in Asia and Africa, compared with Latin America where television is more widely available?

4. How does this altered symbolic structure fit into the whole "cultural imperialism" theme? What specific rather than general and ambiguous cultural significance does it have to the recipient nations?

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[34]U.S. News and World Report (17 April 1978) p. 44. Tunstall (1977) also argues that Hollywood products enjoy popularity among Indian and Arab cultures for displaying a more egalitarian value between men and women, the elder and the young.

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Television Drama - Myth Exported

by

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Introduction.

For three years during the 1960's I resided in Borneo in East

Malaysia mong native peoples, Dayaks who lived in long houses, bathed in

the river and wore gold loops of enormous size and weight in their ears.

Our neighbors were nomadic tribes which roamed the virgin forest gather-

ing berries and hunting wild boars. It was reported that one such tribe

communicated by whistling; not engaging in cooperative agricultural

endeavors, they appeared to have no need for an elaborate linguistic

repertoire.

I have learned recently that television is to be introduced into

Borneo. Indeed, that momentous event may have occurred already. As in

other countries of the developing world, East Malaysia will import

much of their programming from the West, primarily the United States.

Imagine my Dayak friends and perhaps too their nomadic neighbors sitting

down each week to watch the exploits of Kojak and the domestic machinations

of the Ewing family from Dallas.

This incongruous situation has led me to reflect upon the ultimate

societal impact of television. Social impact, of course, is a vaguely

defined category. It suggests a speculative macro-approach of rather

broad conceptualizations which transcend an interest in specific communi-

cation research topics such as special populations, viewing patterns and

viewers' predispositions. In the big picture approach primary attention

is placed upon media content, cultural configurations and patterns of

industry organization (Gerbner, 1970).

Social Impact: Content, Culture, Economics:

Social impact is best understood as the result or effect of these interrelated determinants, content, culture and economics operating to create a cultural product. Life art, myth and language, the fictional content of the mass media determines and is determined by culture. Cultural products both reflect and shape the society from which they ensue.

An adequate analysis of cultural production must include also a consideration of the economic and organizational arrangements which create and sustain a demand for these products within a society.

This tripartite schema has been applied to the cultural context of the United States by George Gerbner in his analysis of violence (1970). A brief outline of Gerbner's theoretical application will illustrate the interaction of these elements in a particular society.

In detailed studies of televised drama, Gerbner found that violence was integral to most plots; that both good guys and bad guys displayed violent behavior; and, that good violent characters were distinguished by their ability to employ efficient, cool-headed logic. Bad violent characters, on the other hand, were bunglers who displayed irrational thought.

According to Gerbner, violence symbolically represents and maintains power relations within American society. White versus Black and foreign, old versus young, male versus female -- and, the winner, the most powerful is the one who is logical, efficient and non-emotional. Not surprisingly in the world of TV drama, that power resides with the young white male.

Such fictional content bears a definite interpretable relationship

to actual societal conditions. In real life as on television, the young white male who displays qualities of efficiency and logic is the winner. Television drama reflects and cultivates cultural beliefs.

Television drama cannot be analyzed, however, solely in cultural terms. As a product of culture it exists within the framework of economic structure and is subject to the effects of marketing and consumption patterns.

"Institutional compulsions to present life in salable packages exploit existing assumptions," says Gerbner (1970, p. 80). And, the most profitable package in television is the series form because it is cost-effective. The continuity of characters, settings and plot structures from episode to episode preclude the necessity of gearing up for each new production. The basic ingredients remain week after week so that producers need only to invent and insert another dilemma to be resolved in the same manner as in previous episodes.

The continuity, the characteristic weekly reoccurrence of the same people, places and forms of resolution furthermore, establish in the "audience a demand for the constantly renewed supply" (Hall, 1978). By habituating the audience, the series holds the audience, and in this way becomes the most profitable and consequently the most dominant form of television dramatic production.

It is necessary then to ask, what is the effect of this, the most prevalent form on the televised content. I will explore this point further later on. For now, I will mention only that the repetitive nature of the series controls the amount of change and development presented. The elements are constantly reworked within the confines of the formulaic structure so that resolutions tend to support existing

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beliefs and assumptions of the culture which produced the series.

Returning to Gerbner for an example of this point: the white male's combination of violence and logic is opposed to the non-white male or female's disorganized intuition in 1974 as in 1967 despite the unfolding of the Civil Rights and Women's Liberation Movements.

To summarize: the social impact of television results from a dialectical relationship between content and culture; economic structure coincides with the structure of one form of television production, making that form dominant; the dominant form then intersects the culture/content level of determination, impacting upon both.

This schema suggests an in-depth analysis of that most dominant form, the televised series. It is my contention that these dramatic programs are a noteworthy instance of television content which flows to and from the culture because they represent modern American mythology (Hall, 1978).

Myth as many have noted is an "extremely complex cultural reality which can be approached and interpreted from various and complimentary viewpoints" (Eliade, 1975). I will borrow from several of these perspectives to show how the televised serial constitutes modern mythology in terms of its formal characteristics and its functions. I will then consider, from a social impact view, the implications of exporting this mythology intact to developing countries.

Exemplary Heroes and Primordial Time.

One of the essential marks of mythical behavior is described by Eliade as a break from secular or profane time into illo tempore, a glorious primordial time. This experience for the man of archaic societies is manifested in a ritualistic repetition of Cosmogonic myths which represent the periodical recovery of the past. In order to re-enter

this sacred time, ancient man recounted the adventures or imitated

exemplary acts of a mythic hero (1957).

Modern man is denied this mythical experience. For him there is

no possibility of continuously re-entering a primordial time since

history is conceived of as a direct and irreversible progression, and

yet, the obscure desire "to break through the homogeneity of time"

persists (Eliade, 1957).

To fulfill that desire, American citizens engage in a ritual

whereby they escape from secular time into an hour of magico-religious

time of heightened intensity. Each week at a prescribed hour, they

watch their favorite television series, and in so doing they break with

the secular duration of everyday existence and share with millions of

other individuals in a primordial time. Situated thus in a qualitatively

different temporal rhythm, these many Americans relive the cyclic

return of their heroes.

As in primitive cultures, these televised heroes present exemplary

models for the whole society. Steve McGarrit, Kojak and Columbo all

embody the characteristics required for success in America.

Modern man, like archaic man imitates the heroes in order to realize

the same success. By adopting the mannerism and aping the traits of

the actors in ancient myth or television drama, one can participate in

their presence. The merchandising of series -- generated paraphernalia

capitalizes on this desire to be with one's hero. The possession of a

Kojak lollypop or a Columbo raincoat is tantamount to being at once with

and similar to the actual personage.

Like mythical heroes, the television characters are both real and

superreal. They are just enough like ordinary people to be accessible

for imitation and yet they are preternatural, beyond reach. In fact, the actual person becomes indistinguishable from his/her heroic characterization in the series. In news reports of off-camera behavior, television stars may be referred to by their stage names; while in reports of the upcoming fictional episodes these stage names are replaced by the star's real name.

Sometimes the whole fictional world of the series "invades the terrain of actuality" (Veron, 1978). For example, recall when news reporters speculated upon the emminent capture of The Fugitive.

The Real and the Mythic.

Indeed, it is this relationship between the fictional universe of the series and the real world depicted which most approximates mythology. The series is a continuing story about actual people, events and circumstances. It is designed for and delivered to popular consciousness by way of the medium which historically and technologically has the capacity to depict reality. Likewise, myths are tales which unveil the structures of reality for a mass of people.

As narrative representations, both the stories of the series and the stories of myth are vehicles of transformation between the deep structure of reality and the surface structure of mythology. Herein lies the power of the series. "There must be enough of the stuff of everyday life to be instantly recognizable as how life is: at the same time, the pleasure arises from how these elements are woven, constructed and retransformed into the mythic world of the series. It is the series as a form which operates these transformations..." (Hall, 1978, p. 246).

Characters, settings and themes of the series are grounded in reality and simultaneously go beyond what is ordinarily natural. Every

effort is made to present life as it is and yet to be larger than life. The opening credits of any series, say "Dallas" or "Hawaii Five-O", meticulously depict a real locality but like a travelogue, they look more glamorous and inviting than in actuality. The characters are contemporaries who display behaviour and recite dialogue from everyday experience, even though they appear to be more complicated and interesting than next door neighbors. The themes appear to involve universal struggles, although they are actually the day to day conflicts of real life.

In short, the audience recognizes and identifies with the real conditions of existence which make up the content of the series and of myth. Both of these narrative forms serve to fulfill the "expectancy of the familiar" but their power to command and hold audience derives from the manner in which they transform the elementary structures of real life into the fictional world of mythology.

The mythical universe is a harmonious totality where history is suspended and real life contradictions exist as formal oppositions. Mythical tales and the stories of television drama reveal the harmony of this world by capturing historical time and historical reality in a repetitious inevitable cycle of reoccurrence; and by magically resolving the binary opposites.

It is the form of the series/myth which effects these transformations and creates the mythical world. The cyclical, repetitive structure of the television series presents real life and time as endlessly continuous. The weekly return of the characters to their appointed places is reenacted in the ritual behavior of the audience. Historical time and reality are at once suspended and captured by the continuity of the series (Hall, 1978).

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It is a magical, rewarding hour in which recognizable heroes who embody long-established cultural values resolve contradictory aspects of real life. It is a relatively simple, but somewhat realistic, world which the series presents. Characters and themes are depicted as symbolic recreations of ancient and universal oppositions which are resolved by the formal reworking of the series structure.

By way of example, recall Gerbner's study of violence. Interpreting those findings from a treatment of television drama as myth, one would find that the white male and the non-white male (or female) are binary opposites, representing in Levy'Strauss' terms culture and nature. The series/myth resolves that contradiction by endowing culture (white male) with the capacity to employ violence in a logical and efficient manner.

The series then, like all myths, represents an attempt to mediate universal oppositions. The resolution, however, is culture specific, and serves as an adaptive response to conflict for members of the culture which produced the myth. In American society, logic plus violence becomes the winning combination and is thereby extolled as a value-assumption.

Form and Content.

As we have seen, myths suspend historical time so that the resolutions embodying value -- assumptions become true for all time for a particular culture. They support existing beliefs, provide a formalized statement of ultimate value-attitudes and afford a means for the transmission of much of the culture. In so doing, "they promote social solidarity, produce cultural continuity and stabilize the society" (Kluckhohn, 1966, p. 41). This of course, is the dialectic between

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the myth of television drama and the culture from which it ensues.

Modern societies, however, are not static so that the corpus of myths which represent these societies must be subject to both a diachronic and synchronic analysis. Such an analysis will show that the invariant elements of the series structure control the historically dynamic content of real life. The series takes the raw material of everyday existence and celebrates its ordinariness by transferring the real into the mythic.

This recomposed mythic reality has a powerful attraction because it represents an ideal picture of the culture existing unchanged in a cycle of repetitions. Historical change and development become harnessed to the present reality of daily life. As pointed out earlier, social change movements such as civil rights and women's liberation are treated as another variant in the formal reworking of the series form. In television drama, for example, females remain the embodiment of nature opposed to culture even though their sphere of activity may have changed from the home to the workplace.

As myth, the series becomes a "fixed point in a world of bewildering change and disappointment" (Kluckhohn, 1966, p. 43). It is the "assent to common experience which reinforces 'what is' " (Hall, 1978, p. 249).

Series and Myth Exported.

Before discussing the implications of imposing mythology onto developing countries by way of televised dramatic series, it may be helpful to review the conclusions reached thus far:

1. The series is the dominant form of television production.

2. The economics of production support this position of dominance.

3. The content of the series both reflects and cultivates the culture of origin.

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4. The series as a structure controls that content, disallowing histori-
cal change and development.

The series form dominates the airwaves not only in the United States,
but all over the world as well. The importation of the American tele-
vision series has been well documented. Since these programs, called
"buy-ins", are so much cheaper to produce, countries have been forced
to subscribe to quota systems in order to stimulate domestic production.

Domestic production, however, in order to compete successfully
against foreign imports, is forced to assimilate and imitate their foreign
competitors. The series, therefore, is adopted internationally. The
result of this unequal exchange is that developing countries import both
the American produced series form and its content (Kojak) as well as the
series as a form.

Given this situation, what are the implications of importing a
cultural product and a cultural form?

Consider the first option, the introduction of a "buy-in", an
American produced series. As we have seen, the media content is in a
dialectical relationship to the culture from which it flows. This being
especially the case with the series since it represents mythology.
Although the themes of the series and myth involve universal problems,
the resolutions embodying value-assumptions are culture specific. Indeed
the pragmatic function of myth is to support existing beliefs with the
end result of achieving social integration.

Developing countries are commonly emerging from a legacy of
imperialism and attempting to coalesce minorities so as to become
socially cohesive nation-states. They are, therefore, dependent upon
traditional myth to prolong their authentic identity, and yet they are

importing another nation's mythology by way of television. How does

violence accompanied by cool-headed logic relate to the cultural context

and mode of being for the Dayaks of Borneo?

To bypass this dilemma, developing countries attempt to control the

importation of foreign-made programs; but, as we have seen they continue

to import the form if not the content. Local expression is thus inserted

into the basic form of the series.

That structure, however, has direct impact upon the content

presented -- it harnesses historical reality and presents a mythic world

that does not change. Such is the situation in countries which are

described as changing, reaching toward the ultimate goal of modernization.

Indeed, the introduction of broadcasting is one measure of the level of

development.

Broadcasting, primarily television, is promoted as the means to

both cultural integration and modernization, when actually as I have

suggested the end result may be just the opposite.

Such complicated effects are the stuff of television's ultimate

societal impact and it suggests, I think, new avenues for resarch, both

domestically and internationally.

The "uses and gratifications" approach has no place in this schema.

The effects of television cannot be analyzed as the result of broad

correlations between a set of universal, psychological "needs" and a

set of universal "satisfactions" which the programs supply. Audiences

are not given sociologically, they are constructed as the supports for

the ideological discourses which flow from television content and which

reflect the culture of that audience (Hall, 1978). For example, it is

the reality of the televised series which establishes a bond between the

spectator and the unfolding drama. "It is through the structure of recognitions that the spectator is hailed, interpollated as the center of the story" (Hall, 1978, p. 248).

The audience supports the series with its attention because, like myth, the ideological content depicts everyday life, and as it elevates that reality to the realm of the mythic, it reinforces what is and will ever be for these individuals.

What can we say then about the audience in a developing nation? If we posit universal needs which are universally satisfied by television, we may promote one-worldism, but we will know nothing about how television impacts on individuals as members of a culture.

We must look instead first to the content of the programs as a reflection and cultivation of cultural belief, as a mythology which constructs its audience. (We may dispense for the while with economic considerations because, as we have seen, they are given. The economics of production create and sustain the dominant form.)

This perspective suggests the following heuristic questions:

1. Since television series and mythology perform similar functions, what are the consequences of imposing these cultural forms on another society? Can both modernization and the maintenacne of traditional culture be realized along with the introduction of television?

2. Since televised dramatic content arises out of and represents the society of origin, how is that content incorporated into a different culture? Are the value-attitudes and patterns of normative behavior assimilated? What systematic changes can be discerned?

3. Since the structure of the series is imported and since that structure controls content, can new forms of television production,

more appropriate to the goals of developing countries be designed (and be made profitable)? Can the historically dynamic and emergent aspects of a developing nation's life be translated into television terms?

Television is pervasive, it flows to and from cultures the world over. To study the ultimate impact of this omnipresent technology requires a macro-level approach as is presently being proposed by George Gerbner. Gerbner deals with the components of the myth, the images and symbols in television content. What I am suggesting is an extension of that work which considers the whole mythology of a culture coming to life on a television screen.

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Television and Human Fantasy Life: Implications
for the Developing World

by

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Introduction

Global communications began as a conception of Western minds.

Global television, as a reality, bears the unmistakable image of the

mentality that fostered it.   Global television in the present moment

is for the most part Western television and in large measure American

television.   Thus, it has become a truism that the spread of television

technology and programming has occurred under the influence of Western

ideology.

More specifically, television taken in the global sense is the

offspring of three basic assumptions.   John Crossan has identified

these assumptions, which he calls the "master-claims" of the Western

world:

1)   The superiority of scientific language over creative language

2)   The inevitability of progress

3)   The existence of an extramental reality (extrinsic to vision,

imagination, and intellect) over which humans are gaining

objective knowledge and disciplined control.

Crossan challenges all three postulates in his thesis "that art

and science, or poetic intuition and scientific achievement, are not

two simultaneous and separate ways of knowing but two successive and

connected moments of all human knowledge; that there is continual

evolutionary change but no overall evolutionary progress: and that

'reality' is the world we create in and by our language and our story so that what is 'out there', apart from our imagination and without our language... is unknowable" (7, p. 40). With some interpretation, we can discover the implications of the Western world's master-claims and recent challenges to them for the growth of television in the developing world.

Crossan's first postulate may be expanded somewhat to include the bias in favor of linear thought processes over non-linear, holistic modes of thought. The latter are referred to later in this paper as functions primarily of right-brain processing, as distinguished from left-brain, or linear, functions. Many observers -- Ornstein (36), Jaynes (22), McLuhan (27), Jung (24) -- have noted that Western cultures foster left-brain functions at the expense of right-brain functions. In the context of national development, the industrialized, Western mind has tended to identify non-linear modes of thought with Eastern cultures and with "primitive" societies regardless of their geographical locations. Progress, then, is equated with abandoning religious and artistic "fictions" in favor of scientific "reality", the inevitable domain of modernism.

Communications technology has become the emblem of modernity for much of the developing world. One need only look at a sampling of postage stamps -- pictures of satellites, earth stations, or transmitters proudly displayed on letters from Indian, Behrein, or the Ryukyu Islands -- to know that this is the case. Particularly where television is concerned, the wholesale importation of the technology also has meant the wholesale importation of programming and

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advertisements created by, or under the direct influence of, Americans. Thus, modernization often has meant the adoption of culture and ideology not necessarily congruent with traditional ideologies and cultures.

The chief significance of that fact for this analysis derives from the critical role of culture (language and story, in Crossan's terms) in the construction of reality. The following review of some physiological dimensions of human information processing substantiates the notion that culture defines reality. More importantly, however, this study focuses on the information processing that occurs in dreams and, by reviewing several similarities between television viewing and dreaming, raises questions about television's possible influence on perception, cognition, and creativity. This examination of two sources of fantasy -- television and dreaming -- suggests reasons why both need to be taken seriously, especially when the needs of developing areas of the world are considered.

The Biological Dream Machine

In appearance, the brain, as R.L. Gregory (16, p. 67) describes it, resembles nothing so much as "a lump of porridge". In function, it is a network of neurons whose traffic is electrical pulses. Its basic mode of operation is binary, with the sense receptors serving as encoding terminals that convert light, sound, tactile, and olfactory sensations into a code of modulated pulses. Other concepts of information science -- memory, feedback, monitors, entropy, noise, and redundance -- are applied to the functioning of the brain as easily. Examples of such applications from various scientific disciplines include Gregory (16), Wooldridge (53), Wright (54), Eccles (12), Heller (20), and Sagan (40).

The human brain contains two asymmetrical hemispheres, whose

asymmetry appears to be "hard-wired" rather than learned. The left,

or dominant, hemisphere contains the speech centers in almost all

(95-98%) humans. The asymmetry is peculiar to humans and has been

detected even in fetuses (Eccles, 12, p. 207). Eccles and others surmise

that the neuronal structure of the speech areas is specialized for the

unique coding and decoding of linguistic performance. The right hemi-

sphere is responsible primarily for spatial construction, simple

language comrehension, and nonverbal ideation (Sperry, 47).

Communication between the hemispheres occurs through the corpus

callosum, a bundle of about two hundred million fibers firing at an

average frequency of twenty impulses a second and with the capacity for

four billion impulses a second (Eccles, 12, p. 209). Because it lacks

the speech capacity, the right hemisphere is always, so to speak,

unconscious, relying almost exclusively upon the corpus callosum for

linkage to the articulate, conscious self. Ecles (12, p. 221)

summarizes the performance of the two hemispheres as follows. The

dominant hemisphere is responsible for liaison to consciousness, verbal

behavior, linguistic description, ideation, conceptual similarities,

analysis over time, analysis of detail, arithmetical and computer-like

functions. The minor hemisphere has no such liaison to consciousness,

is almost nonverbal, and is responsible for musical, pictorial and

pattern sense, visual similarities, synthesis over time, holistic per-

ceptions, images, geometric and spatial functions. Like the computer,

the brain is capable of carrying on separate operations simultaneously,

as evidenced by the parallel processing carried on by the various per-

ceptual systems and by the conscious and unconscious minds (Jaynes, 22

p. 392).

The application of the cybernetic analogy to the brain requires
a note about two pitfalls inherent in that exercise. First, to return
to Gregory's lump of porridge, the brain's functions are not easily
deduced from its structure. Unlike the body's mechanical systems, in
which the bones of the limbs resemble the levers that they are, for
example, the brain's functions are not evident in its visible structure.
Rather as Gregory (16, p. 67) suggests, we must deduce functions from
design principles of the system. Any mechanical model, including the
computer, is drastically simpler than the human nervous system, whose
intermixtures of analogue and digital operations still contains many
secrets. Some features of the cybernetic analogy are metaphoric, and
they should not be mistaken for literal correspondence.

On the other hand, our knowledge of specific brain structures and
their functions now is increasing at a considerable pace. For example,
Mishkin (31) and his colleagues from the National Institutes of Health
recently reported that they have succeeded in mapping the entire visual
system -- from stimulus, to analysis, to reaction -- at work in monkeys.
Pursuing work begun by Olds, Routtenberg (39) and his associates at
Northwestern University have traced the brain's reward system from the
forebrain pleasure centers Olds discovered to areas deep in the brain
stem and far forward in the cortex of the frontal lobe of the cerebrum.
Using histofluorescent micrographs of brain tissue to reveal anatomical
locations of chemical substances, Routtenberg has charted the brain
pathways of self-stimulation as explicitly as well-known sensory and motor
systems have been charted in the past.

A second pitfall in the application of the cybernetic analogy to

the human brain is inherent in the proven usefulness of the analogy. The existence of the computer and the application of systems analysis to the brain have accelerated learning about the brain impressively. The cybernetic analogy is so appealing, however, that the temptation is to be satisfied with it, convincing ourselves that the appropriate model for that reality "out there" has been found. Because any theory and the language it uses are value-laden, the theory to some degree shapes the reality it aims to describe. Failing to nurture healthy skepticism, then, we put ourselves in danger of becoming a closed system, as it were, incapable of receiving new input and subject to uncontrolled entropy.

With these careats dutifully noted, we may now embark on the review of dreams from the mechanistic point of view. Exercising the cybernetic analogy, Dewan (10) offers the hypothesis that the purpose of sleep is to program or reprogram the brain. Extending this hypothesis, Dewan sees dreaming as the sorting (or addressing) of memories, as well as motor and perceptual sub-routines with respect to drives and goals, by using labels provided by feelings associated with the memories. Breger (4, p. 19) sees dreams as "one output of particular memory systems operating under the guidance of programs peculiar to sleep." Other outputs listed by Breger are images, thoughts, and feelings, and "a variety of psychophysiological reactions. The quality of dreams, that is, their creative and sometimes bizarre nature, is due to the special programs guiding the internal transformations and output of the memory systems during sleep." The special programs guiding the brain's activity during dreaming sleep allow a much freer combination of memory elements (associations) and idiosyncratic psychological elements than do the programs guiding waking thought or non-dreaming sleep.

Laying the analogy aside for a moment, let us get specific about
the physiological characteristics of dream sleep, which, as Snyder
(44, p. 124) indicates, is a universal and fundamental characteristic
of mammalian life. Jones (23, p. 119) proposes that dreams be viewed as
the "augmentative response of the human psyche to the distinctive neuro-
physiological conditions of the mammalian D-state". The physiological
characteristics of the dream state as summarized by Jones (23, p. 1)
are:

(1) rapid conjugate eye movements,

(2) a distinctive low voltage desynchronized cortical EEG pattern,

(3) increased variability in respiration rate,

(4) increased varability in pulse rate,

(5) increased blood pressure,

(6) decreased muscle tonus,

(7) high brain temperature and metabolic rate,

(8) increased variability in arousal threshold,

(9) full or partial penile erection in males, and

(10) dreaming.

Electrically, Rapid Eye Movement (REM) sleep, or desynchronized (D-state)
sleep, is as different from non-REM sleep as it is from the waking state,
a distinction which leads to the D-state's designation as a third basic
form of human existence.

Considered electroencephalographically, wakefulness is characterized
by the production of alpha waves. Non-REM sleep, or "thinking sleep",
is characterized by rhythmic variations around a relatively stable base
line. REM sleep is much more erratic. Snyder, Hobson, Morrison, and
Goldfrank (45, p. 419) report that variations in systolic blood pressure,

respiratory rate, and pulse rate during non-REM sleep also oscillate

fairly regularly around a relatively stable base line. The changes

in these variables during REM sleep are entirely different, sometimes

fluctuating widely and erratically in "unpredictable fugues" of activity

similar to the bursts of eye movements that give REM-sleep its name.

The intense and erratic electrical and physiological activity that

accompanies (or is) dreaming occurs about every ninety minutes through

a period of sleep and lasts for increasingly longer time periods (ranging

from about five minutes to about forty-five minutes), the longest period

occurring when the body is most fully rested and about to re-enter the

waking state.

In the brain itself, dreaming assumes a sensory quality due to the

formal characteristics of the dream. These characteristics are noted by

Ullman (51, p. 19):

> At the time the dream is occurring the brain is
> in a state of partial arousal in response to the
> initial corticopetal impulses mediated through
> the reticular activating system; and its efferent
> system is oriented not to somatic efferents
> mediating activity in the external world, but to
> corticofugal efferents to the reticular system
> influencing the threshold in that system. The
> cortex in this sense becomes another source of
> afferent stimuli feeding into the reticular
> system, along with all the other afferent stimuli
> impinging upon this system. It is in conjunction
> with this mode of functioning, namely, where the
> cortex provides a source of afferent stimuli,
> afferent to the reticular activating system,
> that the formal characteristics of the dream assume
> an afferent or sensory quality.

Because these internal stimuli are coded in the same language as inputs

from the external world, the reticular activating system (which is

reponsible for initiating and maintaining wakefulness, introspection,

and attention) responds to them in the same way as it does to sensory data. This accounts for the vivid sensory quality of dreams as they are experienced by the dreamer.

Experientially, then, dreams consistently manifest certain characteristics. They are primarily visual experiences created by neural activity encoded to represent objects and patterns. In an elaborate experiment, Roffwarg (38) and his associates correlated reports of where subjects said they were "looking" while dreaming with the directions of rapid eye movements during each dream. The principal finding of that research revealed that it is "possible to construct highly accurate predictions of the direction, quantity, and sequence of REM's from descriptions of the vividly recalled terminal images of dream scenes. It appears that each eyeball deflection of the REM's is coincident with a subjective shift of gaze of the dreamer 'viewing' his hallucinated field of vision" (p. 250). The encoding complexity necessary to produce the dream's hallucinations is staggering when one considers that tens of millions of nerve cells are involved in recalling even the simplest memory, the engram (Eccles, 12, p. 202). It is no wonder that it requires an impressive electrical storm to create the immensely varied visual experiences to which we are treated nightly. Moreover, dreams are experienced in color, a phenomenon which accounts for some of the encoding complexity.

In dreams, experience is concrete, objects being wholly particular and not representative of categories; and they are experienced in action (Jones, 23, pp 153, 166). Dreams range from the highly dramatic to the prosaic. Laboratory studies (Hall & Van de Castle, 18, and Snyder,

Karcan, Tharp, & Scott, 46, for example) in which subjects are awakened

from the D-state and asked to recall their dreams, show a preponderance

of boring dreams in the laboratory may be attributed to the fact that

laboratory subjects recall almost all of their dreams (up to 90%),

while under normal circumstances they remember only the most dramatic

dreams, which may or may not be fewer in number. In any case, dream

recall fades quickly. In the laboratory, researchers have a maximum of

ten minutes after a period of REM-sleep to awaken a subject to get a

report of dream recall (Dement & Wolpert, 9).

Dreams occur in sequences and tend to be formulaic in design.

Trosman, Rechtschaffen, Offenkrantz, and Wolpert (50), for example,

collected 106 dreams from 2 subjects in the course of 32 nights. One

conclusion of the study was that a direct relationship among the mani-

fest contents in the dreams of a night was rarely noted.

> The right hemisphere is a very highly developed
> brain except that it cannot express itself in
> language; it is not able to disclose any experience
> of consciousness that we can recognize. [R.W.]
> Sperry postulates that there is another consciousness
> in the right hemisphere, but that its existence
> is obscured by its lack of expressive language.
> On the other hand, the left hemisphere has a normal
> linguistic performance so it can be recognized as
> being associated with the prior existence of the
> ego or the self with all the memories of the past
> before the commissural section. On this view
> there has been split off from the talking self
> a nontalking self which can't communicate by language,
> so it is there but mute, or aphasic.

Whether the active dominant hemisphere of the waking state (the

analytical, linear-processing, left hemisphere) suppresses the fantastic,

synthetical, simultaneous-processing right hemisphere because the former

is incapable of linguistically encoding the right hemisphere's experiences,

or because the intense and erratic brainwave activity of the right

hemisphere in dreaming would simply overload the left hemisphere's

circuitry, is not known. In dreams, however, the so-called minor hemi-

sphere seems to have free rein to do its work, and, in Sagan's words,

"the gazelles and dragons begin to stir" (40, p. 145).

Regarding the biological purpose of dreaming there is less agreement

than there is about the process of dreaming. Speculations as to the

purpose of dreams include Dement's (8) idea that one purpose might be to

clear the nervous system of an endogenous (internally produced) metabolite

deposited by daily activities, Weiss's (52) notion that the D-state may

serve to reorganize neuronal firing patterns disorganized during sleep,

and Ephron and Carrington's (13) suggestion that dream sleep provides

opportunities for recovery from the sensory deprivation of sleep (a

homeostatic function). Berger (3) suggests that the D-state provides

a mechanism for establishing neuromuscular pathways serving binocularly

coordinated eye movements. This mechanism periodically innervates the

oculomotor system in order to maintain depth perception in subsequent

wakefulnes.

Roffwarg, Muzio, and Dement (37) have argued that dreaming provides

a source of endogenous cortical stimulation in order to supplement the

indadequate sensory stimulation received in the brief waking periods

of fetuses and infants. It is evident that the D-state has some

developmental function because children spend far more time in the

D-state than do adults. Infants spend approximately fifty per cent of

their sleep-time in the D-state. This percentage decreases until, by

the age of sixty, humans spend only about fifteen per cent of their

sleep-time in the D-state (Jones, 23, pp 26-27).

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Research into the biological process of the D-state continues,
though empirical connections between the biology of dreaming and the
psychology of dreaming are not firmly established. Adapting Lewin's
notion of the "dream screen", Snyder (p. 43) summarizes the state of
affairs in dream research, which on this point has changed little in
ten years since Snyder wrote:

> I can conceive that in some sense the primitive
> biological process of the REM state periodically
> provides the "energy" to illuminate the screen as
> well as the projector mechanism to crank the film,
> and possibly the film itself; but that, for reasons
> we cannot yet comprehend, all of this would go on
> regardless of whether the film contained the
> meaningful images we call dreams. For physiological
> answers to such questions as how the scripts of
> dreams are written, or the film produced, or why
> the entire process takes place, we can only wait
> hopefully and expectantly, but still very much in
> the dark.

Despite recent developments such as Hobson and McCarley's (21) location
of the reticular formations that orchestrate forebrain activation,
blockading of outside input, motor input, oculomotor activity, and pro-
vision of the forebrain with neurologically generated information,
precise connections between neurogiological activity in the brain and
dream content are yet to be delineated. Nonethless, Jones' (23, pp 130-31)
synthesis of biological and psychological functions leads him to the
reasonable suggestion that during sleep the conscious mind, relieved of
extrapsychic suggestion, is obliged (for whatever reason) to attend to the
intensified intrapsychic activity of the D-state, an idea which accounts
for the hyperconscious quality of dreaming and for its "peculiar admixture
of discursive and presentational symbolic forms."

To put such an idea into the context of hemispheric asymmetry, we

might say that the conscious, verbal, rational left hemisphere is influenced by the unconscious, visual, intuitive, right hemisphere much more intensely, or at least more overtly, in the D-state than it is in the waking state. Of course, even in a waking state, the left brain needs the right brain for what Nebes (33, p. 104) describes as "the neural basis for our ability to take the fragmentary sensory information we receive and construct from it a coherent concept of the spatial organization of the outwide world - a sort of cognitive spatial map by which we plan our actions."

Jerome Bruner (6) characterizes the relationship as the left hand (controlled by the right hemisphere) teaching the right hand (controlled by the left hemisphere), or intuition proposing things that the reason may test. More recently, Jaynes (22) had argued (from a very different point of view) for the importance of the sense of visual space to consciousness, calling it "the very rich ground and fabric of consciousness" (p. 269). The dream is, thus a unique mechanism for the conscious mind's assessing the unconscious for help in problem-solving. As Breger (4, p. 25) puts it, dreams serve an adaptive function by providing conditions that allow for the integration of aroused memory material not so readily integrated in a waking state: "These conditions would consist of the greater availability of memory material (stores information), the greater fluidity of associational processes, the freedom from 'critical' processing for social acceptability, and, in general, a greater variety of means of manipulating symbols or process and transforming the stored information. The availability of these means would allow the integration of material; they would represent, in effect the creative opening up of the memory systems." As Breger points out, dreams are in this way

similar to works of art and jokes, in which a creative "solution"
arises from a state of emotional concentration.

The creative process often is described as having three basic
stages. Two of these stages are intensely conscious, characterized by
Ghiselin (14) as preliminary labor without which significant creative
activity cannot occur, and the stage of verification, correction, and
revision that completes or refines the newly created product. In between
these conscious stages, creativity requires accession to the unconscious.
The actual process of reasoning requires what Jaynes (22, p. 44) calls
"the dark leap into huge discovery ... almost as if the problem had to
be forgotten to be solved." This familiar experience, recounted by
Einstein, Kekule, Melville, Conrad, and other recognized geniuses,
underscores the importance of right-brain processing, whether accessed
in dreams or in some other state, to the achievements of consciousness.

The necessity of directly accessing the right hemisphere's percep-
tions has significance beyond creativity, however. Consciousness, the
filter, translator, and evaluator of experiences and ideas is heavily
conditioned by culture, and especially by language. Consciousness is
dominated by system; it is orderly, secure, comfortable, especially to
the Western mind. The categories out of which we build our reality
systems (and languages) themselves create that reality to a very large
extent.

The human inability to perceive external reality directly is not
a tenet maintained solely by theologians such as Crossan. Eccles' (12)
concepts of primary and secondary realities bear this out. Eccles, with
Karl Popper, has identified three worlds of existence: World 1 is made

up of physical objects and states, World 2 of states of consciousness (including inner and outer sensing), and World 3 of knowledge in the objective sense (cultural heritage -- including language and theoretical systems -- coded on material substrates). Eccles argues that World 2 is our primary reality. World 1 is a secondary reality accessible to us only through our perceptual and thought processes (World 2). We gain access to World 3 via education, a process by which the system created for us by our perceptual limitations is further refined.

Physiology and culture both facilitate the abstracting of experiences by providing categories and paradigms for dealing with reality. For example, biologist Gunther Stent (48) describes the successive abstractions of raw data by the visual system. Information reaches consciousness not as raw data but as highly abstract structures that are the result of a preconscious, step-by-step transformation of sensory input. Before data reach consciousness, they are 'selectively destroyed' in the abstraction process. Meaning, therefore, is the result of the transformation of data into patterns that match pre-existing mental structures.

Stent's pre-existing mental structures are the equivalent of what psychologists refer to as constructs. Construct-formation, as described by L. John Martin (29, pp 426-27), is achieved by individuals under the guidance of their culture. People form constructs (composites of experiences with stimuli) by abstracting the central tendencies discerned in experiences with "referents" (the objects, concepts, and attributes in a person's environment about which he wishes to communicate). Most importantly,

> Referents are culturally defined. The determination
> of what constitutes a particular referent in terms

of size, color, texture, location, appearance,
function, number and variety of attributes, and so
forth is arbitrary and follows the rules of a
sulture ... In Chinese, fruit and nuts are a single
concept. Eskimos don't consider snow or seals as
single referent but a number of different ones.

As Stent notes, similar conclusions have been reached by structuralists

(Jung, Köhler, Chomsky, and Levi-Strauss) entirely from the study of

human behavior. These conclusions now are corroborated by physiological

research.

Taking the principle a step further, Jaynes (22, p. 398) goes so

far as to assert that consciousness itself is culturally learned,

arriving at this conclusion through a review of research on both hemi-

spheric asymmetry and hypnosis. If Jaynes is correct, then the direct

accessing of the unconscious (or the right hemisphere) in the D-state

is all the more significant, for it is in this state that we experience

fantasies that we eventually translate into new symbols, the vehicles

for articulating constructs. Without dreaming, we would be totally

trapped in a reality that is linguistically, and thereby, culturally,

determined.

Thus we have returned to the ideas with which this paper began.

Incapable of directly experiencing the world, we -- through physiology

and acquired habit -- create the world. This world of our own making

is the world in which we dwell.

Reality is neither in here in the mind nor out
there in the world; it is the interplay of both
mind and world in language. Reality is relational
and relationship. Even more simply, reality is
language. What is there before us and is without
language is as unknowable as the answer to the
question of how we would feel had we never been

born. The Bible suggests (one of its less happy
suggestions) that we go to the ant and learn its
ways. A better suggestion would be to go to the
spider and study its destiny and ponder how it
weaves a web from inside itself and then dwells
in it and calls it world (I suppose). All of
which means we had better take language very care-
fully and treat our poets very seriously (Crossan,
7, p. 37).

We also need to take television very seriously for reasons delineated

below .

The Electronic Dream Machine

Dreams and television share two characteristics that work against

their being taken seriously. For one thing, both are so familiar, so

commonplace, that it is easy to take them for granted. For another,

the content of both dreams and television programs is easy to regard

as mere fantasy or escapism, pejoratives that are particularly effective

for triggering guilt in Americans. Psychiatrists (who take dreams more

seriously than most people do) are among the most vituperative critics

of television. Their concern implies that they also take television

very seriously. The intent in the analysis which follows is to draw a

number of parallels between dreaming and television that may prove to be

worthy of investigation. If drawing together a few physical and func-

tional characteristics of the two dream machines and their products

does no more than connect a little science with a little art, this

effort is not in vain. If this analysis also provokes some questions

(however naive or impertinent) that heretofore have not been asked

about the use of television in the developing world, then this paper

will have achieved its purpose.

Life dreams (defined as responses to the neurophysiological conditions of the D-state), television's pictures and sound are subject to the laws of physics. The images we see and hear on television are the result of sensory reception and processing of physical stimuli (both by the camera and by the viewer). Dream images result from the similar processing of internal stimuli that may or may not have extramental origins. Both dreams and television, therefore, results in the perception of visual and auditory images.

In each system, images are built from the traffic of electrical pulses through the system's circuitry. Thus both systems operate in a binary mode. Currently, both television and dream systems are a blend of analog and digital functions, though there is every reason to believe that several of television's analog functions will be replaced with digital ones in the near future. Digital videotape recording, editing, signal transmission, and tuning are in various stages of development. A digital video signal does not decay in transmission or in manipulation (as in editing) and is not subject to interference from noise encountered in cables or in the atmosphere. With digitization, then, the video signal becomes more like the nerve impulse, which is self-sustaining and free of decay as it travels along the nerve fiber.

The encoding of visual information in the two systems also is similar. In both cases, encoding terminals (the eyes and the camera) translate patterns of light reflected from objects into modulated electrical current. In the television camera, the visual data are focused onto a light-sensitive surface that is systematically scanned by an electron beam. In the human visual system, the incoming data

are fixed on the retina. When an image is stabilized, the perception of it fades in a few seconds. According to Gregory (16, p. 44), part of the function of saccadic (jerking) movements of the eyes is "to sweep the image over the receptors so that they do not adapt and so cease to signal to the brain the presence of the image in the eye."

The rapid eye movements of D-state sleep are related to the saccadic eye movements of waking perception. Whether as a compensatory device for sensory deprivations or as a mechanism for the maintenance of the neuromuscular pathways necessary for binocular vision (Breger's hypothesis), the brain's scanning mechanism clearly is at work during dream sleep. The once popular idea that rapid eye movements perform a scanning function during dreaming is subject to question (see Hobson and McCarley, 21, p. 1342), but that controversy does not obviate the fact that the scanning mechanism is activated in the dream state. Possible effects of heavy television viewing (during which the viewer is exposed to the scanning raster and firing patterns of television) upon the brain's scanning mechanism or firing patterns make for intriguing speculation.

Equally intriguing is the possibility that prolonged exposure to television's heavily saturated, luminous colors might affect the colors we experience in dreams. Color perception, like other kinds of perception, relies in part on the matching of incoming data to pre-existing categories stored as engrams. As Gregory (16, p. 125) points out, color perception is not dependent only on the stimulation by wavelengths and intensities, but also on expectations about the normal colors of objects (see also Brown and Lenneberg, 5). Because these expectations are influenced by geographical and cultural factors, there is reason to

expect that they also could be influenced by continual exposure to television. If it is logical to assume that the same perceptual categories are exercised in dreams, then it is also reasonable to speculate that the colors of television may be affecting the colors we "see" in dreams. Such speculation seems less outrageous when we consider the extent to which television has become a regular element of many people's environment.

Research addressing psychophysiological effects of television is as yet in its infancy. Recently, Schafer (41) demonstrated the usefulness of television programs as a reliable stimulus for evoking event-related brain waves in reasearch on attention and distraction. He found that subjects watching personally interesting (in this case, erotic) television content under reasonably natural viewing conditions were less distracted by irrelevant flickers inserted in the television picture than subjects watching dull content. Although the subjects were unaware of the flickers, the amplitude of their electrocortical responses to the distractions varied with the interest value of the content, the dull content producing significantly smaller brain-wave amplitude variations. Schafer's findings seem to promise applications of his research to the psychophysiological impact of content, such as violence, and to rating the interest value of programs without conscious bias.

The advertising and television industries have been quick to exploit similar research techniques. NASA's oculometer (which records eye movements of viewers) has proven useful in studies of character identification and role modeling (for example, Maccoby, Wilson & Burton, 26), as well as of attention-direction in television commercials (Beller, 1). EEG

monitoring also is used for this purpose by firms such as NeuroCommunications

Research Laboratories, Inc., in Danbury, Connecticut, which offers a

syndicated commercial evaluation service to advertisers. Comparisons

of EEG recordings during REM sleep and during television viewing of

comparable content could be valuable in exploring the relationship

between dream and television experiences. Furthermore, cross-cultural

studies along this line (such as measuring attention and distraction

responses to the same stimulus tape by people from different cultures)

might reveal new insights into the complexities of cross-cultural

communication. Such research could reveal empirically the differential

interest value of content variables among cultures. In a practical

application of this knowledge, the interest value of educational pro-

gramming could be enhanced by utilizing the precise elements of enter-

tainment programs that hold the attention of audiences in a given

culture.

Another potential area of study arises from the characterization

of D-state sleep as a third state of existence in addition to thinking

sleep and wakefulness. Again, detailed comparisons of EEG records of

subjects during viewing and dreaming could reveal the specific nature

of similarities in brain-wave patterns in the two states. It could be

that television viewing is capable of stimulating a mental state in

some "twilight zone" between waking and dreaming. Were we to discover

that this is indeed the case, we should have uncovered a previously

unrecognized factor in the "leapfrog" effect of technology, in which

societies leap into the information age without having undergone

industrialization.

To move away from such flamboyant speculations to matters of

content, we might investigate the relationship between the concrete

nature of dream perceptions and the perception of characters and objects

portrayed on television. To what extent do viewers perceive things seen

on television as concrete individuals (referents) as opposed to representa-

tives of categories (constructs)? The answer to this question may have

exciting implications for the development of visual literacy. For

example, the frequent use (and frequently deliberate use) of stereotypes

in popular entertainment programming* suggests that such programming is

saturated with pre-packaged constructs. A better understanding of

children's and adults' perceptions of characters as types or as indivi-

duals could refine notions of television's possible cognitive and

modeling effects. Those refinements, in turn, could indicate reliable

means of training children to be more critical (in the best sense of

that word) viewers, and, thereby, more consciously skillful viewers.

The problem is compounded when carried into the cross-cultural

realm, where televised stereotypes may constitute the bulk of a person's

experience with America and Americans. As Gerhard Maletzke (28, p. 413)

points out, populations usually develop images of other cultures that

concentrate on a very few marked traits, that run uniformly throughout

the population, that are relatively constant, and that almost invariably

take on a derogatory nature. These images constitute vertical barriers

between cultures which, in Maletzke's words, "make difficult mutual

comprehension or hinder it completely, and the height of which is

determined by the distance between the cognitive structures of the

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*See the growing literature on the subject of formula in popular culture
for elaboration of this point. Horace Newcomb's TV: The Most Popular
Art (New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 1974) and John G. Cawelti's Adventure,
Mystery and Romance (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976) are two
good examples.

cultures involved." The complexity of the problem does not mitigate its significance, and media literacy is at least as important in the light of cross-cultural issues as it is in the light of intra-cultural ones.

Several additional critical issues come to mind when we compare dream content to television content. For example, despite the fact that most television programs (like dreams) tend to be action-oriented, the bulk of television's content (again, like dreams) is not memorable. On the average, adults spend twenty per cent of their sleeping time in the D-state. In the United States, they spend at least twenty per cent of their waking time watching television. Is it reasonable to expect that a high percentage of what they see in either will be highly stimulating and exciting? Probably not. Moreover, would it be desirable for very much of either to be really exciting? Shades of James Olds' (34) rats, exhaused from orgies of electrical stimulation to the pleasure centers of their brains, come to mind.

The formulaic nature of dreams may be similarly instructive. Both dreams and television programs occur in regular cycles according to more or less strict rules of timing and sequencing. In addition, the manifest and latent contents of each occur in patterns of recurrent symbols and events. In this sense, television may be thought of as a memory system, which Breger (4, pp 12-13) describes as "an organized or structured mass of stored information" consisting of content and the programs for organizing it.

In the case of dreams, recurrent images and patterns allow for the detection of the dreamer's preoccupations. Dreams, to the extent that they are the output of individuals' memory systems, allow people to work through (to use a clinical phrase) the anxieties created by their

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preoccupations. Television has been castigated (by Grotjahn, 17, for example) because it fails to provide enough content that facilitates the process of working through tensions via visual participation. Though few people would quarrel with more attempts to provide individual viewers with profoundly emotional symbolic experiences (catharsis in the Aristotelian sense), this criticism misses the point.

More important than a projective device for the individual, television content is largely the output of collective memory. Recurrent images and formulas that give them meaning are the content and programs of television taken as a memory system. This coded memory material, translated by the operation of the system's programs, is discernible in televised fiction, nonfiction, and advertising. The prime function of television in this context, then, is to address cultural and social preoccupations (as perceived by television's gatekeepers, to be sure), which may or may not coincide with personal ones. If dreams provide the individual with forms for "affective schemas" and generate ideas on the level of "individual truth" (as Jones, 23, p. 165, suggests in an extension of the Piagetian interpretation of play), then television serves a similar function on the level of "collective truth". Functions such as agenda-setting and status-conferral fit comfortably under this rubric. No matter the terms we ascribe to such functions, however, television's responsibility is awesome indeed.

As the human perceptual, nervous, and cultural systems create a world, so too does television create a world and deliver it to us daily. We do not know the precise connection between the process of dreaming and the content of dreams, and yet questions about the connection are worthy of reasearch. Just as worthy are similar questions about the content

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of television: Whose reality appears on the television screen? How useful is it? To whom is it useful? These are the questions of social research, power structure research, and policy research. They are important questions in their own right, and they take on added weight in the light of possible psychoneurological and cross-cultural effects. As Gregory (16, p. 175) reminds us, the artist reproduces the image on his own retina, not the world.

Numerous critics have questioned the success of American television in addressing American cultural preoccupations. Other critics have argued that large doses of American television constitute interference with developing societies' attempts to cope with the cultural stress that attends modernization. Noting the significance of constellations of belief in the appreciation of media effects, Luis Ramiro Beltran S. (2) has shown how ideology based on conformity, elitism, racism, materialism, adventurism, and conversatism permeates Latin American television. Beltran points to the destructive influence of American ideology at work not only in American-produced programming but also in programs produced by Latin Americans working in media industries established under the influence of North Americans. Similar observations by Herbert I. Schiller (42) and Armand Mattelart (30) indicate growing dissatisfaction with the "reality" packaged by television for sale in developing countries. The concerns of these critics are legitimate, as are concern about mass entertainment media's replacement of folk media (Motamed-Nejad, 32) and usurption of religion's role in defining morality and individual identity (Goodlad, 15).

Certain developmental effects of exposure to images projected on the electronic dream screen are well established. Studies of television's

role in character identification, attitude formation, and role modeling in children need not be recounted here. What is not established is the extent to which television performs other functions normally attributed to fantasy for children or adults. For example, dreaming's buffer-dumping (clearing day residue, in clinical terminology) and synthesizing (reorganizing) effects are conceivable functions of news programming. (News programs, of course, contain as much myth, fantasy, and collective dream as any fictional mode of presentation.) An important additional function of television news, as we finally have come to recognize, is entertainment. At least one dream researcher, Jones, acknowledges the entertainment value of dreams and their recall. Inasmuch as most television programs have entertainment as their primary purpose, and inasmuch as entertainment appears again and again as the most important gratification sought ty television audiences, it is essential that we have a better understanding of the process and function of entertainment and any possible connections between television and dreams as diversions.

The visual components of television and dreams suggest yet another area of inquiry. Both experiences are intensely visual, and they both seem to exercise the right hemisphere of the brain more than the left. Three questions arise from this comparison. Is it possible that television in all its visual vividness is capable of bypassing conscious processing and implanting images directly into the unconscious? The assertion of this capability is a frequent theme in popular media criticism. Key's (25) "subliminal seduction" hypothesis is tantalizing, though much more rigorous testing is still needed. In research described earlier, Schafer (41) demonstrated that viewers' sensitivity to subliminal distractions varies with the interest value of televised

content. However, Schafer's research did not address questions about the possible effects of subliminally-perceived images, as he used simple flickers of light to stimulate distraction.

A more positive approach to this issue is implicit in the second question: Is there a sense in which television viewing is creative experience akin to dreaming? We know that subjects deprived of REM-sleep go on "dream binges" to make up for the deprivation. People who are engaged in creative activities during the day need less sleep (and less dreaming) than people whose work is not creative. The question that comes to mind is whether heavy television viewers dream less than other people. Current dream research techniques could answer this question easily. Furthermore, if heavy television viewers dream less than light viewers, it is as conceivable that television meets a creative need as it is conceivable that it deprives people of creative experiences.

This line of reasoning suggests yet another interesting question. "Too much" dreaming produces fatigue because dreaming is an exhausing activity. "Too much" television viewing also produces fatigue. Could it be that television viewing is not the passive activity that many have thought it to be? After all, sleeping was for a long time regarded as a state of suspended mental activity. We know now that this is grossly untrue. It could be that the "narcotyzing dysfunction" hypothesis deserves reinterpretation in the light of dream research. If television can cause overstimulation, then what is the nature of that overstimulation, and what are its consequences?

It has become evident that the video medium is as capable of abetting creativity as it is of suppressing it. For some time, engineers have

been using computer-generated video projections as aids to visualization. A more recent development is computer games that emphasize pattern recognition skills. In these applications, computer and video technologies supplement, or assist, right-brain processing. Computer-generated graphics are commonplace too in broadcast television. They often are used to create startling and challenging visual effects.

Similar stimulation of right-brain functions occurs with rapid cutting, novel juxtapositions, and other conventions of television art. In describing the visual qualities of dreams, Roffwarg et al (38, p. 243) note that rapidly shifting points of view are not unusual in dreams. Nor are telescoping (the abbreviation or ommission elements in a sequence) or kaleidoscoping: "The hallucinated sensations seem to persist in time, having a realistic progression and flow, within the limits imposed by telescoping and kaleidoscopic action changes." These similarities in conventions for manipulating time and space point to the close relationship between dreams and art. The flexibility afforded by these media allows both to be potentially valuable for stimulating creative problem-solving. Thus, television may have the unrecognized potential to aid us in creative collective thinking about human problems that now seem overwhelming.

Implicit in such an optimistic view is the need to develop the interactive potential promised by the video medium and related technology. In other words, the need is to develop a medium or variety of media that individuals will perceive as easy to obtain and use. Borrowing Ivan Illich's term, Gordon Thompson (49) describes these properties as the "conviviality" of a medium: apparent low acquisition cost and wide general utility. Television as we know it, particularly in developing

areas, rates rather low in Thompson's conviviality assessment.

Television can be made a more convivial instrument of national development by integrating it and other telecommunications technology with electronic dataprocessing. As proposed by Cees Hamelink (19), a bond between information systems (such as television) and informatics (such as computer-generated viewdata) is essential to a new world information order based on national and collective self-reliance. As Hamelink indicates, development stemming from these principles requires information policies based on "the thorough exploration of available resources, the aspiration to meet the basic socioeconomic needs of the population, a wide-ranging public participation and decentralization, the rejection of informational models inherited from foreign cultural systems, and the development of endogenous models that creatively use local skill and knowledge" (p. 148). Adherence to policies such as these promises the evolution of media more convivial than current television.

There is a further benefit to pursuing the goal of making television more convivial that has to do with creativity. Even in its current form, television provides a dual-sensory experience. Hobson and McCarley (21, p. 1347) speculate that symbol formation and the bizarre juxtaposition of sensations (the essence of creativity) in dreaming may be a reflection of heightened simultaneous activation of multiple sensory channels. Furthermore, the visual and auditory channels of television imitate the integration of right- and left-hemispheric functioning basic to human thought. Television invites the viewer to use visual and verbal, simultaneous and linear, processing in the vigorous exercise of the whole brain. The talking dream screen in the living room is, in this

sense, a model of the talking dream screen in our heads.

Human behavior requires that both left-brain and right-brain processing be well-developed. As we noted earlier, Western cultures foster left-brain functions at the expense of right-brain functions (and people whose talents lean toward right-brain skills). We can no more do without the visual arts than do without physics. As Brunner says, the left hand teaches the right. Television's potential for facilitating the redemption of right-brain skills must be explored. The developing world is the natural focus for this exploration, for here oral cultures have the advantage over highly literate ones. The modern media world is one of "secondary orality" (Ong, 35), a world in which a residual primary orality interacts with literacy in a fuller exercise of the human capacity for information processing than is possible in cultures severely restricted by Western ideology. What the developing world has to teach the developed world on this score is both exciting and humbling to contemplate. "There can be no elite of experts in the reformation of culture" (Dorfman & Mattelart, 11, p. 99). An appreciation for the profound truth of that statement is essential to the realization of television's promise as a tool for creating realities that benefit the earth's many rather than its few.

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After All, Television _Is_ Appropriate Technology

by

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The United States exports television programs just as we export
refrigerators and airplanes. I shall not describe the programs -- I
take it for granted that they're familiar enough to all of you. I take
it, too, that this audience is quite aware that all our exported tele-
vision programs are show-and-tell for a particular version of a privatized
consumer society based on industrial mass production and distribution. I
shall not discuss this. Nor shall I discuss the demonstrations of
family structure and family relations in these programs, the food and
table habits, the occupational roles, age- and sex-roles, buying and
selling and going to work, clothes, fashions and so on. Whether the pro-
gram is "Sesame Street" or Superman" or "Bonanza" or any of the rest of our
exported programs, they all add up to demonstration sessions ligitimating
particular social arrangements and presenting them as normal for all.

I'd like to talk about certain more subtle demonstration lessons
in these programs. Take dubbing. Our imports are often dubbed into the
language of the receiving country. Now, translating for a dubbed sound-
track is a tricky matter. Choice of words is guided more by technical
considerations and less by concern for rhetorical faithfulness, with the
result that the precise expression often ends up on the cutting-room floor,
yielding to the approximate term with the right number of syllables. This,
coupled with the loss of acoustic faithfulness (the sound of actors reading
lines while they sit motionless before a microphone is different from
the sound they make as they move through space) accounts for the peculiar

flatness of dubbed dialogue. In dubbing, flesh-and-blood actors on film mouth their lines in English but the words and phrases come out in another language. "I love you" becomes "Ich liebe dich". When lips send out one set of signals but words signal something else, language is "out of sync".

What happens when the infrastructure that will form the basis of language appreciation and language use, especially among children who have not yet internalized their language, is laid down in this manner?

Many programs designed to attract children to the television set rely heavily on animations and puppets. They -- like all television casts of characters -- serve as speech-models. They are creatures whose facial expression, eye-movements, and body movements do not orchestrate themselves with the emotional sense of the words they seem to be uttering, nor with the lilt and cadence of the phrases. Someone speaks, his mouth moves, but his facial expression and body movements remain unchanged. His listeners, too, remain immobile, frozen, deadpan. Someone walks, runs, gets up, sits down. His limbs move but his body doesn't. Whether it's a so-called educational program like "Sesame Street" or a so-called entertainment program like "Mickey Mouse" makes little difference in terms of the lessons picked up by young learners gathered in front of the set.

Television depends heavily on the language of time and space -- movement, rhythming and pacing. This is a language that communicates a world of information especially, but not exclusively, to preschool children who are still more fluent in body language than in verbal language. One set of spatial relations mutely signals importance or

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intimacy or consent; another indicates that the relationship is distant or consent is to be withheld, or that the goings-on are unimportant, peripheral to the main event. Children must learn the spatial codes for their own culture and subcultures. Play-acting -- their own and dramatizations they watch -- is essential to this learning.

Nor is the time sense that we take so for granted inborn in human young. Children everywhere must grasp what their culture means by long and short duration, proper synchronization of one's reaction time to others, margins of permissible promptness and tardiness under different conditions -- all learned. Music and chants, stories and dramas help us synchronize these cultural rhythms and internalize them. This is only one way in which music is no more culturally neutral than spoken language.

Even standard measurements of time that we take so for granted -- a 24-hour day, a 60-minute hour, a 60-second minute -- are socially defined and change from culture to culture, from one historic period to another. Insightful writers have noted how the earliest stirrings of the industrial system we know introduced massive changes in the way people experienced time, and depended upon such changes in time sense to come into its own full existence. In the present historic moment, television in introducing equally massive changes even though they are so widely experienced that we take them for granted. U.S. programs export the 54-minute hour, the 24-minute half hour, and the 60-second, even 30-second commercial break -- all entrenched rhythm markers. Information and images are so tightly packed in fleeting instants of time that we pay only glancing attention to any specific element, "reading" the whole simultaneously in a single, seemingly timeless instant; and as

we do, we scarcely notice the absence of opportunity to reflect and consider intellectually what we have taken in emotionally.

Whether these television programs are called entertainment or hailed as educational programs, they bear the same baggage. Take "Sesame Street", said to provide preschool children all over the world with the infra-structure needed for adult literacy to be built on. A whole library of research has accumulated by now, claiming to assess the program's effectiveness in this regard. A few of these studies raise questions about it, but most of them find that the programs "work" quite well. I suspect they do. After all, it's a common enough observation that even the dullest preschoolers in my country recognize Ronald MacDonald and the "M" of his company's golden arches, just as they learn the "S" on Superman's manly chest. Overseas children are no different. I can attest that many of the preschoolers I have known in Latin America can now spell "Xerox" without any difficulty, and they owe it all to "Plaza Sesamo". This Spanish version of "Sesame Street", opens with a hand holding a piece of chalk. Letter by letter it writes X-E-R-O-X, as a voice intones, "This program has been made possible by a grant from the Xerox Corporation." Latin Americans and their children call it "The Xerox Program".

Learning letters and numbers, however, isn't the same as learning to read books. It's interesting to me that no program or sequence in any of these programs I have seen in this country or abroad has ever starred a book. The daily dramas on the street or in the Plaza never feature anyone absorbed in a book, laughing or crying over a book, so

gripped by a book that he cannot set it aside. People caring enough about a book to risk prison for possessing it or to face death for writing it, even for reading a forbidden book -- never. The "commercials" that sing the phrases of letters and numbers don't even mention books and reading. The set itself, the familiar scene in the Plaza, doesn't even give the children a chance to see books. There are no books in Mr. Hooper's candy store on "Sesame Street" in Harlem. Don Ramon, his Mexican counterpart, runs a bodega on Plaza Sesamo. It's equally devoid of books. Needless to say, the same comments apply to virtually all our so-called entertainment programs.

In a democratic society, literacy is not a legitimate goal in and of itself. There is, after all, more than one kind of literacy. The literacy that goes with books can free the mind, stretch the imagination, liberate the reader from his bondage to the present, linking him back to all of human history, all of human culture, all of human experience (that is why we still say "liberal education", meaning education that liberates). There is another kind of literacy that does not have much use for books. A work force must read to be able to read instructions concerning the operation of equipment in a modern factory. Consumers must read to decipher the instructions on a package of cake mix. The citizenry must read to be able to fill out income-tax forms and use an automated post office. Automobile drivers must read to find the right exits off the thruway. Even a nation of television watchers must be able to look up listings in the local equivalent of TV Guide and to follow all the puffery about the stars, to say nothing of deciphering the streamer across the

bottom of the screen announcing, "Mature subject matter. Parental

guidance suggested".

It remains to be seen whether programs like "Sesame Street" and its

imitators teach the children the fundamental skills they will use later

to expand their horizons by exploring the world that books and literature

can open to them. What is clear right now is that "Sesame Street" joins

all the rest of U.S. programs in teaching children to "read" not books

but television. They learn to "read" commercials for the letter D, the

number 4, and so on. They learn to piece together the day's drama on

the street or in the Plaza, unifying it into a continuous story in spite

of commercial interruptions.

All of U.S. television -- and "Sesame Street" is no exception in

this regard, either -- cues the audience with laughtracks. Children learn

to "read" the laughtrack that now defines humor all over the world. They

even learn to "read" what in other contexts would be puzzling statements

directly contrary to sensory experience, accepting them as TV's acceptable

constructions of experiences known to be false. For example, dialogue

may refer to colors on the screen; yet many importing countries have

facilities for only black-and-white reception and their children see no

colors. After the first puzzlement wears off, the children learn to

live quite comfortably with the contradiction, just as they learn to live

with television's constant claims that good guys always thwart bad guys,

the law is always on the side of justice, action is the same as drama,

and using this or that brand of toothpaste guarantees love. This is

quite different from fantasy, since it requires adjustment to unreality

rather than fantasy's playful moving back and forth between the world of imagination and the world of daily experience.

The literacy that "Sesame Street" and its overseas versions certainly teach is show-business literacy. When a program in the series comes to an end, children do not typically rush to pick up a book and pretend to read it. They are much more likely to improvise a fake "microphone" and go through a song and dance routine. They learn, after all, what television teaches. All teachers, after all, teach not what they know, but who they are, how they relate to their students and how they pursue the quest of learning. Scholars teach scholarship; civil servants teach bureaucracy; and shows designed to channel attention to commercials teach the culture of marketing wed to the culture of the carnival.

If it were a question of one, or two, or a handful of these kinds of programs, the matter would hardly deserve our attention. But U.S. television is promoted and exported on a massive scale, not piecemeal. And wherever they land, they're massively consumed. Why not? They've been engineered at the source to attract and hold attention, tested and re-tested to make sure they "work". Then they are piped into centralized distribution systems here and abroad, that deliver the stuff wholesale, covering whole regions simultaneously with the identical fare.

The popularity of these programs is unlikely to abate, either, as long as there are so few organized efforts to raise public consciousness about what we still refer to as "side-effects" -- the sorts of impacts I have touched upon here.

Some governments, staffed by people whose consciousness has been

raised, have tried to block the cultural invasion of imported programs, but such efforts are partial. They do not even approach the heart of the problem.

Whether produced at home or abroad, commercial programs in mass society are engineered to attract attention, not to aid insight and understanding. The programs are only the most visible aspect of a total merchandising system which includes market research, promotion and advertising, an organized system of distribution, and the expansionist system known as franchising. Effigies of TV's cast of characters, of the props and sets and costumes featured in the programs, appear as all sorts of products, ranging from toys and games to clothes and bedclothes. The companies producing these products can and do take advantage of the export market; and although the franchising system metastasizes overseas as well, U.S. made products dominate the market.

No matter who produces the merchandise, however, the upshot of it all is that just as U.S. children play with toys in the likeness of Big Bird and Oscar the Grouch, children in Latin America play with toys in the likeness of their couterparts, Abelardo the Alligator and Paco the Parrot. They can sleep on sheets, cuddle up to pillows, wear clothes all bearing the likeness of characters created for television and popularized through the set. They can tell time with watches bearing the same images, sing songs from the same shows, dance to their music, play with the same toys and puppets and muppets, color in the same coloring books, sniff the same fragrances. They can switch to identical products featuring Mickey Mouse and gang (Walt Disney Productions), the Flintstone Family (Hanna-

Barbera Productions) or Bugs Bunny (Warner Inc) to say nothing of Kojak and

Charlie's Angels and ... the list is endless, but the merchandising system

is the same.

It's a sure-fire way to deep-program legitimation in the earliest

years of childhood. The power of this merchandising system to permeate

all other institutions reinforces the legitimation and maintains it. It's

no secret, for example, that TV stars, from Big Bird to Suzanne Somers, are

created and merchandised products, just like their effigies reproduced

as toys and games and other commodities. Yet, these stars become our

national -- and international -- heroes, heroines and role models.

Conversely, our heroes, heroines and role models are coopted by the

merchandising system and converted into TV stars.

In the face of such converging institutional pressures, government

efforts to block this program or that one are like a flea biting an

elephant. There's lots of talk these days about appropriate technology.

Well, these programs _are_ appropriate technology -- appropriate to a mass

production system in a consumer society. They do precisely what such a

society needs -- they standardize taste, massify consumption, and --

along with the total support system -- make it predictable. Efforts

to correct the distortions of culture television introduces must take

this into account, it seems to me; dealing with the problem at the point

at which it manifests itself -- the single program -- obfuscates the

basic issue which is the total merchandising system and its delivery

system.

We are now in the decade of the eighties, and the cultural assault

as been cranked up another notch. I am referring to satellite communications. Satellites make possible direct broadcasts into the home on a worldwide scale. In this age of satellites, national boundaries lose meaning. In the global village, import restrictions make no sense. For the transnational corporations that rent satellite transponders, visas are a thing of the past.

In the satellite age we see the total merchanising system become even more total, the delivery system more massive, the standardization more massive. Hardware and software fit together like hand and glove.

The impact of television on this massive scale will never be fully grasped if we think of it program by program. We must view it as a total technological system comprising software and hardware together. In my judgment, it adds up to yet another runaway technology riding roughshod over individuality, threatening to destroy the remnants of cultural distinctiveness and heterogeneity that still survive on the planet.

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